

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME X.

1889

KRAUS REPRINT

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1971

Reprinted by permission of
THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

KRAUS REPRINT

A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED
Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1971

Printed in Germany

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rules of the Society	ix
List of Officers and Members	xv
Additions to Library	xxxii
Transactions of the Society, 1889	xxxv
1. Remains of Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Plates III., IV.— A. S. MURRAY	1
2. The Greek Speaking Population of Southern Italy.—H. F. TOZER ...	11
3. Apollo Hikesios.—B. V. HEAD	43
4. Inscriptions from Casarea, Lydæ, Patara, Myra.—E. L. HICKS ...	46
5. Historical Notes on certain Modern Greek Folk-Songs.—FLORENCE McPHERSON	86
6. Metrological Notes.—W. RIDGEWAY.	
III.—Had the People of Prehistoric Mycenæ a Weight-Standard? ...	90
IV.—How were the Primitive Weight Standards fixed?	92
7. On the Composition of the Eastern Pediment of the Zeus-Temple at Olympia, and Alcámenes the Lemnian. Plate VI.—J. SIX.	98
8. A Vase of Polygnotan Style (<i>M.d.I.</i> xi. 38).—P. GARDNER	117
9. Early Greek Vases and African Colonies.—E. A. GARDNER	126
10. On the 'Electra' and 'Antigone' of Sophocles.—W. WATKISS LLOYD ...	134
11. A Study of Phrygian Art (Part II.)—W. M. RAMSAY	147
12. The Imperial German Archaeological Institute.—A. MICHAELIS ...	190
13. Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Iarbenos.—W. M. RAMSAY	216
14. Two Cylices relating to the Exploits of Theseus. Plates I., II.—JANE E. HARRISON	231
15. Archaic Etruscan Paintings from Chere. Plate VII.—A. S. MURRAY.	243
16. A Small Archaic Lekythos. Plate V.	253
17. Archaeology in Greece, 1888-89. Plate VIII.—E. A. GARDNER	254

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

	PAGE
Herrmann's 'Gräberfeld von Marion'; E. Gardner's 'Naukratis, II.';	
Benndorf and Niemann's 'Heroon von Gjolbaschi-Trysa'; Babelon's	
'Cabinet des Antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale'; Imhoof-Blumer and	
Keller's 'Tier und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen'; Schreiber's	
'Hellenistische Reliefbilder'; Benndorf's 'Vorlegeblätter für archäologische	
Uebungen'; Paris' 'Sculpture Antique'; Head's 'Coins of Corinth';	
Evans' '"Horsemen" of Tarentum'; Busolt's 'Griechische Geschichte, 2ter	
Teil'; Holm's 'Griechische Geschichte, 2ter Band'	281

LIST OF PLATES.

- I. A Cylix in the possession of Miss Tricoupi. Subjects: Herakles and Antaeus, Theseus and Procrustes. Drawn by E. GILLIÉRON.
- II. A Cylix in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Subjects: The Adventures of Theseus. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.
- III. Base of a Column from the Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Photogravure.
- IV. Fragments from the Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Photogravure.
- V. 'Protokorinthian' Archaic Lekythos in the British Museum. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.
- VI. Restoration of Eastern Pediment of the Zeus-Temple at Olympia. Designed by J. SIX.
- VII. An Archaic Etruscan Painting from Caere.
- VIII. Ground-Plan of the Acropolis at Athens. Drawn by R. W. SCHULTZ.

LIST OF WOOD-CUTS, &c.

	PAGE.
Restoration of Cornice of Archaic Ephesian Temple	2
Restoration of Lion-Head from Archaic Ephesian Temple	3
Mouldings of Columns from Archaic Ephesian Temple... ..	5
Restoration of Columns from Archaic Ephesian Temple	6
Apollo Hikesios on Ephesian Coin	41
Map of District of Casarea in Caria	46
Map of District of Lydæ in Lycia	51
Chariot from a Black-Figured Hydria	102
Restoration of Eastern Pediment at Olympia by Quatremère de Quincy ...	107
Coin of Thasos : Satyr and Nymph	114
Vase: Subject—Argonautæ	118
Phrygian Architectural Patterns	150, 1
Phrygian Rock-Reliefs	165, 6
Details of Phrygian Altars	168, 170, 172, 3, 4
Plan and Details of Phrygian Palace	176
Plan of Acropolis at Yapuldak	180
Details of Tombs at Yapuldak	181, 2, 3, 4
Etruscan Archaic Paintings from Caere	214, 5, 8, 9
Typhon, from a Poros Pediment, Athens	261
Archaic Female Head, Athens	264
Archaic Gorgon-Head, Athens	266
Athene, from a Stele, Athens	268

RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER.
 REV. H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D.
 MR. WALTER LEAF.
 MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN (*Hon. Sec.*).
 MR. ERNEST MYERS.
 REV. W. G. RUTHERFORD, LL.D.
 MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.
 REV. W. WAYTE (*Hon. Librarian*).

Assistant Librarian, MISS GALES, to whom, at 22, Albemarle Street, applications for books may be addressed.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1889—1890.

President.

THE RIGHT REV. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Vice-Presidents.

THE LORD JUSTICE BOWEN.
THE REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D., *Master of*
Trinity College, Cambridge.
VERY REV. R. W. CHURCH, D.C.L., *Dean of*
St. Paul's.
MR. SIDNEY COLVIN.
PROF. PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D.
MR. W. D. GEDDES, *Principal of Aberdeen*
University.
MR. J. K. INGRAM, LL.D.

PROF. R. C. JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D.
SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M.P.
MR. D. B. MONRO, *Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.*
THE EARL OF MORLEY.
SIR CHARLES T. NEWTON, K.C.B.
REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.
MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON
REV. H. F. TOZER.
PROF. R. V. TYRKELL.

Council.

MR. G. AITCHISON, A.R.A.
MR. J. THEODORE BENT.
PROF. S. H. BUTCHER, LL.D.
MR. INGRAM BYWATER.
MR. TALFOURD ELY.
MR. ARTHUR J. EVANS.
MR. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM GREGORY,
K.C.M.G.
MR. D. G. HOGARTH.
REV. H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D.
REV. PROF. HORT, D.D.
MR. ANDREW LANG, LL.D.
MR. WALTER LEAF, Litt.D.
THE RT. HON. LORD LINGEN, K.C.B.
MR. W. WATKISS LLOYD.

MR. REGINALD W. MACAN.
PROF. J. H. MIDDLETON.
MR. A. S. MURRAY.
MR. ERNEST MYERS.
MR. R. A. NEIL.
MR. H. F. PELHAM.
SIR F. POLLOCK, BART.
PROF. R. S. POOLE.
PROF. W. M. RAMSAY.
MR. J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD SAVILE.
MR. CECIL SMITH.
MR. A. HAMILTON SMITH.
MR. CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.
REV. W. WAYTE.
MR. HERMAN WEBER, M.D.

Hon. Treasurer.

MR. JOHN B. MARTIN.

Hon. Secretary.

MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN.

Assistant Secretary.

MR. W. RESELY.

Editorial Committee.

MR. INGRAM BYWATER.
PROF. PERCY GARDNER.

REV. PROF. HORT.
PROF. R. C. JEBB.

Auditors for 1889-90.

MR. DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD.

MR. ARTHUR J. BUTLER.

Bankers.

MESSRS. ROBERTS, LUBBOCK & CO., TOMFARD STREET.

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH
OF
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION
OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE FOR 1889-1890.

Chairman.

Vice-Chairman.

MR. J. E. SANDYS, LITT.D.

Committee.

MR. OSCAR BROWNING.	REV. E. S. ROBERTS.
MR. HENRY JACKSON, LITT.D.	MR. ARTHUR TILLEY.
REV. S. S. LEWIS.	MR. A. W. VERRALL.
PROF. J. H. MIDDLETON.	MR. C. WALDSTEIN, LITT. D.
MR. J. S. REID, LITT.D.	

Hon. Secretary.

MR. M. S. DIMSDALE, KING'S COLLEGE.

HONORARY MEMBERS

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES.

Mr. Alfred Biliotti, *H.B.M. Consul at Trebizond.*

Prof. H. Brunn, *Königliche Museen, Munich.*

Prof. D. Comparetti, *Istituto di Studi Superiori, Florence.*

M. Alexander Contostavlos, *Athens.*

Geheimrath Prof. Ernst Curtius, *Matthai Kirchstrasse 4, Berlin.*

Mr. George Dennis, *H.B.M. Consul at Smyrna.*

Herr Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Ph.D., *Director of the German Imperial Institute, Athens.*

Monsieur P. Foucart, *Director of the French School, Athens.*

His Excellency Monsieur J. Gennadius, *Minister for Greece, 5, St. James' Street, S.W.*

Prof. W. Helbig, *Casa Tarpeia, Monte Caprino, Rome.*

Prof. A. Kirchhoff, *University, Berlin.*

Dr. H. Köhler, *Berlin.*

Prof. S. A. Kumanudes, *University, Athens.*

Mr. Charles Merlin, 10, *Observatory Gardens, Campden Hill, W.*

Prof. A. Michaelis, *University, Strassburg.*

Monsieur B. E. C. Miller, *Membre de l'Institut, 25, Rue de l'Université, Paris.*

Monsieur A. R. Rangabé, *Ministère Hellénique, Berlin.*

Prof. L. Stephani, *The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.*

His Excellency Monsieur W. H. Waddington, *Membre de l'Institut, French Embassy, Albert Gate, S.W.*

M. le Baron J. de Witte, *M. de l'Inst., Rue Fortin 5, Paris.*

Mr. Thomas Wood, *H.B.M. Consul at Patras.*

His Excellency Hamdy Bey, *Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities, Constantinople.*

LIST OF MEMBERS.

* *Original Members.* † *Life Members.*

The other Members have been elected by the Council since the Inaugural Meeting.

Abbott, Evelyn, *Balliol College, Oxford.*

*Abercromby, Hon. John, 21, *Chapel Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.*

†Abraham, Rev. J. H., *Combe Vicarage, Woodstock.*

Abiam, Edward, 1, *Middle Temple Lane, E.C.*

*Acland, Sir H. W., K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S., *Broad Street, Oxford.*

Adam, James, *Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*

Addinsell, W. Arthur, 16, *Bennett's Hill, Birmingham.*

Ainger, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor.*

Ainslie, R. St. John. *The School, Sedburgh.*

Aitchison, G., A.R.A. (Council), 150, *Harley Street, W.*

Allbutt, T. Clifford, M.D., F.R.S., *Carr Manor, Meanwood, Leeds.*

Amherst, W. A. Tyssen, M.P., *Diddington Hall, Brandon.*

Anderson, J. R., *Lairbeck, Kestwick.*

Anderson, W. C. F., 4, *Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.*

- * Antrobus, Rev. Frederick, *The Oratory, S.W.*
 Apostolides, S., 4, *Lansdowne Mansions, Lansdown Place, Brighton.*
 Archer-Hind, R. D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Armstrong, Prof. G. F., *Queen's College, Cork.*
 Bagley, Mrs. John, *Washington Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.*
 Bailey, J. C., 2, *Tinfield Court, Temple, E.C.*
 Baker, Rev. William, D.D., *Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.*
 * Balfour, G. W., M.P., 32, *Addison Road, W.*
 * Balfour, Right Hon. A. J., M.P., 4, *Carlton Gardens, S.W.*
 Ball, Sidney, *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 Barlow, Miss Anne, *Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton.*
 Barlow, Mrs., 10, *Wimpole Street, W.*
 Barnewall, Sir Reginald A., Bart., 6, *Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.*
 Bath, The Marquis of, *Longleat, Warminster.*
 Bayfield, Rev. M. A., *The College, Malvern.*
 † Beaumont, Somerset, *Shere, near Guildford.*
 Belcher, Rev. Henry, *High School, Dunedin, Otago, N.Z.*
 Belcher, Rev. T. Hayes, *The College, Brighton.*
 Bell, Rev. William, *The College, Dover.*
 Benachi, L. A., "Ortygia," *Livingstone Drive, Sefton Park, Liverpool.*
 † Benn, Alfred W., 70, *Via Cavour, Florence.*
 Benson, Arthur C., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Bent, J. Theodore (Council), 13, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
 Bent, Mrs. Theodore, 13, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
 Bickford-Smith, R. A. H., 1, *Elm Court, Temple, E.C.*
 † Bikelas, Demetrius, 4, *Rue de Babylone, Paris.*
 Birdwood, Sir George C. M., C.S.I., 7, *Apsley Terrace, Acton, W.*
 Blacker, C., 12, *Susser Square, Hyde Park, W.*
 Blomfield, A. W., A.R.A., 6, *Montagu Place, Montagu Square, W.*
 Blore, Rev. Dr., *St. Stephen's, Canterbury.*
 Boase, Rev. C. W., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Bodington, Prof. N., *Principal of the Yorkshire College, Leeds.*
 Bond, Edward, C.B., LL.D., 64, *Princes Square, Bayswater, W.*
 Bond, Edward, *Elm Bank, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Bone, John W., 26, *Bedford Place, Russell Square, W.C.*
 Bosanquet, B., 7, *Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
 Bosanquet, Rev. F. C. T., *Enfield Cottage, Sandown, I. of W.*
 Bousfield, William, 33, *Stanhope Gardens, S.W.*
 Bowen, Lord Justice (V.P.), 14, *Albert Hall Mansions, S.W.*
 Bowen, Rt. Hon. Sir George F., G.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., *Athenæum Club, S.W.*
 Boyd, Rev. Henry, D.D., *Principal of Hertford College, Oxford.*
 Bradley, Very Rev. G. G., D.D., *The Deanery, Westminster, S.W.*
 Bramley, Rev. H. R., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 * Bramston, Rev. J. T., *Culvers Close, Winchester.*
 Branteghem, A. van, 17, *Wetherby Gardens, S. Kensington, S.W.*
 Broadbent, H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 * Brodie, E. H., *H.M.I.S., Grassendale, Malvern.*
 Brooke, A. E., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Brooke, Rev. Stopford A., 1, *Manchester Square, W.*
 Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, *The University, Edinburgh.*
 Browning, Robert, 29, *De Vere Gardens, W.*
 * Browning, Oscar, *King's College, Cambridge.*
 * Bryce, James, D.C.L., M.P., 35, *Bryanston Square, W.*
 Lurkitt, F. C., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*

- *Burn, Rev. Robert, *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 Bury, J. B., *Trinity College, Dublin*.
 Butcher, Prof. S. H., LL.D. (Council), *The University, Edinburgh*.
 *Butler, The Rev. H. M., D.D. (V.P.), *Master of Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 Butler, Arthur J. (Auditor), *Wood End, Weybridge*.
 Butler, Rev. Canon George, *Winchester*.
 Buxton, F. W., 42, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
 Bywater, Ingram (Council), 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 †Bywater, Mrs., 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 15, *Albany Villas, Hove, Brighton*.
 †Calvocorssi, L. M.
 Cameron, Dr. James, *Registrar of the University, Capetown*.
 *Campbell, Rev. Prof. Lewis, *St. Andrews, N.B.*
 Campion, Rev. W. J. H., *Keble College, Oxford*.
 †Canterbury, The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of, *Lambeth Palace, S.E.*
 Capes, Rev. W. W., *Bramshott, Liphook, Hants*.
 Carápanos, Constantin, *Deputé, Athens*.
 *Carlisle, A. D., *Haileybury College, Hertford*.
 Carlisle, Miss, *High Lawton, Bowdon, Cheshire*.
 †Carr, Rev. A., *St. Sebastian's Vicarage, Wokingham*.
 Cates, Arthur, 12, *York Terrace, Regent's Park*.
 Cave, Lawrence T., 13, *Lowndes Square, S.W.*
 Cavendish, Miss, 19, *Chester Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.*
 Chambers, C. Gore, *The Grammar School, Bedford*.
 Chambers, F. C., *Langley Lodge, Beckenham, Kent*.
 Chambers, C. E.
 Chavasse, A. S., *University College, Oxford*.
 †Chawner, G., *King's College, Cambridge*.
 †Chawner, W., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge*.
 Chettle, H., *Stationers' School, Bolt Court, E.C.*
 *Christie, R. C., *The Elms, Roehampton, S.W.*
 Christian, Rev. G., *Redgate, Uppingham*.
 *Church, Very Rev. R. W., D.C.L. (V.P.), *The Deanery, St. Paul's, E.C.*
 Clark, W. Gilchrist, *King's College, Cambridge*.
 Clarke, Henry, 121, *Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.*
 †Clarke, Hyde, 32, *St. George's Square, S.W.*
 Clarke, Joseph Thacher, *College Road, Harrow, N.W.*
 Clay, C. F., 38, *Great Ormond Street, W.C.*
 Clintou, E. Fynes, *Grammar School, Wimborne, Dorset*.
 Cobbold, Felix T., *The Lodge, Felixstowe, Suffolk*.
 *Cobham, C. Delaval, *H.B.M. Commissioner, Larnaca, Cyprus*.
 Cohen, Mrs., 30, *Hyde Park Gardens, W.*
 Colby, Rev. Dr., *Litton Cheney, Dorchester*.
 Cole, A. C., 64, *Portland Place, W.*
 *Colvin, Sidney (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Compton, Rev. W. C., *Uppingham*.
 Comyn, John S., M.D., 32, *Dawson Place, Bayswater, W.*
 *Constantinides, Prof. M., *Doddlestone House, Kirchen Road, Ealing Dean*.
 Conway, W. M., 21, *Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.*
 Conybeare, C. A. V., M.P., 40, *Chancery Lane, W.C.*
 Cooke, Rev. Canon, 6, *Clifton Place, Sussex Square, W.*
 Cookson, C., *St. Paul's School, Kensington, W.*
 Cookson, C. A., C.B., H. B. M. Consul, *Alexandria*.
 Coolidge, Rev. W. A. B., *Magdalen College, Oxford*.

- Corgialeagno, M., 21, *Pembridge Gardens, W.*
 Courtney, W. L., *New College, Oxford.*
 Courtenay, Miss, 34, *Brompton Square, S.W.*
 Covington, Rev. W., *The Vicarage, Brompton, S.W.*
 Covington, W. H. W., *The Vicarage, Brompton, S.W.*
 Cowper, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., *Panshanger, Hertford.*
 Craik, George Lillie, 29, *Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.*
 Creighton, Rev. Prof. M., *Langdale Lodge, The Avenue, Cambridge.*
 Crewdson, Wilson, 60, *Courtfield Gardens, S.W.*
 Crossfield, Miss Margaret C., *The Dingle, Reigate.*
 Crossley, Prof. Hastings, *Queen's College, Belfast.*
 Cruikshank, Rev. J. A. *Harrow, N.W.*
 Curtis, Rev. Canon, *Constantinople.*
 Cust, H. J. C., *Ellesmere, Salop.*
 Cust, Lionel, 43, *Park Lane, S.W.*
 Dakyns, H. G., *Clifton College, Bristol.*
 Dale, A. W. W., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*
 Danson, J. T., F.S.A., *Grasmere, R.S.O.*
 Davidson, H. O. D., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Davies, Rev. Gerald S., *Charterhouse, Godalming*
 Davies, Rev. J. Ll., *The Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.*
 Davies, T. Harold, *University College, Oxford.*
 Dawes, Rev. J. S., D.D., *Newton House, Surbiton, S.W.*
 Deibel, Dr., *care of Messrs. Asher, Berlin.*
 * Dilke, The Right Hon. Sir Charles W., Bart., 76, *Sloane St., S.W.*
 Dill, S., *Shaftesbury House, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire.*
 Dillon, Edward, 13, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, W.*
 Dimsdale, M. S., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Dix, C. M., *Oratory School, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*
 Donaldson, Rev. S. A., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Donaldson, James, LL.D., *Principal of The University, St. Andrews.*
 Drisler, Prof. Henry, *Columbia College, New York, U.S.A.*
 Drummond, Allan, 7, *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.*
 Drummond, Edgar, 8, *Princes Gardens, S.W.*
 Duchâtaux, M. V., 12, *Rue de l'Echauderie, à Reims.*
 Duhn, Prof. von, *University, Heidelberg.*
 Duke, Roger, 8, *Neville Terrace, Onslow Square, S.W.*
 *† Durham, Rt. Rev. the Bishop of (President), *Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland*
 Dyer, Louis, 25, *Montague Place, W.C.*
 Dyson, Rev. Frank, *The College, Liverpool.*
 Earl, Mrs. A. G., *Meadow Side, Tonbridge.*
 Edmonds, Mrs., *Carisbrook, Blackheath, S.E.*
 Edwards, G. M., *Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.*
 Edwards, Miss Amelia B., *The Larches, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.*
 Eld, Rev. F. J., *The Grammar School, Worcester.*
 Ellis, Robinson, *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Eliot, C. N. E., *British Embassy, St. Petersburg.*
 Elton, Charles, Q.C., M.P., 10, *Cranley Place, Onslow Square, S.W.*
 Elwell, Levi H., *Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.*
 Ely, Talfourd (Council), 73, *Parliament Hill Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
 † Escott, Rev. W. W. S., *King Henry's School, Coventry.*
 Eumorfopoulou, A., 1, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 Evans, A. J. (Council), 33, *Holywell, Oxford.*
 Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., *Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.*

- Eve, H. W., 37, *Gordon Square, W.C.*
 Everard, C. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Farnell, L. R. (Council), *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Farrar, Rev. Canon A. S., *Durham.*
 Farrow, Frederic R., 2, *New Court, Carey Street, W.C.*
 Faulkner, C. J., *University College, Oxford.*
 *Fearon, Rev. W. A., D.D., *The College, Winchester.*
 Feetham, T. O., 23, *Arundel Gardens, Kensington Park, W.*
 Fenning, W. D., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
 †FitzGerald, Miss Caroline, 19, *Rutland Gate, S.W.*
 Fitz-Patrick, Dr. T., 30, *Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
 Flather, J. H., *Cavendish College, Cambridge.*
 Flower, Wickham, *Old Swan House, Chelsea, S.W.*
 †Forbes, W. H., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Ford, His Excellency Sir Francis Clare, K.C.M.G., H.B.M. Ambassador, *Madrid.*
 Fowler, Harold N., Ph.D., *Exeter, New Hampshire, U.S.A.*
 *Fowler, Rev. Professor, *President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 *Fowler, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P., 137, *Harley Street, W.*
 Fowler, W. W., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 Fox, Ernest Long, 18, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
 †Franks, A. W., F.R.S., *British Museum, W.C.*
 Frazer, J. G., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Freeman, C. E., *Parkhouse, Southborough, Tunbridge Wells.*
 *Freeman, Edward A., D.C.L. (Council), *Somerleaze, Wells, Somerset.*
 *Freshfield, Douglas W. (Auditor), 1, *Airlie Gardens, Camden Hill, W.*
 †Freshfield, Edwin, 5, *Bank Buildings, E.C.*
 Freston, Henry W., *Eagle's Nest, Prestwich, Lan.*
 *Fry, F. J., *Eversley, Leigh Wood, Clifton.*
 Fulford, Rev. H. W., *Clare College, Cambridge.*
 †Furley, J. S., 12, *Kingsgate Street, Winchester.*
 Furneaux, L. R., *Rossall School, Fleetwood.*
 Furneaux, Rev. W. M., *Repton Hall, Burton-on-Trent.*
 Fyffe, C. A., 64, *Lexham Gardens, South Kensington.*
 †Gardner, E. A., 13, *Oak Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*
 *†Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D. (V.P.), 31, *Norham Rd., Oxford.*
 Gardner, Miss Alice, *Newnham College, Cambridge.*
 Gardner, Samuel, *Spring Hill, Upper Clapton, E.*
 Geddes, W. D. (V.P.), *Principal of the University, Aberdeen.*
 Gibson, Mrs. Margaret D., 2, *Harvey Road, Cambridge.*
 Giles, P., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
 Gilkes, A. H., *The College, Dulwich, S.E.*
 Gilliat, Rev. E., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Glazebrook, M. G., *Grammar School, Manchester.*
 Goodhart, H. C., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Goodrick, Rev. A. T. S., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 Goodwin, Prof. A., *University College, Gower Street, W.C.*
 Goodwin, Prof. W. W., *Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.*
 †Gordon, R. G., *King's School, Canterbury.*
 Gore, Rev. C., *Pusey House, 61, St. Giles, Oxford.*
 Gow, James, Litt.D., *High School, Nottingham.*
 Granger, F. S., *University College, Nottingham.*
 Gray, Rev. H. B., *Bradfield College, Berks.*
 Greenwell, Rev. Canon, F.R.S., *Durham.*
 Greenwood, J. G., *Principal of Owens College, Manchester.*

- Gregory, Right Hon. Sir William H., K.C.M.G. (Council), 3, *St. George's Place, S.W.*
 Griffith, G., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Grundy, Rev. W., *The College, Malvern.*
 Guillemard, W. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Gwatkin, Rev. T., 3, *St. Paul's Road, Cambridge.*
 Hadley, W. S., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
 Hager, Herman, Ph.D., *Owens College, Manchester.*
 Haig, James R., *Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
 Haigh, A. E., 2, *Crick Road, Oxford.*
 Hall, Rev. F. H., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
 Hall, Rev. F. J., *Wymondley House, Stevenage, Herts.*
 Hall-Dare, Francis, 10, *Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.*
 Hallam, G. H., *The Park, Harrow, N.W.*
 Hamerton, P. G., *Pré Charmoy, Autun, Saône-et-Loire, France.*
 †Hammond, B. E., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Hammond, W. A., *King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.*
 Hancock, Mrs. Charles, 125, *Queens' Gate, S.W.*
 Hardie, W. Ross, *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Hardwicke, Philip, 2, *Hereford Gardens, W.*
 *Harrison, Charles, 29, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
 †Harrison, Miss J. E., 45 (D), *Colville Gardens, W.*
 Harrison, Mrs. Robert, 73, *Cromwell Road, S.W.*
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen.*
 Hartshorne, B. F., 41, *Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
 Haslam, S., *The School, Uppingham.*
 Hatch, Rev. E., D.D., *Burleigh Rectory, Maldon, Essex.*
 Haussoullier, B., 37, *Rue Vaneau, Paris.*
 †Haverfield, F. J., *Lancing College, Shoreham.*
 Hawes, Miss E. P., 89, *Oxford Terrace, W.*
 †Hay, C. A., 127, *Harley Street, W.*
 †Haynes, Miss Lucy, 7, *Thornton Hill, Wimbledon.*
 Hazzopulo, S., *Bella Vista, Manchester.*
 Headlam, A. C., *All Souls' College, Oxford.*
 Heard, Rev. W. A., 2, *Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
 †Heathcote, W. E., 114, *Ebury Street, S.W.*
 Heberden, C. B., *Brasenose College, Oxford.*
 Hedgecock, Mrs. Harrison, 21, *Caversham Road, N.W.*
 Herschell, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 46, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
 Heydemann, Dr. Heinrich, *The University, Halle.*
 Hicks, John Power, *Clifton Lodge, Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W.*
 Hicks, Rev. E. L., *Hulme Hall, Manchester.*
 Higgins, Alfred, 64, *Baker Street, W.*
 Hirschfeld, Prof. Gustave, Ph.D., *Mittel Tragheim 29, Königsberg, Germany*
 Hobhouse, Walter, *Christ Church, Oxford.*
 Hodgson, F. C., *Education Department, Whitehall.*
 †Hodgson, J. Stewart, 1, *Audley Square, W.*
 Hogarth, David G. (Council), *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 Holden, Rev. H. A., LL.D. (Council), 20, *Redcliffe Square, S.W.*
 Holiday, Henry, *Oak Tree House, Branch Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Holland, Miss Emily, 20, *Ridgway Place, Wimbledon.*
 Holland, Miss Lilian, 56, *Porchester Terrace, W.*
 Hollway-Calthrop, H. C., *Stanhoe Hall, King's Lynn.*
 *Homolle, M., *Nancy, France.*
 Hopkins, Prof. Gerard M., S.J., *University College, Dublin.*

- Hornby, Rev. J. J., D.D., *Provost of Eton College, Windsor.*
 Hort, Rev. Prof., D.D. (Council), *St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.*
 Howorth, Henry H., M.P., *Bentcliffe, Eccles, Manchester.*
 Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, 4, *Holford Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Hughes, Rev. W. Hawker, *Jesus College, Oxford.*
 Inge, W. R., *Hertford College, Oxford.*
 Ingram, J. K., LL.D. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 † Ionides, Alex. A., 1, *Holland Park, W.*
 Ionides, Luke A., 17, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.*
 Jackson, Henry, Litt.D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Jackson, Rev. Blomfield, 19, *Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.*
 Jackson, Rev. W. W., *Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.*
 * James, The Rev. H. A., *Principal of The College, Cheltenham.*
 James, Rev. S. R., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Jeans, Rev. G. E., *Shorwell, Newport, Isle of Wight.*
 * Jebb, Prof. R. C., LL.D., Litt.D. (V.P.), *Springfield, Newnham, Cambridge*
 Jenkinson, F. J. H., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Jenner, Charles, *Easter Duddingston Lodge, Portobello, Mid-Lothian.*
 Jenner, Louis Leopold C. A., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., 63, *Brook Street, W.*
 Jevons, F. B., *The Castle, Durham.*
 Jex-Blake, Miss, *Girton College, Cambridge.*
 Johnson, Thomas M., *Osceola, Mo., U.S.A.*
 Johnstone, P. D., *Osborne House, Bolton Garages South, S.W.*
 Jones, H. Stuart, *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Joynt, J. W., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 Keep, R. P., Ph.D., *Free Academy, Norwich, Conn., U.S.A.*
 Keltie, J. S., 52, *Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, N.*
 Kennedy, Rev. John, *Grammar School, Aldenham, Elstree, Herts.*
 Ker, Prof. W. P., 95, *Gower Street, W.C.*
 Kieffer, Prof. John B., 232, *Lancaster Avenue, Lancaster Pa., U.S.A.*
 King, J. E., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 King, Rev. J. R., *St. Peter's Vicarage, Oxford.*
 Lacaita, Sir James, K.C.M.G., *Florence, and Athenæum Club, S.W.*
 Lamb, J. G., 25, *Verulam Street, Liverpool.*
 Lambros, Spiridion, *Athens.*
 * Lang, R. Hamilton, *Ottoman Bank, 26, Throgmorton St., E.C.*
 Lang, Andrew, LL.D. (Council), 1, *Marloes Rd., Kensington, W.*
 Lathbury, Miss Maria, *Somerville Hall, Oxford.*
 Lathbury, Miss Mary, 19, *Lingfield Road, Wimbledon, S.W.*
 Layard, Sir Austen Henry, G.C.B., 1, *Queen Anne's Street, W.*
 Leaf, Herbert, *The Green, Marlborough.*
 † Leaf, Walter, Litt. D., (Council), *Old Change, E.C.*
 Leathes, Stanley, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Leeper, Alexander, *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.*
 Leigh, Rev. A. Austen, *Provost of King's Coll., Cambridge.*
 Leigh, W. Austen, *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Leighton, Sir Frederick, Bart., P.R.A., *Holland Park Road, W.*
 Lewis, Harry, 51, *Holland Park, Kensington, W.*
 † Lewis, Prof. T. Hayter, 12, *Kensington Gardens Square, W.*
 * † Lewis, Rev. S. S., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
 † Lewis, Mrs. S. S., 2, *Harvey Road, Cambridge.*
 * Leycester, Mrs. Rafe, 6, *Cheyne Walk, S.W., or Toft, Cheshire.*
 * Liddell, Very Rev. H. G., D.D., *Dean of Christchurch, Oxford.*

- Liddon, Rev. Canon, *Christchurch, Oxford*.
 Lindley, Miss Julia, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*
 Lindley, William, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*
 Lingen, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.B. (Council), 13, *Wetherby Gardens, S.W.*
 Litchfield, R. B., 31, *Kensington Square, W.*
 Livingstone, Rev. R. G., *Pembroke College, Oxford*.
 Lloyd, W. Watkiss (Council), 3, *Kent Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*
 Lloyd, Miss A. M., *Caythorpe Hall, Grantham*.
 Lloyd-Roberts, H., 1, *Pump Court, Temple*.
 †Lock, Rev. W., *Kehle College, Oxford*.
 Long, Prof. Albert Limerick, *Robert College, Constantinople*.
 Loring, Frederick R., *Markt 11, Weimar, Germany*.
 Loring, William, *King's College, Cambridge*.
 Lowell, J. Russell, 2, *Rudnor Place, W.*
 *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P. (V.P.), *High Elms, Hayes, Kent*.
 Ludlow, T. W., *Cottage Lawn, Yonkers, New York*.
 Lushington, E. L., *Park House, Maidstone, Kent*.
 Luxmoore, H. E., *Eton College, Windsor*.
 Lyttelton, Hon. and Rev. E., *Eton College, Windsor*.
 Lytton, His Excellency the Right Hon. the Earl of, H.B.M. Ambassador, *Paris*.
 *Macan, R. W. (Council), *University College, Oxford*.
 MacEwen, Rev. Alex. Robertson, 4, *Woodside Place, Glasgow*.
 Macmillan, Alexander, 21, *Portland Place, W.*
 *Macmillan, George A. (Hon. Sec.), 29, *Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.*
 Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 19, *Earls' Terrace, Kensington, W.*
 Macmillan, Malcolm, 21, *Portland Place, W.*
 Macmillan, M. C., 29, *Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C.*
 Macnaghten, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 3, *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
 McGregor, Sir Charles R., Bart., 3, *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
 McPherson, Miss Florence, *Bank House, Maghull, Liverpool*.
 Magrath, Rev. J. R., *Provost of Queen's College, Oxford*.
 *Mahaffy, Rev. Prof. J. P., D.D., *Trinity College, Dublin*.
 Mann, J. S., 6, *Blandford Square, N.W.*
 Manos, Grégoire, *Greek Legation, Vienna*.
 †Marindin, G. E., *Hillbrow, East Liss, Hants*.
 Margoliouth, D. S., *New College, Oxford*.
 †Marquand, Prof. Allan, *Princeton College, New Jersey*.
 Marshall, R., *Broomfield, Duppas Hill, Croydon*.
 Marshall, T., *Highfield, Chapel Allerton, Leeds*.
 Marshall, V. G., *Spanish Consul, Patras*.
 *†Martin, John B. (Hon. Treasurer), 17, *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
 †Martyn, Edward, *Tillyra Castle, Ardahan, County Galway*
 Mason, H. C. F., *Haileybury College, Hertford*.
 Mavrogordato, Pandeli, *South Sea House, Threadneedle St., E.C.*
 Mayer, Dr. M.,
 Merriam, Prof. A. C., *Columbia College, New York*.
 Merry, Rev. W. W., *Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford*.
 *Middlemore, S. G. C., *Sunnyside, Victoria Rd., Great Malvern*.
 *Middleton, Prof. J. H. (Council), *King's College, Cambridge*.
 Miller, Sir Alex., Q.C., LL.D., *Clonard, Stanmore*.
 Miller, Thomas, 8, *Geismar Chaussée, Göttingen, Germany*.
 Mills, Rev. W. H., *Grammar School, Louth*.
 Milner, Alfred, 47, *Duke Street, St. James' Square, S.W.*
 †Misto, John P., *Smyrna*.

- Mitchell, C. W., 28, *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
- *Monk, C. J., 5, *Buckingham Gate, S.W.*
- *Monro, D. B. (V.P.), *Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.*
- Montague, H., 34, *Queen's Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
- Moore, Mrs. Frank, 7, *Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- *Moraitis, Prof. D.
- Morgenthau, J. C., Ph.D., 17, *Lexington Avenue, New York.*
- Morice, Rev. F. D., *The School, Rugby.*
- *Morley, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of (V.P.), 31, *Princes Gardens, S.W.*
- Morris, J. E., *The Grammar School, Bedford.*
- Morrison, Alfred, 16, *Carlton House Terrace, S.W.*
- †Morshead, E. D. A., *The College, Winchester.*
- Moss, Rev. H. W., *The School, Shrewsbury.*
- Moule, C. W., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
- Moulton, Rev. W. F., D.D., *The Leys, Cambridge.*
- Mount, Rev. C. B., 14, *Norham Road, Oxford.*
- Mudie, C. E., *Budleigh, Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- Munro, J. A. R., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
- Murray, A. S. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
- *†Myers, Ernest (Council), 31, *Inverness Terrace, W.*
- Myriantheus, The Archimandrite H.
- Neil, R. A. (Council), *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
- Nettleship, R. L., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
- Newbold, Rev. W. T., *Grammar School, St. Bees.*
- Newman, W. L., *Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.*
- *Newton, Sir Charles T., K.C.B. (V.P.), 2, *Montague Place, W.C.*
- Nicholson, Sir Charles, *The Grange, Totteridge, Herts.*
- Nicolson, Rev. W., *The Bible Society's Depôt, St. Petersburg.*
- Northampton, The Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G., 44, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
- Ogle, J. W., M.D., 30, *Cavendish Square, W.*
- †Oxford, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *Cuddesdon Palace, Oxford.*
- Page, Hollis B., 102, *Chestnut Street, Boston, U.S.A.*
- Page, T. E., *Charterhouse, Godalming.*
- Palmer, Ven. Archdeacon, *Christchurch, Oxford.*
- Park, Rev. Mungo T., *Grammar School, Oundle.*
- Parker, R. J., 27, *Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- Parry, Rev. R. St. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- Paton, J. L. A., *The School, Rugby.*
- Paton, W. R., *Grand Holme, near Aberdeen.*
- Pattengill, Prof. A. H., *Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.*
- Pears, Edwin, 2, *Rue de la Banque, Constantinople.*
- Peile, John, Litt.D., *Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.*
- Pelham, H. F. (Council), 20, *Bradmore Road, Oxford.*
- Pember, E. H., Q.C., *Vicar's Hill, near Lymington, Hants.*
- *Penrose, F. C., *Chapter House, St. Paul's, E.C.*
- *†Percival, F. W., 2, *Southwick Place, W.*
- Percival, Rev. J., D.D., *School House, Rugby.*
- *Perry, Walter C., 7a, *Manchester Square, W.*
- Phelps, Rev. Lancelot Ridley, *Oriel College, Oxford.*
- Pierides, D., *Larnaca, Cyprus.*
- Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart. (Council), 48, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
- Poole, Reginald Stuart (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
- Port, Dr. H., 48, *Finsbury Square, E.C.*
- Porter, Rev. J. L., D.D., *President of Queen's College, Belfast.*

- Porter, Miss Sarah, *Farmington, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
† Postgate, Prof. J. P., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Powell, John U., *Borcham, Warminster.*
Poynter, Edward J., R.A., 28, *Albert Gate, S.W.*
Preston, Rev. G., *Great Fransham Rectory, East Dereham.*
Pretor, A., *St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.*
Prickard, A. O., *New College, Oxford.*
Prideaux, Miss Sarah, *Goldsmiths' Hall, E.C.*
Proctor, R. G. C., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
Prothero, G. W., *King's College, Cambridge.*
† Pryor, Francis R., *Home Park Mills, King's Langley.*
Psychari, A., *Grand Hotel, 12, Boulevard des Capucines, Paris.*
Radcliffe, W. W., *Fonthill, East Grinstead, Sussex.*
*Ralli, Pandeli, 17, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
† Ralli, Mrs. Stephen A., *Cleveland House, Thornton Road, Clapham Park, S.W.*
† Ralli, Theodore, 12, *Alles des Capucines, Marseilles.*
† Ramsay, Prof. W. M. (Council), *The University, Aberdeen.*
Rathbone, Mrs. F., *Woodgate, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.*
Raven, Miss, *Grove Cottage, Frognal, Hampstead, N.W.*
Rawlins, F. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
Rawnsley, W. F., *Parkhill, Lyndhurst, Hants.*
Raynor, A. G. S., 3, *Little Dean's Yard, S.W.*
† Read, General Meredith, 128, *Rue La Boetie, Champs Elysées, Paris.*
Reed, Percy R., *Rusholm, Grove Road, Surbiton.*
Reeve, Henry, C.B., 62, *Rutland Gate, W.*
Reid, J. S., Litt.D., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
† Reinach, Salomon, 31, *Rue de Berlin, Paris.*
Rendall, Rev. F., 82, *Philbeach Gardens, S.W.*
† Rendall, Prof. G. H., *Principal of University College, Liverpool.*
Renieri, M. Mario, *Athens.*
Rich, Anthony, *Heene, Worthing, Sussex.*
Richards, G. C., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
Richardson, B. W., M.D., F.R.S., 25, *Manchester Square, W.*
Richards, H., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
Richmond, W. B., A.R.A., *Bevor Lodge, West End, Hammersmith.*
Ridgeway, Prof. W., *Queen's College, Cork.*
Ridley, Edward, 48, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
Rivington, Septimus, *Ridgway Paddock, Wimbledon, S.W.*
Robinson, Sir J. C., 107, *Harley Street, W.*
Roberts, Rev. E. S., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
Robertson, Rev. Archibald, *Hatfield Hall, Durham.*
Robertson, Rev. J., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
Robinson, G. G., *Hill Side, Godalming.*
Robinson, T. P. G., *Ashfield, Spring Grove, Bedford.*
Rogers, S. L., *Grammar School, Bedford.*
Rolleston, T. W. H., 30, *Palmerston Road, Dublin.*
Rome, W., *The Red Lodge, Putney, S.W.*
† Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, 38, *Berkeley Square, W.*
Rotton, J. F., 3, *The Boltons, S.W.*
Roundell, C. S., 16, *Curzon Street, W.*
Rous, Lieut.-Colonel, *Worstead House, Norwich.*
Rudd, Rev. Eric, *Rectory, Freshwater, Isle of Wight.*
Rutherford, Rev. W. Gunion, LL.D. 19, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
Rylands, W. H., 11, *Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.*

- †Ryle, Rev. Prof. H. E., *Meadowcroft, Cambridge*.
 Savile, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.B. (Council), 38, *South Street, Park Lane, W.*
- *Samuelson, Sir B., Bart., M.P., 56, *Princes Gate, S. Kensington*.
 Sanderson, Rev. R. E., D.D., 6, *Holmsdale Gardens, Hastings*.
 †Sandys, J. E. (Council), Litt.D., *St. John's College, Cambridge*.
 Saumarez, Hon. James St. V., *Bury St. Edmunds*.
- *†Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., LL.D. (V.P.), *Queen's Coll., Oxford*.
 †Scaramanga, A. P., 12, *Hyde Park Place, Hyde Park, W.*
 Schilizzi, John S., 93, *Westbourne Terrace, W.*
- *Schliemann, Dr. H., *Athens*.
 Schuster, Ernest, 2, *Lancaster Road, Belsize Park, N.W.*
- *Schuyler, Eugene, *care of Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C.*
 Scouloudi, Stephanos, *Athens, Greece*.
 Scull, Miss, *Smethport, McKean Co. Pennsylvania*.
 Seaman, Owen, *The Durham College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne*.
 Seebohm, Hugh, *The Hermitage, Hitchin*.
 Sellar, Prof. W. Y., 15, *Buckingham Terrace, Edinburgh*.
 Sellers, Miss Eugenie, 38, *Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W.*
- †Selwyn, Rev. E.C., *School House, Uppingham*.
 Selwyn, Rev. E. J., *Pluckley Rectory, Ashford, Kent*.
- †Sendall, Walter J., *Colonial Office, S.W.*
 Seymour, Prof. Thomas D., *Yale College, Newhaven, U.S.A.*
 Shadwell, C. L., *Oriel College, Oxford*.
 Sharkey, J. A., *Christ's College, Cambridge*.
 Sharland, S. C.
- Sharpe, Miss, *Harold House, Lansdowne Road, W.*
 Shuckburgh, E. S., *Fair View, The Avenue, Cambridge*.
 Sidgwick, Arthur, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford*.
 Sidgwick, Henry, *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 Simpson, H. B., 45, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
 Sinclair, Captain H. M., *Staff College, Aldershot*.
- *Skrine, H. D., *Claverton Manor, Bath*.
 *Skrine, Rev. J. H., *Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perthshire*.
 Smith, A. Hamilton (Council), *Riverbank, Putney, S.W.*
 Smith, Cecil (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Smith, H. Babington, *Education Office, Whitehall, S.W.*
 Smith, Rev. J. Hunter, *King Edward's School, Birmingham*.
- †Smith, Prof. Goldwin, *The Grange, Toronto, Canada*.
 Smith, Prof. T. Roger, *The Knoll, Putney, S.W.*
 Smith, R. Elsey, *The Knoll, Putney, S.W.*
 Smith, R. J., 2, *Tanfield Court, Temple, E.C.*
 Smith, William, LL.D. 94, *Westbourne Terrace, W.*
 Smith, W. G., *St. John's College, Oxford*.
 Smith-Marriott, Lady, *The Down House, Blandford*.
- †Snow, T. C., *St. John's College, Oxford*.
 †Somerset, Arthur, *Castle Goring, Worthing*.
 Sonnenschein, Prof. E. A., 7, *Noel Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham*.
- †Southwell, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Thurgarton Priory, Southwell*.
 Spicer, Rev. E. C., *Colyford Villa, Exeter*.
 Spicer, Mrs., *Colyford Villa, Exeter*.
 Spooner, Rev. W. A., *New College, Oxford*.
 Spratt, A. W., *St. Catherine's College, Cambridge*.
 Spring-Rice, S. E., 9, *Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.*
 Stanton, Charles H., 65, *Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.*

- Statham, H. Heathcote, 40, *Gower Street, W.C.*
 Sterrett, J. R. Sitlington, *Oxford, Butler Co., Ohio.*
 *Stillman, W. J., 44, *Via Gregoriana, Rome.*
 Stillwell, James, 1, *Victoria Park, Dover.*
 Stogdon, J., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Stone, Rev. E. D., *Stonehouse, St. Peter's, Isle of Thanet.*
 Strachan-Davidson, J. L., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Strachan, Prof. John, *Owens College, Manchester.*
 Street, A. R., *St. Chad's, Denstone, Uttoxeter.*
 †Stuart, Sir William, K.C.B., *La Tour, Ascot, Berks.*
 *Sturgis, Julian R., 2, *Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.*
 Sturgis, Russell, 304, *East 17th Street, New York.*
 Surr, Watson, 28, *Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
 Swanwick, Miss Anna, 23, *Cumberland Terrace, N.W.*
 †Tait, C. W. A., *Clifton College, Bristol.*
 Talbot, Rev. E. S., *The Vicarage, Leeds.*
 Tancock, Rev. C. C., *Rossall School, Fleetwood.*
 Tarbell, F. B., *Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.*
 Theologos, Pantaleon, *Director of the Credit Bank, Athens.*
 Thomas, Charles G., 12, *Grafton Street, W.*
 Thomas, Rev. T. Ll., *Jesus College, Oxford.*
 *Thompson, E. M. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Thompson, E. S., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*
 Thompson, F. E., *Cotton House, The College, Marlborough.*
 Thorley, G. E., *Warden of Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Thursfield, J. R., 11, *Montague Place, W.C.*
 Tilley, Arthur, *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Todnunter, John, *Orchardcroft, Bedford Park, W.*
 Tottenham, H. R., *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
 *†Tozer, Rev. H. F. (V.P.), 18, *Norham Gardens, Oxford.*
 †Truell, H. P., F.R.C.S., *Clonmannon, Ashford, Co. Wicklow.*
 Tubbs, H. A., 48, *Burlington Gardens, Acton, W.*
 Tuck, Rev. A. J., *Great Munden Rectory, Hertfordshire.*
 *†Tuckett, F. F., *Frenchay, near Bristol.*
 *Tuckerman, Hon. C. K., 12, *Iacopo da Diacceto, Florence.*
 Tudeer, Dr. Emil, *Helsingfors, Sweden.*
 Turnbull, Peveril, *Sandy-Brook Hall, Ashbourne.*
 †Turnbull, Mrs. Peveril, *Sandy-Brook Hall, Ashbourne.*
 Tylor, E. B., D.C.L., F.R.S., *The Museum House, Oxford.*
 Tyrrell, Prof. R. Y. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 *Tyrwhitt, Rev. R. St. J., *Ketilby, Oxford.*
 Upcott, E. A., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
 Upcott, L. E., *The College, Marlborough.*
 Urquhart, Miss Margaret, 5, *St. Colme Street, Edinburgh.*
 *Valetta, J. N.
 †Valieri, Octavius, 2, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 Vanderbyl, Mrs. Philip, *Northwood, near Winchester.*
 Vardy, Rev. A. R., *King Edward's School, Birmingham.*
 Vaughan, The Very Rev. C. J., Dean of Llandaff, *The Temple, E.C.*
 †Vaughan, E. L., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Venning, Miss Rosamond, care of R. S. Poole, *British Museum.*
 Verrall, A. W., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Verrall, Mrs. A. W., *Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.*
 Vince, C. A., *The School, Mill Hill, N.W.*

- *Vincent, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., *Imperial Ottoman Bank, Constantinople.*
†Wagner, Henry, 13, *Half Moon Street, W.*
†Waldstein, Charles, Ph.D., Litt.D. (Council), *King's College, Cambridge.*
Walford, Edward, 2, *Hyde Park Mansions, N.W.*
Walker, Rev. F. A., D.D., *Dun Mallard, Shootup Hill, Brondesbury N.W.*
Walpole, Rev. A. S., 46, *Glenthorne Road, Hammersmith.*
*Ward, Prof. A. W., Litt.D., *The Owens College, Manchester.*
Ward, T. H., 61, *Russell Square, W.C.*
Warr, Prof. G. C., 4, *Pen-y-Wern Road, S.W.*
†Warre, Rev. Edmond, D.D., *Eton College, Windsor.*
Warren, T. H., *President of Magdalen College, Oxford.*
Waterhouse, Miss M. E., 3, *Edge Lane, Liverpool.*
Waterhouse, Mrs. Edwin, 13, *Hyde Park Street, W.*
Watson, A. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
*Way, Rev. J. P., *King's School, Warwick.*
Wayte, Rev. W. (Council), 6, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
†Weber, F. P., 10, *Grosvenor Street, W.*
Weber, Herman, M.D. (Council), 10, *Grosvenor Street, W.*
†Weldon, Rev. J. E. C., *The School, Harrow, N.W.*
Wells, J., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
Wheeler, James R., Ph.D., *Univ. of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.*
†White, A. Cromwell, 3, *Harcourt Buildings, Temple.*
White, J. Forbes.
White, Prof. J. W., *Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*
White, William H., 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
Whitehead, R. R., *Borden Wood, Milland, Liphook, Hants.*
Whitehouse, F. Cope, 10, *Cleveland Row, St. James', S.W.*
Wickham, Rev. E. C., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
Wicksteed, Francis W. S., M.D., *Chester House, Weston-super-Mare.*
Wilkins, George, *High School, Dublin.*
Wilkins, Prof. A. S., LL.D., Litt.D., *The Owens College, Manchester.*
Willert, P. F., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
Wilson, Donald, *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
Wilson, H. F., *The Osiers, Chiswick Mall, S.W.*
*Winwood, Rev. H. H., 11, *Cavendish Crescent, Bath.*
Wiseman, Rev. Henry John, *Clifton College, Bristol.*
Wood, G., *Pembroke College, Oxford.*
*Wood, J. T., 24, *Albion Street, Hyde Park, W.*
Wood, Rev. W. S., *Ufford Rectory, Stamford.*
†Woods, Rev. H. G., *President of Trinity College, Oxford.*
Woodward, Rev. W. H., 13, *St. Domingo Grove, Everton, Liverpool.*
Woolner, Thomas, R.A., 29, *Welbeck Street, W.*
†Wren, Walter, 2, *Powis Square, W.*
Wright, R. S., 1, *Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.*
†Wright, W. Aldis, *Vice-Master, Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Wroth, Warwick W., *British Museum, W.C.*
†Wyndham, Rev. Francis M., *St. Charles' College, St. Charles Square, W.*
†Wyse, W., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson, 43, *Phillimore Gardens, W.*
York, The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of, *Bishopthorpe, York.*
*Young, Rev. E. M., *The School, Sherborne.*
Yule, Miss Amy, care of Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 55, *Parliament Street.*

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The University College, *Aberdeen*.
 The Amherst College Library, *Amherst, Mass.*
 The Andover Theological Seminary, *Andover, Mass., U.S.A.*
 The National University, *Athens*.
 The Peabody Institute, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*
 The Royal Museum Library, *Berlin*.
 The Royal Library, *Berlin*.
 The Mason Science College, *Birmingham*.
 The Bibliothèque Universitaire de Bordeaux, *Bordeaux*.
 The Public Library, *Boston, U.S.A.*
 The University Library, *Breslau*.
 The University Library, *California*.
 The Harvard College Library, *Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
 The Library of Trinity College, *Cambridge*.
 The Fitzwilliam Archaeological Museum, *Cambridge*.
 The Girton College Library, *Cambridge*.
 The Library of Canterbury College, *Christchurch, N.Z.*
 The Public Library, *Cincinnati, U.S.A.*
 The Adelbert College, *Cleveland, Ohio*.
 The Cyprus Museum, *Nicosia, Cyprus*.
 The Royal Museum of Casts, *Dresden*.
 The King's Inns Library, *Dublin*.
 The National Library of Ireland, *Dublin*.
 The Royal Irish Academy, *Dublin*.
 The University College, *Dundee*.
 The Durham Cathedral Library, *Durham*.
 The University Library, *Erlangen*.
 The University Library, *Freiburg*.
 The University Library, *Glasgow*.
 The Ducal Library, *Gotha (Dr. W. Pertsch)*.
 The University Library, *Halle, a.S. Germany*.
 The University Library, *Göttingen*.
 The Philological Society of the University of *Giessen*.
 The Royal University Library, *Greifswald*.
 The Dartmouth College Library, *Hanover, U.S.A.*
 The School Library, *Harrow, N.W.*
 The Cornell University Library, *Ithaca, N.Y.*
 The Royal and University Library, *Königsberg*.
 The Public Library, *Leeds*.
 The Philologische Leseverein, *Leipzig*.
 The Free Library, *Liverpool*.
 The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *British Museum, W.C.*
 The Library of University College, *London*.
 The Athenaeum Club, *Pall Mall, London, S.W.*
 The Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Savile Row, London, W.*
 The London Library, *St. James's Square, London, S.W.*
 The Reform Club, *Pall Mall, London, S.W.*

- The Sion College Library, *Victoria Embankment, E.C.*
 The Chetham's Library, *Hunts Bank, Manchester.*
 The Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Münster, I.W.*
 The Royal Library, *Munich.*
 The Library of Yale College, *Newhaven.*
 The Astor Library, *New York.*
 The Columbia College, *New York.*
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York.*
 The Library of the College of the City of New York, *New York.*
 The University Library, *Christiania, Norway.*
 The Library of Worcester College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of Christchurch, *Oxford.*
 The Library of St. John's College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of New College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of Queen's College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of University College, *Oxford.*
 The Union Society, *Oxford.*
 The University Galleries, *Oxford.*
 The Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*
 The Bibliothèque de l'Université de France, *Paris.*
 The Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Paris.*
 The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *Paris.*
 The École Normale Supérieure, *Paris.*
 The University, *Prague* (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).
 The Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*
 The Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, *Rome.*
 The School Library, *Rossall.*
 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*, care of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.
 The St. Louis Mercantile Library, *St. Louis, U.S.A.*
 The Archæological Museum, *The University, Strassburg* (per Prof. Michaelis).
 The Imperial University and National Library, *Strassburg.*
 The Free Library, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
 The Sachs Collegiate Institute, *New York.*
 The Foreign Architectural Book Society (Charles Fowler, Esq.), 23, *Queen Anne Street, W.*
 The University Library, *Toronto.*
 The General Assembly Library, *Wellington, N.Z.*
 The Library, *Westminster School, S.W.*
 The Boys' Library, *Eton College, Windsor.*
 The Public Library, *Winterthur.*
 The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*
 The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.*

LIST OF JOURNALS &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The Transactions of the American School, *Athens*.
 The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens*.
 The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
 The Publications of the Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Institute at *Athens*.
 The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, *Athens*.
 Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.
 The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 The Jahrbuch of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Berlin*.
 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).
 The Numismatic Chronicle.
 The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyna*.
 The Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome*.
 The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*
 The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.
 The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.
 The American Journal of Archæology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, *Cathedral Street, Baltimore, U.S.A.*
 The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
 Mnemosyne (care of Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.

ADDENDA

OF

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, &c.

IN THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION
OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OCTOBER 1889.

American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. IV. and Vol. V. Part I. 8vo. Boston.
1888-9.

——— Reprints of Papers of the American School at Athens. Parts 1-2.
8vo. Boston. 1889.

Apostolides (Dr. B.). Essai d'Interpretation de l'Inscription pré-Hellénique de
l'Ile de Lemnos. 8vo. Alexandrie. 1887.

Architects, Society of British—

Journal of Proceedings. Vol. V. 4to. London. 1889.

Transactions. Vol. V. 4to. London. 1889.

Kalendar for 1889-90. Sm. 8vo. London. 1889.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Vol. XIII. 8vo. Paris. 1889.

——— Table générale des dix premières Années (1877-86). 8vo. Paris.
1889.

Cambridge Philological Society—

Proceedings. Parts 19-21.

Transactions. Vol. III. Part 2. 8vo. London. 1889.

Centerwall (Julius). Fran Hellas och Levanten. 8vo. Stockholm. n.d.

Cobham (Claude Delaval). An Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus. 2 Etchings.
Post 8vo. Nicosia. 1889.

——— 'Ilmu Hal'—The Doctrine and Practice of Islam. Transl. from the
Turkish. 8vo. Nicosia. 1889.

Cyprus, Excavations in. By D. G. Hogarth, M. R. James, R. Elsey Smith, and
E. A. Gardner. Reprinted from *Journ. Hellenic Studies*. Imp. 8vo. 1888.

Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. Athens. 1888.

Γιαννάρη (A. N.). Περὶ Ἑρωτοκρίτου καὶ τοῦ ποιήτου αὐτοῦ. Ἱστορικὴ καὶ κριτικὴ καὶ
γλωσσικὴ μελετὴ μετὰ γλωσσarioύ. 8vo. Athens. 1889.

- Gregorovius (Ferdinand). Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter. 2 Vols. 3rd Edition. Stuttgart. 1889.
- Head (Barclay V.). Catalogue of Greek Coins. Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, &c 8vo. London. 1889.
- Higgins (Alfred). Recent Discoveries of the Apparatus used in playing the Game of Kottabos. 4to. Westminster. 1889. (From the *Archæologia*.)
- Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Classischen Alterthumswissenschaft. XVI. Jahrgang, Heft 3-10, and XVII. Jahrgang, Heft 1, 2, 3. 8vo. Berlin. 1888-9.
- Jahrbuch des Kais. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Band IV. Heft 1, 2, 3. Royal 8vo. Berlin. 1889.
- Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. IX., No. 2. Imp. 8vo. London. 1888.
- Journal of Philology. Vol. XVIII. 8vo. London. 1889.
- Lansdowne House. Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at, based on the work of A. Michaelis. By A. H. Smith. Royal 8vo. (Privately Printed). London. 1889.
- Leaf (Walter). Photographs of Greece. Mounted and bound in 1 Vol. 4to.
- Mittheilungen des Kaiserl. deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abth. Vol. XIV. 8vo. Athens. 1889.
- Römische Abth. Vol. IV. 8vo. Rom. 1889.
- Mnemosyne. Vol. XVII. Parts 1-4. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1889.
- Monuments Grecs. Publiés par l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France. Vol. I. and Vol. II. Parts 1, 2. 4to. Paris. 1872-89.
- Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. VIII., Part 4, and Vol. IX., Parts 1-2. 8vo. London. 1888-9.
- Revue Archéologique. Vols. XII., XIII. 8vo. Paris. 1889.
- Waldstein (Charles). Catalogue of Casts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Post 8vo. London. 1889.

THE SESSION OF 1888-89.

The First General Meeting was held on *October 22, 1888*, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY read parts of a paper by Professor J. H. Middleton on 'The Temple of Apollo at Delphi' (*Journal*, Vol. IX. p. 282) summing up the literary evidence in view of the contemplated excavations.

SIR GEORGE BOWEN bore testimony to the accuracy of the description of existing remains on the site, and touched on other points of interest in connexion with Delphi.

MR. PENROSE pointed out that recent discoveries on the Acropolis at Athens had established the fact that the older Parthenon was not built of marble, except the metopes and the pediment sculptures, but of limestone covered with stucco. Very early instances moreover had occurred of Ionic capitals which would probably modify Prof. Middleton's opinion as to the date of their introduction.

MR. PERCIVAL confirmed Prof. Middleton's account of the hardness and beauty of the stucco at Delphi.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD fully concurred in the writer's view that the literary evidences should be collected and sifted before excavation was begun. A remarkable illustration of this had been afforded in the case of Ephesus, where the search had been carried on in the wrong places long after literary evidence had shown where the temple ought to be looked for. Much of the paper was conjectural, and it seemed to Mr. Lloyd that at the present stage in our knowledge of the temple sculpture was of more importance than architecture. The association at Delphi of the two cults of Bacchus and Apollo was supported by abundant literary evidence and also indicated on vases, while confirmed by Pausanias' account of the sculptures. The prosperity of Delphi was largely due to the dexterity of the priests in combining the various cults. That of Bacchus came in late,

but soon became fashionable and so had to be admitted. The same thing occurred at Eleusis and elsewhere. Only five subjects on the metopes could be made out from the description of Pausanias. Probably here as at Bassae only those over the pronaos were sculptured and the rest plain. This would give six sculptured metopes and one might have been accidentally omitted. The date of these sculptures also was of great interest. The temple was finished about 490 B.C. but the metopes might have been added later. The architect was a Corinthian.

MR. FARNELL referred to various questions which excavation might be expected to solve. (1) Geographical, as to the site of the Pythian games. How could chariot races have been run in a mountain fastness? The plain of Aetia was the only possible place for these. (2) Historical. There was a difference of opinion between Mommsen and certain French writers as to whether the Gauls ever sacked Delphi. According to Strabo and Pausanias the contrary was the case. The later myth was mentioned in Trogus Pompeius. The belief in the Greek world was that the Gauls had suffered a serious reverse. If they had taken the treasure it was not likely that a handful of barbarians could have taken it back to their native land. Lenormant found what he thought evidence of the Gaulish sack of Delphi in a small relief work on the interior of a Capuan vase, on which a Gaul armed with a sword pointed to the Delphic tripod while the body of a dead Greek lay below. But this only proved an attack, not a victory. Excavation might reveal some further evidence of the attack in the way of inscriptions or sculpture, and perhaps explain whether the Belvidere and Stroganoff Apollos, and others of the same type, really referred to repulse of the Gauls by Apollo. (3) The cult of Athene Pronaia at Delphi was confused with that of Athene Pronoia. At Athens Athene Pronoia was worshipped, but at Delphi the name was given as Pronaia. The worship of Pronoia was later and arose according to Diodorus Siculus out of the belief that the barbarians were driven back *Ἀθίνας πρонуία*. The geographical relation between the shrines of Athene Pronaia and of Apollo was very important.

The CHAIRMAN said that the discussion showed the immense range of interesting collateral points arising directly from the great centre of Greek religion.

A vote of thanks was passed to Professor Middleton for his valuable paper.

The Second General Meeting was held on *February* 25, 1889, Mr. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Vice-President, in the chair.

MISS J. E. HARRISON read a paper on Some Fragments of Greek Vase Paintings, (*Journal*, Vol. X. p. 231).

After apologizing for the scattered nature of most of the evidence she had to bring before the meeting, she showed a drawing of a red-figured vase in the possession of Miss Tricoupi at Athens, which represented the wrestling of Heracles and Antæus, and the exploit of Theseus and Skiron, and had also especial claim to attention from the fact that it made the fifth known instance of a vase bearing the 'love name' Athenodotos in connexion with the Theseus scene. Miss Harrison commented on the De Luynes fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which she was about to publish in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Next in order came a series of fragments recently discovered on the Acropolis, and first in interest were the fragments of a beautiful vase with a white ground, presumably from the hand of Euphronios. The fragments represent the myth of Orpheus and the Thracian women, and gave rise to a good deal of discussion. With reference to an early black-figured fragment depicting Aphrodite with a child on her elbow, Miss Harrison rejected the interpretation that the child was Eros, and maintained that Aphrodite was represented here in the more general aspect of Kourotrophos. Relying mainly on three passages in Pausanias (vi. 20, viii. 21, 3, and ix. 27, 2), she dwelt on the close analogies between Aphrodite Urania, the eldest of the Fates, and Ilithyia, and deprecated in the study of early local divinities that specialization of attributes which was characteristic only of the Olympian system which later became dominant. The last fragment commented on was the figure of a maiden bearing in her hand two problematic objects, possibly the *cheniskoi* of two captured ships.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. WATKISS LLOYD dwelt upon the connexion between Thrace and Greek poetry and music as expressed in the myth of Orpheus, and also upon the religious bearing of the same association.

MR. CECIL SMITH referred to three main schemes of the Orpheus legend which were treated on Greek vases, and also, in connexion with a curious representation of a stag on the shoulder of one of the Thracian women on the vase under discussion, mentioned other instances of such marks in the case of Thracian subjects, clearly pointing to the custom of tattooing. As to the so-called 'love names,' Mr. Smith was inclined to think with Studniczka that they were rather names of well-known public characters, and that through them much light might yet be thrown upon the date of Greek vases.

PROFESSOR GARDNER commented upon the peculiar character of the Orpheus vase under discussion, and congratulated the Society upon being the first to publish an adequate representation of one of this rare class of vases with white ground. It seemed probable that these vases, with their nobility of design, more than any others gave us some idea of the work of the great Greek painters.

MR. HOWORTH raised certain objections to the proposed restoration of the vase, and further took the opportunity of protesting against the permission to excavate at Idalium having been granted to the Germans by the High Commissioner of Cyprus.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee of the Cyprus Exploration Fund would at once inquire into the matter.

The Third General Meeting was held on *April 29, 1889*, MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. A. S. MURRAY read two papers. In the first he explained how from a number of fragments discovered under the foundation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus—the temple built in the time of Alexander the Great—he had been able to reconstruct a column and part of the cornice of the older temple which had been destroyed by fire. (*Journal*, Vol. X. p. 1.) In his second paper Mr. Murray described a series of five Etruscan paintings on slabs of terra-cotta, which had been found at Caere in 1874, and had been quite recently acquired by the British Museum. These paintings he assigned to a date about 600 B.C., tracing in them a combined influence of Corinth, of the Greeks settled in the Delta of Egypt in the seventh century B.C., of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and ultimately an influence reaching westward from Asia Minor (*Journal*, X. p. 243).

The Annual Meeting was held on *June 24, 1889*, Professor JEBB, Vice-President, in the chair.

The HON. SECRETARY read the following report on the part of the Council.

WITH the close of the present Session the Society completes its first decade, the inaugural meeting having been held on June 19, 1879. It is a

point at which it seems legitimate to look back over the ground traversed so far, and to form some estimate of the work accomplished. Of the three objects which the Society has from the outset professed to keep in view, the first—"to advance the study of Greek language, literature and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically"—has been effectively carried out. Both for its subject-matter and its illustrations the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* has taken an honourable place among archaeological periodicals, in the estimation not only of English but of foreign scholars. Sir Charles Newton, who presided at the inaugural meeting, wisely warned members of the danger of such a Journal beginning on too large a scale and then dwindling into insignificance. But this danger has so far been avoided. Year after year there has been an unfailing supply of good articles, and it is noticeable that although classical and archaeological topics naturally preponderate, there has been a very fair proportion of papers dealing with the history, language, and literature of "the Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic periods." The Society is under deep obligations to the Editorial Committee, and especially to Professor Percy Gardner, the working Editor, for the attainment of this first object of its existence.

The second object—"the collection of drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs, of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains"—has not been lost sight of, but, perhaps in the nature of things, has as yet led to less tangible results. The drawings of monuments made in the course of Professor Ramsay's explorations in Asia Minor, a published photographic fac-simile of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, and the enlarged reproductions of Mr. Stillman's admirable photographs of Athens, are the achievements most worthy of record under this head. The Council are fully conscious, however, of the importance of this line of work, and will lose no opportunity of pursuing it. Indeed, a scheme for supplying to members at cost price copies of two large series of photographs taken recently in Greece and the Greek islands by members of the Society is at this moment engaging the attention of the Library Committee, and may lead to important developments in the same direction.

The third and last object named in the Rules of the Society is—"to organize means by which members may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which at any time have been the sites of Hellenic civilization." Apart from the advantages which members of the Society may have enjoyed in virtue of their membership, in travelling through Greek lands, three important enterprises may be mentioned under this head, in which the Society has taken either the initiative or an active part. These are the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, the British School at Athens, and the Cyprus Explora-

tion Fund. It was in 1881 that Mr. W. M. Ramsay, whose explorations in Asia Minor have since gained him a world-wide reputation, first applied to the Society for aid in his intended expedition into Phrygia. A special fund was raised for the purpose of sending out an artist to accompany him, and place his discoveries on record. The results were so encouraging that in the following summer a much larger sum was raised by subscription among members of the Society and others to enable Mr. Ramsay to pursue his researches. This sum, under the title of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, was put under the control of a separate Committee appointed by the subscribers. Although since that period the management of the Fund has passed out of the hands of the Society, substantial grants have from time to time been made by the Council towards the expenses of Mr. Ramsay's successive expeditions, and many important memoirs on various aspects of his researches have been contributed to the *Journal* by Mr. Ramsay himself and by his travelling companions, Professor Sayce, Mr. A. H. Smith, and Mr. D. G. Hogarth.

We now come to the establishment of the British School at Athens. In this important undertaking, closely allied as it is with its professed objects, the Society has taken only an indirect part. It was not formally brought before the Council until after the inaugural meeting of its supporters, held at Marlborough House in June, 1883, under the presidency of the Prince of Wales. The credit of its initiation is due to one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, Professor Jebb, whose able article in the *Fortnightly Review* of February, 1883, entitled "A Plea for a British Institute at Athens," first placed the idea upon a practicable basis, and was the immediate occasion of the brilliant meeting above referred to. The scheme was warmly commended to the support of the Hellenic Society in the Council's Report of the same year, and each succeeding Report has referred to its progress. The Society was, moreover, directly represented upon the Executive Committee which carried the project into effect, and has still a representative upon the Managing Committee of the School. When the School was at last established, in October, 1886, the Council made an annual grant of £100 for three years towards its maintenance. In the success of the School so far, and in its future prosperity, the Society may thus claim to have shown the liveliest interest.

The Cyprus Exploration Fund is of more recent origin and the initiative was in this case taken by the Society, as was indicated in the Report for last Session. A movement from various quarters in favour of systematic exploration of the island found its natural expression in a Special Meeting, held in October, 1887, of the Council of the Society, and under the sanction of that body an appeal was circulated with a view to the formation of a Fund. This was eventually, as in the case of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, placed under the control of a separate Committee, appointed by the subscribers. The Council made a grant of £150

from the funds of the Society. The official report of the results of the first season's work was at the request of this Committee offered for publication in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and duly appeared in the last number issued.

It remains to say a word of the Library. As soon as the *Journal* was started arrangements were made for its exchange with the leading archaeological periodicals, English and foreign, and the back numbers of some of them, especially the Proceedings of the French and German Institutes at Athens, were acquired by purchase. This formed the nucleus of a library where members might keep themselves informed of the progress of archaeological research. From time to time other important additions have been made, and although the funds at the disposal of the Library Committee are limited, it is hoped that in the end a valuable collection of the more important archaeological works may be made. Under the regulations drawn up by the Library Committee, members have the privilege of borrowing certain of the books under such conditions as may ensure their safety, without undue inconvenience to those who may wish to consult them in the Library itself. A Catalogue of the Library was printed last year, and a supplement will be printed in each volume of the *Journal*.

Before closing this summary of the work of the Society in the last ten years, reference should be made to the important meeting held in 1886 to discuss questions which had been raised in regard to the antiquity of the remains found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae and Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann and Dr. Dörpfeld came from Athens on purpose to take part in this meeting, which excited very general interest, and strengthened the position of the Society as the natural centre for such discussions in this country.

Turning now to a more detailed survey of the past session, the Council has to remind members that after the extraordinary energy and expenditure of the Session 1887-88, prudence no less than lack of opportunity has dictated for a time a less active policy. There is accordingly little to record. No fresh grant was needed for the Cyprus Exploration Fund, the money in hand being sufficient to cover the cost of the recent excavations at Polites Chrysokhou, the site of the ancient Arsinoe. The results of these operations will be reported before long to a meeting of subscribers, and may possibly be hereafter recorded in the pages of the *Journal*. The School at Athens, still under the directorship of Mr. Ernest Gardner, has again taken charge of the work in Cyprus, but important work of which the Society may hear at some future time has also been done by its students in Athens. The grant towards the maintenance of the School made for three years in the autumn of 1886 is now at an end, and in the coming session the Council will be called upon to consider the question of its renewal. Members must feel that the support of such an institution is among the worthiest objects to which the funds of the Society could be

applied, and if the Council see their way to renew the grant for another term they will reckon confidently upon the approval of the Society at large.

Reference has already been made incidentally to a scheme now under consideration for the distribution among members at cost price, of photographs of Greek sites and monuments. For two large collections recently taken, the consent of the owners of the negatives has been obtained and a circular on the subject will shortly be issued. It is hoped that other amateurs who have taken photographs in Greece will fall in with the proposal, and if this be so an important step will have been taken towards meeting a want very generally felt for views of sites and monuments which have not hitherto tempted the professional photographer.

It has been usual to refer in the Report to the principal contents of the *Journal* for the past year. Volume IX., the first in the enlarged form, will compare favourably with any of its predecessors. The Report upon the recent excavations at Paphos and elsewhere in Cyprus, contributed jointly by Mr. Ernest Gardner, the Director of the Expedition, and his colleagues, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. M. R. James, and Mr. Elsey Smith, is of first-rate value, not only as a record of the work done and its results, but also as containing an exhaustive account of Paphos and the Temple of Aphrodite from the historical and literary point of view. The volume also contained the first part of an important paper by Professor Ramsay on Phrygian Art; a paper on "Countries and Cities in Ancient Art," by Professor Percy Gardner; on "The Temple of Apollo at Delphi," by Professor Middleton; on "Some Museums of Northern Europe," by Mr. Farnell. Shorter papers on Vases were contributed by Professor Gardner, Mr. Cecil Smith, and Miss Harrison; on Inscriptions, by Rev. E. L. Hicks; and on Metrology, by Professor Ridgeway. In the Appendix were published notices of the most important recent books in various departments of Hellenic archaeology.

It will be seen that the accounts which accompany this Report are presented in a form differing from that in which they have been hitherto submitted to the Society. The system now adopted will serve to show more clearly than heretofore the amounts attributable to the various heads of receipts and expenditure in the general account and the *Journal* account respectively.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of previous years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.
Subscriptions	£ 1,328	£ 472	£ *589	£ *679	£ *540	£ 532	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545
Arrears . . . . .	...	211	...	...	...	12	35	41	32
Life Compositions . . . .	...	...	...	...	115	10	95	79	47
Libraries and Back Vols. .	12	19	87	97	133	126	156	119	122
Dividends . . . . .	...	...	11	13	14	17	20	30	31
Special Receipts—									
Mr. Bent . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...
Laurentian MS. . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	53	31
Loan from Bankers . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
Balance from preceding year	1,340	702	687	789	802	697	888	861	910
	...	873	664	593	901	879	622	489	215
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165

* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.
Rent	£ 15	£ 25	£ 12	£ 25	£ 25	£ 12	£ 42	£ 15	£ 30
Insurance . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	3	5
Salaries	16	29	10	10	20	23	41	46	39
Library	33	11	5	44	3	...	4	41	15
Stationery and Printing . .	54	32	44	53	52	62	68	54	61
Cost of Journal (less sales).	347	383	284	592	574	482	412	583	1873
Grants . . . . .	...	50	...	50	*145	150	150	350	100
Investments . . . . .	...	388	...	105	...	220	300	...	...
Sundries	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	...
	467	911	358	881	824	954	1,021	1,095	1,123
Balance	873	664	593	501	879	622	489	235	42
	1,140	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165

* Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

† Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

The item in these tables which requires most comment is the charge of £873 for the *Journal* last year. The explanation of this apparently excessive amount is that it covers not only the cost of Volume IX., but that of reprinting Volumes IV. and V., and supplying 250 sets of plates for Volumes VI.—VIII., amounting in all to £437. It will be remembered that in last year's Report it was suggested that it would be necessary, in order to meet the cost of this reprint, to withdraw for a time some part of the invested funds of the Society. It has, however, been found possible to pay for the greater part of it out of current income, and in order to meet the remaining balance it has been thought better to obtain a temporary advance from the Bankers of the Society than to sell out any portion of its invested funds. The sum of £100 figures therefore in the accounts as a loan, which it is hoped that it will be found practicable to repay out of ordinary receipts. In any case, it must be borne in mind that, as mentioned in previous Reports, the sum invested includes ordinary subscriptions to the amount of £205 10s., and this sum may justly be held applicable to revenue. On the other hand the three Life Subscriptions received during the past year, amounting to £47 5s., have not yet been invested. The advance made some years ago towards the cost of photographing the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles has by this year's receipts been repaid within £10, and the sale of the copies still on hand will more than cover this amount. The balance with the Bankers on May 31st was considerably smaller than usual for the reason given above in regard to the cost of the *Journal*. The Council did not feel justified in borrowing from the Bankers more than was strictly necessary to meet the payments due up to that date. It should be added that at the balancing of the accounts there were arrears of subscriptions to the amount of £140, £26 of which have since been received by the Treasurer.

Since the last Annual Meeting thirty-four new members have been elected. Against this increase must be set the loss by death or resignation of twenty-two members, so that the nett increase is only twelve, a smaller number than in any previous year. The present total of members is 674. To the subscribers one library only has been added, while three have withdrawn their subscription, and two others have arranged in future to procure the *Journal* through their agents. The present total of subscribers is 89.

The moral to be drawn, in the opinion of the Council, alike from the foregoing survey of the development of the Society in its first ten years of existence, and from the record of the past session in particular, is that, while much has been achieved of which the Society may well be proud, much still remains to be done. If the next ten years are to be as fruitful, as full of energy, as the first, there must be no slackness on the part either of the Council or the general body of members. The promotion of the objects of the Society must be kept steadily in view. The *Journal*

must be maintained in undiminished efficiency, but the other objects, and especially the encouragement of exploration and research, and the introduction to members by photographs and otherwise of its main results, must also receive their due measure of attention.* To make this energy in various directions possible within the bounds of financial prudence, one thing is needful, a steady increase of income, resulting from a steady increase in the number of members. It is inevitable that the Society should lose some members each year by death or resignation. The average so far has been about twenty-five. Even to redress the balance at least this number of new members must be elected every year. But the Society ought not to be content with standing still. It should be the object of each member alike of the Council and of the Society at large to proselytize, so that each successive year may show an actual increase in the number of members, and thereby add to the power of the Society to carry out in every department the objects which it was founded to promote.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Prof. BALDWIN BROWN, the Report was unanimously adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then delivered the following address :—

IN a survey of Hellenic studies during the past year, the first place must be given to the researches which have been prosecuted in Greece itself, partly by the Greek Government, partly by the Greek Archaeological Society and by the Foreign Schools. And in Greece the centre of interest has once more been the Acropolis of Athens. A detailed report of the results obtained, on the Acropolis and elsewhere, since our last Annual Meeting, will shortly be given in this Society's Journal, by Mr. E. A. Gardner, the Director of the British School at Athens, whom we are glad to have present with us to-day. In the following remarks my part will therefore be restricted to indicating, as concisely as possible, the more important of these results; and afterwards I hope that we may have the advantage of hearing Mr. Gardner speak in detail on any subjects which he may consider especially deserving of notice.

The excavations on the Acropolis, which began from the Propylaea and were continued eastward, to the north of the Parthenon, have now been brought back along the south side of the Parthenon, reaching the Propylaea once more. The entire area of the Acropolis has thus been thoroughly explored, down to the bed of rock. The gains of the last twelve months from this work on the Acropolis fall under three principal heads: (1) Topography and Architecture; (2) Sculpture; (3) Inscriptions.

(1) Under the first head, notice is due to the further light which has been thrown on the prehistoric fortifications of the Acropolis. The wall

which encircled the summit of the primitive citadel was of the rude type popularly called Cyclopean or Pelasgic, and followed the natural outline of the rock, whereas the later walls were built as much as possible in straight lines. New fragments of this primitive Acropolis wall have been laid bare: and in one place—at the south-east corner of the Propylaea—it is seen to have been nearly twenty feet thick. Another discovery illustrates a point connected with the building of the Parthenon. The artificial basis or platform on which the Parthenon was built rises, on the south side, to a considerable height above the natural rock. It now appears that a limestone wall, of rude construction, was built on the south side of this platform, separated from it by a space of some twelve metres at the east end, and rather less at the west end. The object of such a limit was economy in the use of the earth or other material to be employed in raising the level, as this wall prevented too great diffusion southwards. Then, between the Parthenon and the south edge of the Acropolis, traces have been found of a rude oblong building, constructed partly with the drums of columns rejected apparently by the builders of that earlier temple—never completed—which was superseded by the Parthenon. This oblong building seems to have been covered over with earth when the Parthenon was finished, and may, it is suggested, have been a workshop used by the builders. West of the Parthenon another building has been traced by its foundations. This was a large chamber of about 130ft. by 50ft., with a portico facing north. It is conjectured that this was the *Χαλκοθήκη*, used as a repository for arms and stores. This discovery seems to show that the site of this building did not belong, as had been supposed, to the temenos of Athena Erganè. In the same part of the Acropolis area, west of the Parthenon, the temenos of Artemis Brauronia has now been more accurately defined by the traces of the porticoes which bounded it on the south and east. Within the Parthenon itself excavations have been carried on with a view to ascertaining whether the basis of the temple was a solid mass of stone, or consisted (as in many other temples) merely of foundation walls, with rubble filling the spaces between them. The results are not decisive, but show that the solid stone basis went at least some way beneath the pavement.

(2) In passing to Sculpture, mention is due, first of all, to fragments of architectural groups found buried between the basis of the Parthenon and the limestone wall, already noticed, to the south of it. These fragments are from groups which once adorned the pediments of older temples on the Acropolis—temples possibly destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. The material is a coarse stone, commonly called *pôros*, but which, as Mr. Gardner suggests, might be described, with at least less vagueness, as limestone. In one of these pediment groups the left part showed Heracles wrestling with Triton. In another, belonging to a pediment which was originally about twenty-four feet long, the right half shows a curious monster with three human bodies and six arms, which has been identified with Typhon. Some

surprise has been expressed at the fact that in these, and in some other fragments of the same character found on the Acropolis, so much prominence is given to Heracles, who is not known to have been specially worshipped on the Acropolis. It seems natural to ask whether the mythological associations of Heracles with Theseus may not help to explain it.

The year has not been barren, either, in relation to sculpture of the best time. The head of Iris—first recognised by Dr. Waldstein—has been restored to that block of the Parthenon frieze which contains the seated Zeus and Athena. From the Erechtheum frieze, another seated female figure has been found; the head has perished. An interesting and still mysterious work, belonging to the later years of the fifth century, is a relief of Athena, in chiton, diplois, and Corinthian helmet, leaning on her spear, and gazing down, as if in sorrow, on a plain square pillar. Another relief, of the year 403 B.C., shows Athena grasping the hand of a goddess who is probably the Samian Hera.

(3) Among the inscriptions found on the Acropolis in the course of the year, one of the most interesting is on the same stone with the relief of Athena last mentioned, which forms the head-piece to it. It is a copy of a decree conferring certain privileges on the Samians, in recognition of their fidelity to Athens amid her disasters at the end of the Peloponnesian war. The decree was passed at some time between the battle of Aegospotami, in the autumn of 405 B.C., and the surrender of Athens to Lysander in the following spring. The extant copy was engraved shortly after the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants, in the latter part of 403 B.C.

Another interesting inscription relates to the purchase of materials for the great chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos. It gives the amount of ivory and of gold bought for this purpose in one particular year. The purchase of these costly materials had evidently been distributed over several years. From data furnished by this inscription, combined with some others, it has been inferred that the total value of the gold on the chryselephantine Parthenos must have been about £155,000: an instructive commentary, we note in passing, on the reference of Pericles to the gold of that statue as a possible resource in financial extremity (*Thuc.* 2. 13. § 5).

We may now turn from the Acropolis to other localities. The German Institute has continued the exploration of the Theatre of Dionysus. The discovery of Greek tomb-stones in a house in the Street of the Muses, west of the *Πλάτεια τοῦ Συντάγματος*, affords a presumption that the spot on which they have been found was, in Greek times, outside the eastern wall of Athens. At the Peiræus, excavations begun by the Greek Government in July, 1888, have determined the site of the Asclepæum. At Eleusis the work carried on by the Greek Archaeological Society has led, among other things, to the finding of some small marble figures—including a copy from a group on the west pediment of the Parthenon. The French School has been active at Delos, at Amorgos, at Mantinea, and in Boeotia—where the

site of the temple of Apollo Ptoüs has been explored, and the Hieron of the Muses on Mount Helicon has been identified. Among the finds made in Boeotia may be mentioned a decree embodying a speech delivered by Nero at Corinth, when he bestowed freedom on the Greeks. Near Thespiæ, the French have discovered a theatre on the hill side, with a well-preserved proscenium of fourteen Doric columns: there was probably no raised stage. The American School has identified the deme of Plotheia, in Attica, and in Boeotia has made experimental diggings at Anthedon, at Thisbe, and at Plataea. The British School has not this year been engaged in excavation, except at Cyprus, where some of the tombs (especially those at Arsinoë) have yielded good results. But in Greece a valuable work of another kind has been commenced under the auspices of the British School. Mr. Schultz, a member of the School and a student of the Royal Academy has been employed in making drawings, to full scale, from the Greek mouldings of the best period. He has now nearly finished the series for Athens and Attica.

Thus far the work to which reference has been made belongs to the field of classical archaeology. But an interesting and important feature in the year's record is the increased attention which is being given to architecture and art of the Byzantine age. The Greek Government has made grants towards the repair of the monastery of Daphne in Attica, and of St. Luke of Stiris in Boeotia. These are among the finest examples of Byzantine work in Greece; the two churches at Stiris are said to be especially fine, though grievously dilapidated. With this province of work, too, the British School has actively associated itself. The school has undertaken to prepare a series of plans and elevations of the chief Byzantine churches in Greece, with copies of their frescoes and mosaics. During the past year, Mr. Schultz, in conjunction with Mr. Barnsley—also a student of the School and of the Royal Academy—has been working at this subject. Another year, it is hoped, may suffice to complete their labours. This new manifestation of interest in the Byzantine period may be noted with the greater satisfaction, since it has sometimes been complained that, in Greece, classical monuments have been explored at the cost of obliterating the remains of later ages.

An epitome, however brief, of the archaeological work done in Greece during the year must include a word of tribute to Mr. Kabbadias, the chief *Ἐφορος Ἀρχαιοτήτων* under the Greek Government, and editor of the excellent *Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, in which Dr. Lolling has aided him so far as inscriptions have been concerned.

In the British literature of Hellenic studies for the past year there is at least one incident which the members of this Society cannot fail to notice with interest and pleasure. While the Annual Report which we have heard read has sufficiently indicated that the Hellenic Society's Journal well maintains its position, we are glad also to acknowledge the

success which has attended a younger Journal of kindred aims, though of somewhat different scope—one of the very few, besides our own, in this country which is specially devoted to classical studies. In February last the editors of the *Classical Review*, in issuing the first part of the third annual volume, were able to announce that they had secured an object which they had long desired, viz., the co-operation of classical scholars in the United States, and that three eminent American scholars had joined the editorial staff of the *Review*. The members of this Society will, I doubt not, sympathise with the words used by the English editors in making this announcement: ‘We have great hopes,’ they said, ‘that this new development will not only afford to Englishmen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the excellent work which is being done in America, but that the closer intercourse thus established between the scholars of England and America may contribute to raise the level of classical learning wherever the English language is spoken.’ Among the varied contents of the *Classical Review* for the last year, it may be permissible to touch in passing on examples of a kind of work which is still much needed, and which, when it is well done, ought certainly to be encouraged by the gratitude of students—viz., accurate description of the classical MSS. to be found in the libraries of this country, or of others. Mr. E. M. Thompson has continued in the *Classical Review* his account of the classical MSS. in the British Museum; and Mr. T. W. Allen has contributed notes on the classical MSS. at Modena, Bologna, and Genoa.

Turning from the youngest Journal occupied with classical studies to the oldest English Society which has been their friend, we may congratulate the Society of Dilettanti on having marked the 155th year of its existence by executing a purpose formed in 1883, and publishing a second edition of Mr. Penrose’s beautiful work, *The Principles of Athenian Architecture*. First as Honorary Architect to the British School at Athens, and afterwards as its first Resident Director, Mr. Penrose has enjoyed ample opportunities of utilising, for his new edition, the results of recent discovery.

On an occasion like the present, when we look back on a year’s endeavours or achievements, it is impossible that the mind should not turn also to the memory of loss. Within the last half year, no fewer than seven distinguished classical scholars have passed away; Professor Paley; Professor J. F. Davies, of Queen’s College, Galway, well known for his work on Aeschylus; Dr. Churchill Babington, the editor of *Hypereides*; Professor Maguire, of Trinity College, Dublin, eminent alike as a literary scholar and as a Platonist; Professor Kennedy; Professor Chandler; Professor Evans, of Durham;—men whose names are associated with different types of excellence, and different paths of special study, but who were alike in the sincerity of their devotion to learning, and in the thoroughness with which they performed the chosen work of their lives. Hellenic studies owe them a manifold debt; and it is fitting that our sense

of that debt should be acknowledged to-day, though the tribute be rendered rather in grateful thought than in any adequate form of words.

It has been easier to select a few prominent topics for mention than to guard against the charge of omitting some matters that deserved notice. But for any such omissions I may hope to be excused in your eyes, partly by the extensive nature of the subject, partly by the limit of time which it was necessary to observe. I may conclude with a reflection which is naturally suggested by the retrospect in which we have been engaged. Men who are still in middle life remember a time when the place of Greek in a liberal education was as yet unchallenged. This, as we are aware, is no longer the case. But on the other hand it may be asked whether there has ever been a time when Hellenic studies, in all their various ramifications, were offering so large a scope, or were appealing with such attractive power, to the matured energies and abilities of educated men. Above all the unavoidably minute subdivisions of labour in this wide domain, there is rising a clearer perception of the fact that the paramount end of all such studies is to make the life and thought of antiquity more real and vivid to the modern world ; and that the way to do so is not to study the literature apart from the monuments, or the monuments without the literature, but to aim at making them mutually illustrative of each other.

The former President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and the following were elected to vacancies on the Council, viz. Lord Savile, Sir William Gregory, Prof. R. S. Poole, Mr. R. W. Macan, and Mr. D. G. Hogarth.

The CHAIRMAN proposed on the part of the Council the following alteration in the Rules of which due notice had been given.

Viz. That Rules 5 and 6 be repealed, and that the following be substituted for them.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions donations or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.
6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

The proposal was unanimously adopted.

MR. ERNEST GARDNER, Director of the British School at Athens, read parts of a paper on Archaeology in Greece 1888--9 (*Journal* X. p. 254).

MR. BOUSFIELD suggested the publication in the *Journal* of a map of the Acropolis as finally cleared.

The CHAIRMAN undertook that this suggestion should be considered by the Editors.

The proceedings closed with the usual vote of thanks to the Auditors and to the Chairman.

REMAINS OF ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

[PLATES III., IV.]

WHEN Mr. Wood in his patient and successful excavation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus had got down to the natural soil, he observed a number of massive piers underneath the walls of the cella, or rather where the cella walls ought to have been. On the plan in his book he indicates these piers by dotted lines, supposing them to have been made to support the walls of a church built in late times after the temple had been destroyed. It may have been so. But there appears to be no other indication of such a church on the site. This much is certain, that in building these piers a free use had been made of the fragments lying at hand from the older temple which had been destroyed by fire on the night, as we are so often told, when Alexander was born. Fragments of the old frieze and cornice would build in like so many bricks, and give the piers that solidity which Mr. Wood could only break into, as he did reluctantly, by blasting. The result of the blasting was that he obtained a number of archaic fragments of sculpture and architecture which we have now to consider. That happened in 1874. Previously in 1872, he had found some fragments of the same archaic character, not built into piers but apparently loosely mixed with sculpture of a later age.

These archaic fragments when they reached the Museum were the subject of much consideration. Sir Charles Newton dealt with them in a paper in the *Portfolio* (June, 1874), suggesting that they might be the remains of a small *θρυγκός* which Pausanias (x. 38, 3) says ran along the top of the altar of Artemis Protothronia at Ephesus, above which there stood among other figures a statue of Night, by the early artist Rhoecus.¹ It must have been this association of the marble *θρυγκός* with an artist like Rhoecus that led Sir Charles Newton to this suggestion. Rhoecus is too early for sculpture of this kind. Besides it is proposed to show that these

¹ See also Wood's *Ephesus*, p. 241.

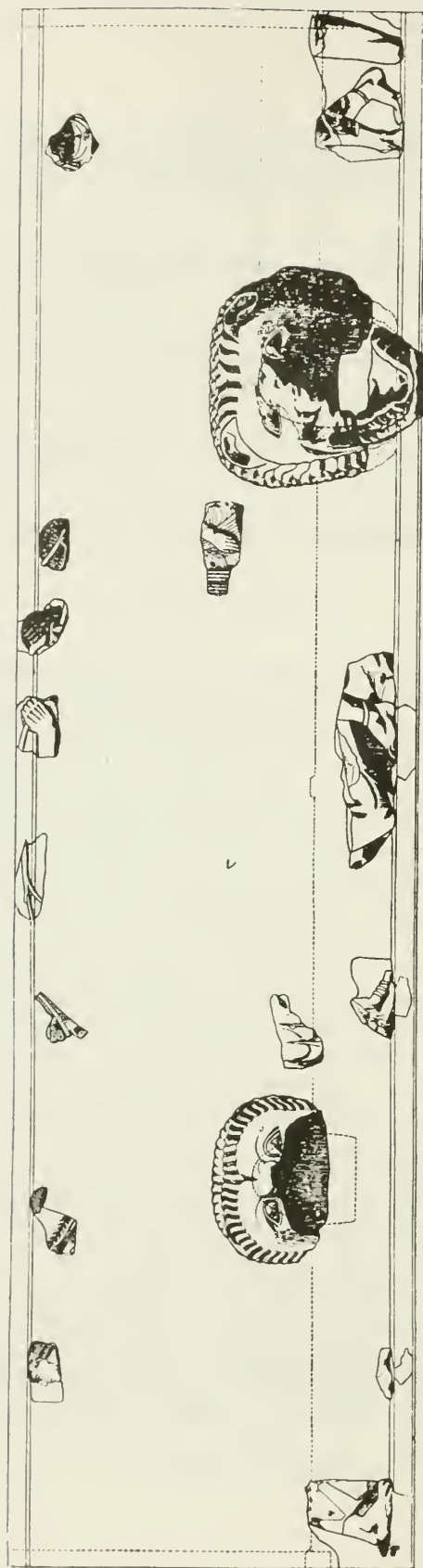


FIG. 1.

fragments belonged to the cornice of the temple itself. One of the results of my endeavours to put these fragments together is exhibited in a drawing here (Fig. 1). The actual re-construction may be seen in the Archaic room of the Museum. I do not claim that every fragment is in absolutely its right place. But it seemed a matter of so much importance to show what the cornice of the old temple was like, that I have ventured to place the fragments here in

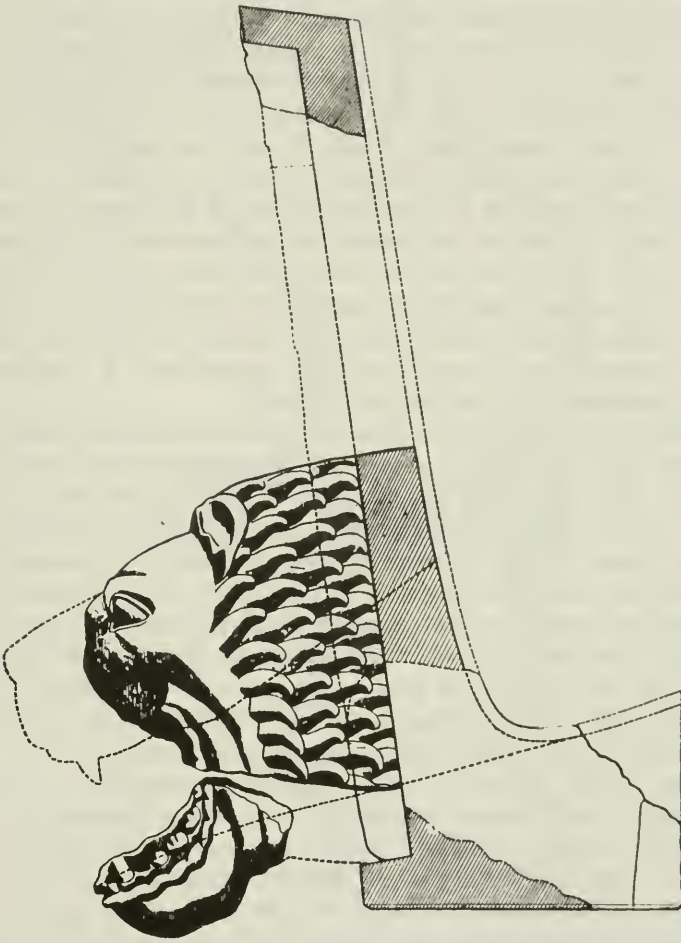


FIG 2.

their relatively true places. It would have been pedantry not to do so much, since each fragment is in its place relatively at least, and possibly in its true place absolutely.

We have thus a cornice in which the spaces between the lions' heads where the rain on the roof escaped, are occupied not by floral ornaments as in the later temple, and in Greek architecture in general, but by groups

sculptured with extraordinary minuteness and delicacy, so much so that Mr. Wood could not at first sight believe the re-construction possible. A few moments of observation convinced him that the thing was right. He was good enough to send me his measurements for the distance between the lions' heads, and they agreed very closely with what I had arrived at. The height of the cornice was taken from a comparison with the reliefs of the Harpy tomb in the Museum, which belong to about the same period of art.

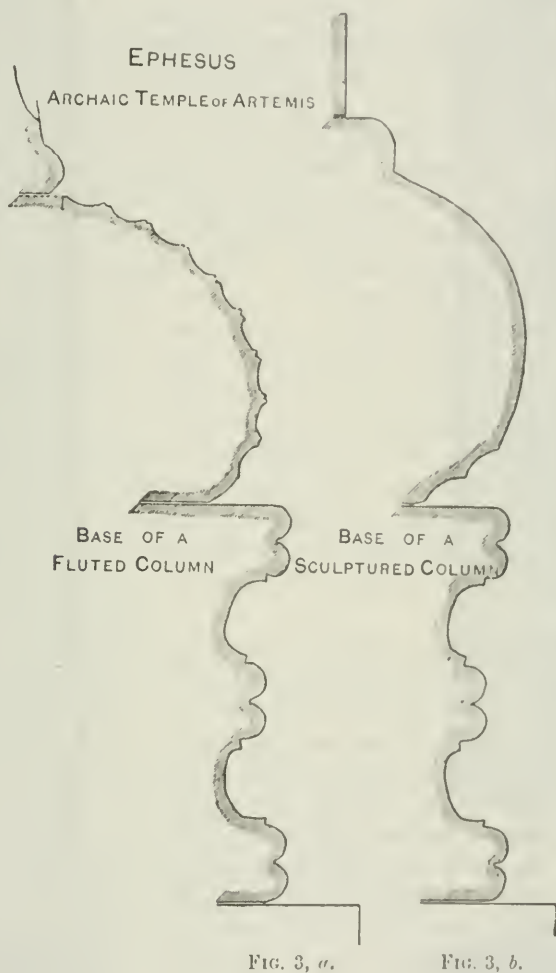
It may be mentioned that though we possess a considerable number of fragments from what I have claimed as the cornice of the temple, yet hardly any two of them have been found to fit together, notwithstanding long and continuous efforts. From this it may be argued that these many isolated fragments had belonged to a very extensive piece of sculpture, such as the cornice of a great temple, they being a mere fraction of the whole. In restoring a part of the cornice from them, I was led originally by the observation that the working of the back and joints of the stones is precisely of the same kind as that of the cornice of the later temple, regular divisions being made in the gutter so that the water collecting from the roof might flow out at the lions' mouths at regular intervals (Fig. 2). No doubt the cornice as here restored wants the graceful profile of later architecture, but that, I understand, is not altogether without precedent. A selection from the remaining fragments will be found on Plate IV.

As regards the designs represented in these sculptures, we may suppose either that they had formed a continuous subject, separated into groups by the lions' heads, or that they had consisted of an extensive series of separate subjects, in the manner of metopes. In either case this separation of sculptured groups may throw some light on the origin of metopes. I have only attempted to suggest one group in the centre of the diagram, a group which may be restored as the combat of a Greek and a Centaur following the analogy of a gem engraved in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (I. p. 130). The Centaur has human not equine forelegs—a circumstance familiar in archaic art. The hand holding a branch, which is let in at the top, is so suitable for a Centaur, that I need not quote instances of it.

In the matter of artistic style, reference has already been made to the Harpy tomb. The Ephesian cornice is on a rather smaller scale, and the figures more minutely finished. Except for that the comparison ought to stand good. The date usually assigned to the Harpy tomb is about 550 B.C. There is no reason why our cornice should not be about the same period.

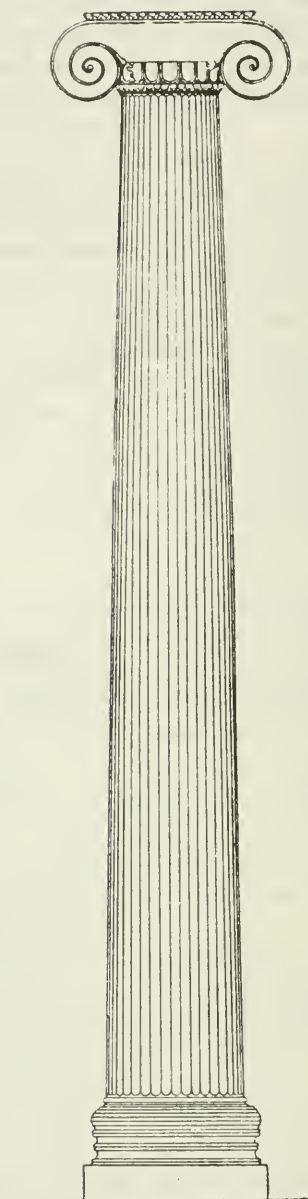
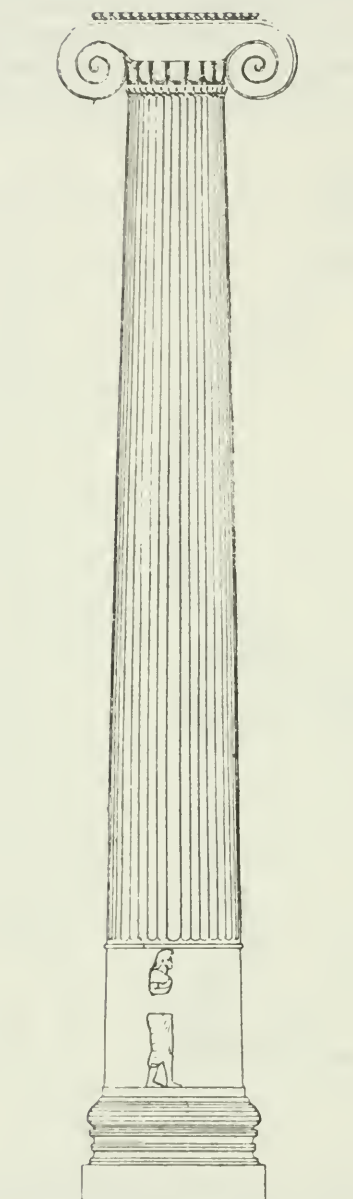
Among the other fragments of the archaic temple were some which have been known for a while as remains of sculptured columns (see Plate III). It was known in a general way that the sculptured columns—columnæ coelatae—which adorned the temple of Alexander's time, as we learn from Pliny, and from the sculptured drums found by Mr. Wood, had in fact been copied from the older temple, not necessarily as regards the subjects, still less as regards the style, but in the general idea. No one however took up the idea to work it out or disprove it. We have now put together part of one of these archaic columns. As regards the figure on the lowest drum, I do not of

course vouch that the upper part belongs absolutely to the lower. It is a matter of general truth only. There must have been some such upper part to the figure. The whole answers fairly to the Hermes on an archaic vase from Corinth, in the British Museum. It will be observed that under the feet of the figure is a flat band, which does not exist in the later temple. Next comes a torus moulding, as in the later temple, but smaller. In the



restoration of this moulding I have employed the fragments which, according to Mr. Hicks' quite obvious conjecture, are inscribed with the name and dedication of Croesos.¹ We were guided to that by a large piece of unfinished base moulding in the Museum, on the upper edge of which is carved a torus exactly the same as that of the inscribed fragments (Fig. 3, *b*). Finding

¹ *Manual of Greek Hist. Inscript.* No. 4



5 0 5 10 15 FEET

FIG. 4, *a*.FIG. 4, *b*

several pieces of this upper member finished with horizontal flutings but incomplete at the top, I have placed the inscribed fragments above them. Those who recollect the base of the later temple, in the Museum, will know that it has in this place a fluted member of this same character. The profile, however, is quite different, as would be expected in architecture of such widely different dates.

Finding that up to this point the new temple had in general copied the old, I decided, after an unsatisfactory experiment, to try whether the remaining base of the new temple might give a clue for restoring the lowest part of the archaic base. Among the archaic fragments we found a number of pieces which answered perfectly to this idea (Figs. 3, *a* and 5). The result is that we have a general resemblance between the new and the old bases, but many points of detail in which the one differs from the other.

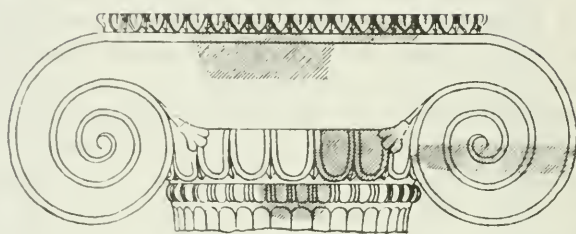
The sculpture of the archaic columns, so far as I can judge, is of the same period as the cornice (see Plate III. and Fig. 4, *a*). The forms are of course larger and more simply treated. But the workmanship is of the same delicate archaic kind. On the column the remains of colour are slighter than on the cornice, where in some parts they are quite brilliant in reds and blues. We have the same reds in parts of the columns, and in other fragments we have remains of blue; the marble also is of the same quality, finer than that of the later temple, or at all events made to look finer by most careful workmanship. This workmanship is conspicuous in the architectural mouldings and flutings as compared with the later temple. Though I had no hesitation in selecting these archaic fragments, I have been glad since then to find the selection confirmed by an observation of our invaluable mason Pinker to this effect, that there is no trace of the use of a claw tool in the archaic remains. It abounds in the later temple.

But we have still some fragments to deal with. For instance, there are some pieces of fluted columns, including a large piece of a shaft, and a small piece of a lowermost drum, with an inscribed torus moulding, indicating a dedication, whether by Croesos or not we cannot say. We know from Herodotus (I. 92), that Croesos bore the expense of most of the columns of the temple as it existed in the time of Herodotus. We are entitled to assume that the older, like the later temple, had only a limited number of sculptured columns; the rest being merely fluted, as shown in Fig. 4, *b*. Some of the inscribed fragments clearly belong to fluted columns, and may have been the gift of other persons, though no name but that of Croesos has been recovered. It should be stated that the fragments which I have put together as bearing the name Βα[σιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέ[θηκε]ν cannot have belonged to absolutely the same stone, since one has a top bed and another a bottom bed. Yet they must obviously have belonged to the same member in different columns.

We cannot well assume that the entire column had been sculptured from bottom to top, or even up the length of three drums, as Mr. Wood preferred for the later temple. It would be better to be content with only a lowermost sculptured drum on the analogy of Egyptian columns, as at Karnak and Medinet Abou, where we have only one row of figures, the rest of the column

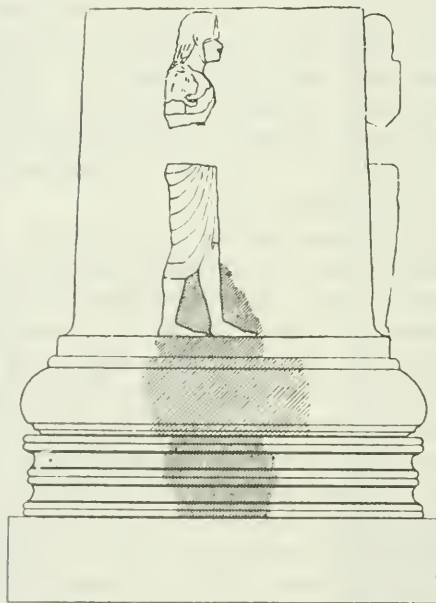
EPHESUS

ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS



PLAN

HATCHING SHOWS
EXISTING PORTIONS



Scale of Feet



FIG. 5.

being covered by mere patterns. If then the Ephesian columns were fluted all the way down to the lowermost drum, it is conceivable that the fluted fragment of which I have spoken may have come immediately above the sculptured drum. A strong objection however is, that the inscription is so placed on the torus as to be looked down on, not up to.

As I am not proposing to deal with the whole question of this archaic temple, only with such parts as appear to have been made out, it will be enough to mention further, that we possess a stone from the cella wall and several fragments which have enabled Mr. Elsey Smith to restore the capital and necking of a column (Fig. 5). On one of these fragments are remains of strong red colour. On another, a hollow line running round the volute has been filled in with lead, and gilded. On a third, the canal of the volute instead of being hollow is raised precisely as in the capital of the archaic temple at Samos.

The date of the archaic temple from which these fragments have so strangely survived, is I think determined by the inscribed mouldings bearing the name of Croesos, taken together with the statement of Herodotus, that most of the columns had been the gift of that king. Herodotus spoke of the temple which existed in his time, and he had good means of knowing the truth from his residence close at hand in Samos. Croesos, we are told, had at one time laid siege to Ephesus, on which occasion the Ephesians had sought protection by connecting the temple of Artemis with the city walls by means of a rope. For some reason or other, whether before that incident or after it, a new temple certainly was built, largely by the aid of Croesos. The architect for a while was Chersiphron, of whom we hear in various ways. The sculptured columns must have been executed during his office. But nothing is said of the sculptors who had been employed. In connection with them I have only a passing conjecture to offer.

Comparing these archaic fragments from Ephesus with the marble statue of Nikè by Archermos, now in the Museum at Athens, I thought that the differences of style were of such a kind as would be expected from a son of Archermos. They are the differences of a new generation at a time of active progress in art. Archermos was followed and surpassed by his son Bupalos, whose works we are told were much admired centuries after his time in Rome, where many of them were to be seen. Greece was plundered for his works. Bupalos and the family of sculptors to which he belonged worked in marble. He was an architect, and sculptured reliefs in marble. We read of figures of the Graces by him in Smyrna and Pergamon. He had therefore been employed in the immediate neighbourhood of Ephesus. That he worked in Ephesus is not directly stated. We know this however, that the poet Hipponax was a native of Ephesus, that Bupalos made caricatures of the poet, that Hipponax revenged himself by a stinging satire in iambics—'Acer hostis Bupalos,' as Horace says. There is of course no proof that this happened in Ephesus, the native town of Hipponax. It might have happened in Clazomenae, where Hipponax lived after he had been expelled from Ephesus on account of his poetic satires. But the style of the sculpture has strongly impressed me as just such as would be expected from a sculptor of the age

10 REMAINS OF ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEBUS.

and traditions of Bupalos. About the contemporaneousness of Croesos, Hipponax, Bupalos, and these sculptured fragments, I see no reason to have the smallest doubt, and if that is so, we obtain a standard of date which will be useful in reference to other archaic sculptures, such as the Harpy tomb, the Branchidae statues, and in particular the metopes of the oldest temple at Selinus in Sicily.

A. S. MURRAY.

THE GREEK-SPEAKING POPULATION OF SOUTHERN ITALY.

It will probably be a surprise, even to readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, to learn that there are at the present day twenty thousand persons in the south of Italy who speak Greek as their native tongue. These people form two separate groups, composed of a number of villages or townships, one of which is found in the heel of Italy or Terra d'Otranto, the other in the toe of that country, towards the extremity of the modern Calabria, in the neighbourhood of Cape Spartivento, and about twenty miles to the south-east of Reggio. The language which they speak, as might well be supposed, is not ancient Greek, nor is it in any sense a lineal descendant of that which was spoken in the colonies of Magna Græcia; but, though it is essentially modern Greek, it differs considerably from the Romaic of Greece, and these differences are of such a nature, that it must have required the lapse of many centuries to produce them. There can be no doubt that at one time it was spoken over a much wider area than at present; indeed, within the memory of man it has died out, and has been superseded by Italian, in places where it had previously been in use. Any traditions which may have existed with regard to the origin of this people and the fortunes of their ancestors they have now entirely lost; and their history, as far as it can be discovered at all, must be reconstructed from casual notices in historical documents and from intimations contained in the language. The object of the present paper is to draw attention to some of the more salient characteristics of that language, and to the poems which have been composed in it; and afterwards to discuss the evidence which may be drawn from these and other sources with regard to the immigration of these Greeks into Italy. The information which it contains is mainly drawn from the works of earlier authorities, of whose learned labours some account will be given later on; but during the autumn of 1887 I myself visited both these colonies, with the object of inquiring into their present condition, and of verifying a number of interesting points relating to the language. My informants on the spot (to whom I desire to tender my sincere thanks) were two intelligent Greeks—for the Otranto district, the parish priest of Sternatia, the Rev. Giuseppe Ancora; for the Calabrian group, Sig. Vitale Pietro, the schoolmaster of Bova.

The peninsula which forms the heel of Italy, starting, as its base, from a line drawn across from Brindisi to Taranto, is throughout its whole area a slightly undulating level, and Lecce, which is its principal city, stands near

its centre. It is in the inland region to the southward of that place that the towns and villages lie where Greek is spoken. At the present time they are nine in number, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants in all, viz. Martáno, Caliméra, Melpignáno, Castrignáno, Zollíno, Martignáno, Sternatía, Soléto, and Corigliáno. Of these, Zollino forms the junction, where the railway which runs south from Lecce divides into two branches, one of which reaches the sea at Otranto towards the south-east, the other at Gallipoli towards the south-west; and the other towns lie either on, or at no great distance from, one or other of those lines. The position which is occupied by the Greek settlements in Calabria forms a strong contrast to this, for it is completely a mountain region. The traveller, indeed, who passes Cape Spartivento in the train, may see a station named Bova on the sea-coast; but the town of that name, which is the head-quarters of this colony, and is called Vua (*Βούα*) by its inhabitants, lies eight miles inland, on the summit of a peak 3,000 feet above the sea, and can only be reached by a steep foot-path. Its strange situation recalls that of Sta Agnese, the hill-town at the back of Mentone. Within, owing to the ruggedness of the ground, the houses are piled irregularly on one another, and the streets zigzag at odd angles. Its various localities bear Greek names; one square is called Amalía (*i.e.* *Ῥαμλία*), 'the level,' another Itonía (*i.e.* *Γειτονία*) Megíle, 'the great neighbourhood'; a street is named Aion Tríphono (San Trifone); and the three fountains are Siphóni, Petrophýlaco, and Cleisté, the last of these being a double spring, with a trough for washing, covered in by an arch of masonry. The other Greek-speaking towns in its neighbourhood are Condofúri (*i.e.* *Κοντοχώριον*, or 'the village near' Bova), with Amendoléa and Gallicianó; Roccaforte, called by the Greeks Vuní or 'mountain-town' (*Βουνίον*); and Rofúdi or Rochúdi (*Ροχούδιον*), a name which describes its rocky site (*ράχη*, 'mountain ridge'). The population of these amounts to five thousand. At Cardeto, where a peculiar dialect, differing in many important points from those of its neighbours, was until lately in use, the Greek language has now disappeared—fortunately, not before its pronunciation had been observed and its vocabulary and grammatical forms had been registered. Another trace of a wider diffusion of the language and people remains in the name Pentedattilo, the same which, in its more accurate form of Pentedactylon, is familiar to the traveller in the Peloponnese as the modern appellation of Taygetus. Here it is attached to a steep and solitary mass of rock, rising into five columnar peaks, which forms a conspicuous object in the view from the sea, as the voyager passes out of the Straits of Messina on his way to Greece. The village of the same name, which occupies a precipitous position on its landward side, no doubt was once Greek, but now its inhabitants are merged in the surrounding Italian population.

The Greeks of Bova appear to be much poorer than those of the Terra d'Otranto—a result which might naturally arise from the country which they inhabit being less productive and harder to cultivate; but in both districts the pursuits of the people are almost entirely agricultural, and notwithstanding that they live within easy reach of the sea, they never go abroad or engage in

commerce. Though a few of the peasants who live at a distance from the town of Bova speak Greek only, yet the great majority, both there and in the heel of Italy, are bilingual, being equally familiar with Greek and Italian. From this fact it would be natural to conclude that they are losing their native language, especially as we find that the same process of change has already been going on; and in the Terra d'Otranto, where the progress of railways has brought them into closer communication with the outer world, it might be expected that they would be rapidly assimilated. But in reality this has not happened, and the anticipation of Morosi, the chief authority on subjects relating to them, who, writing in 1870, expressed his belief that in two generations the Greek language in these parts would be extinct, has not been verified. On the contrary, I was assured by members of both groups that at the present time they have no fear of this result. Up to seven years of age, they said, the children speak nothing but Greek; and though in the schools their instruction is confined to Italian, yet, like the Highlanders with their Gaelic, in their families they only employ their native tongue, and they are very tenacious in retaining it. Still, it is difficult to see how they can for any length of time resist the influences by which they are surrounded, when the counteracting forces are wanting by which the tide might be stemmed. In the first place, they possess no Greek books, and do not use the Greek character in writing. To the philologist who investigates their language the advantage of this is great, because the dialects retain their purity, and cannot be tampered with by the introduction of classical forms; but, at the same time, it is almost impossible to retain a language permanently, in the face of one that is more dominant, without a written literature. Again, they have no feeling of nationality to support them. Of the kingdom of Greece they know nothing, and when I talked to them on the subject, they manifested no interest in it or in the Greek people. The two groups of Greeks in Italy, of whom I am speaking, though they are aware of one another's existence, are mutually unacquainted, and no communication ever passes between them. The Greek colony that is settled in Corsica is unknown to them. Politically, their desire is to be regarded as good Italian subjects, and in conversation they identify themselves with Italy and its interests. Though they rarely intermarry with their Italian neighbours, yet they are on good terms with them; and the bar of religious difference, which must once have interposed between them, has been removed by centuries of conformity to the Western rite. A trace of former antagonism, combined perhaps with a reminiscence of the early ecclesiastical distinction, is found in their still calling the Italians 'Latins' (Λατίνοι); as, for instance, in a love-song, where the lover tells his lady that he wishes to teach her a sonnet in Greek, in order that the 'Latins' may not understand what he says:—

Ἦτελα νά σου μάσω ἕνα sonetto
Γρηκὸ, νὰ μὴ τὸ φέρουνε οἱ Λατίνοι

where ἦτελα, μάσω, and φέρουνε stand for ἤθελα, μάθω, and ἡξεύρουν.

The earliest inquiries that were made concerning this people and their

language are associated with a number of distinguished literary names. Though vague intimations of their existence had been furnished by travellers, such as Swinburne, Eustace, and Keppel Craven, yet the first person who really threw light on the subject, and brought it under the notice of men of letters, was Carl Witte, the famous Dante scholar. When journeying as a young man in South Italy, he was informed at Reggio that there were Greeks in that neighbourhood, and accordingly he put himself at once in communication with some of the inhabitants of the Bova district. The result was that he succeeded in writing down from the mouth of the people in Roman letters about fifty Greek words, together with three songs; and these he afterwards submitted to Cardinal Mezzofanti, who transcribed them—with a somewhat free adaptation, it must be allowed—into Greek. One of the songs was published by Witte in 1821 in the *Gesellschafter*, together with a short introductory notice, in which he advocated the notion, that the dialect in which it was composed was independent of Modern Greek, and had descended in a direct line from the speech of Magna Graecia. This seems to have attracted little notice at the time, and must have been unknown to Niebuhr, when, six years later, he published the first volume of his *History of Rome*; otherwise he would certainly have cited it in support of the view expressed in the following passage, which is still interesting, though it is now acknowledged to be untenable.

‘Calabria, like Sicily, continued to be a Greek country, though the Romans planted colonies on the coasts. The Greek language did not begin to give way there till the fourteenth century: it is known to have prevailed not three hundred years since at Rossano, and no doubt much more extensively; for our knowledge of the fact as to that little town is merely accidental. Nay, at this day there is a population that speaks Greek remaining in the neighbourhood of Locri.’¹

It happened, however, that, long after this, Witte chanced to broach the subject in the course of a conversation with Prof. A. F. Pott; and that distinguished philologist became so much interested in the question, that he obtained leave to publish all three of the songs, as well as Witte’s list of words; this he did in 1856 in the eleventh volume of the *Philologus*, in a paper entitled ‘Altgriechisch im heutigen Calabrien?’ He there confutes Niebuhr’s and Witte’s view of the continuity of the Greek race and language in Italy by a minute examination of the vocabulary and inflexions, in which he shows that they are closely allied to those now in use in Greece.

The inquiry, which thus far had been pursued in a somewhat *dilettante* spirit, was now taken in hand in good earnest by the Italians themselves. To pass over a number of minor contributions to the subject—in 1866 Prof. Comparetti published at Pisa, under the title of *Saggi dei dialetti greci dell’Italia Meridionale*, a collection of forty-three poems, thirty-eight of which were from Bova—having been for the most part obtained for him by a former

¹ Niebuhr, *History of Rome* (Eng. trans.), i. 62. In his note to this passage, the author

refers to the Neapolitan minister, Count Zurlo, as his authority for the last statement.

pupil of his, Prof. Terra of Reggio—and the remaining five from the Terra d'Otranto. The introduction and notes to this volume are of great value on account of the accomplished writer's intimate acquaintance with the Modern Greek language and its dialects. In 1867 Prof. Morosi, who had been appointed to a post in Lecce, set to work to study on the spot the language of the Greeks in those parts, and to collect their literature; and the result of his labours appeared in his *Studi sui dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 1870). This admirable book, which is a model of acute and thoroughly scientific investigation in the domain of philology, contains 177 songs, and a collection of stories and proverbs in prose, with Italian translations; a critical review of these compositions; a grammar, in which the sounds of the language and the changes which they have undergone, and the system of inflexions, are fully set forth; a glossary of the most important words; and a historical essay on the origin and history of this Greek colony. The poems have here been arranged according to the townships from which they come, so that the dialectic peculiarities of each can be studied separately; and in other ways the careful manner in which the linguistic features of each community have been distinguished is singularly instructive to the student of dialects. The only point in Prof. Morosi's treatment of his subject to which exception can be taken, is his too great fondness for discovering traces of the classical dialects—Aeolic, Doric, and Ionic—in the modern Greek language, a view which is rapidly losing ground at the present time. In 1874 the same writer published another book on the poems and the language of the Calabrian Greeks—*Dialetti romaici del Mandamento di Bova in Calabria*—which is arranged according to the same method, and is distinguished by the same merits, as its predecessor. Finally, in 1880, Prof. Pellegrini, who during his residence as professor at Reggio had investigated the subject independently, in a volume entitled *Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova* printed seventy-five songs from that district, thirty-eight of which then appeared for the first time; the remainder were the same which Comparetti had previously published, but in the case of twenty-five of them the new editor obtained fresh, and in some points different, versions. To these he added translations of the story of Joseph and his brethren, and of the parable of the Prodigal Son, in the Greek of Bova; and an excellent lexicon, in which the words of this dialect are compared with those which correspond to them in the dialect of the Terra d'Otranto, and in Modern Greek.¹ In the works of the three authors who have been mentioned in this paragraph the subject may be said to have been thoroughly sifted; and it is to them that I am indebted for the materials of which this article is composed.

It is obviously impossible for me within my present limits to give, even in outline, an account of these dialects; and for this I may refer the reader to Morosi's publications, though that which relates to the Terra d'Otranto is, I grieve to say, extremely rare. But in order to render the specimens of the

¹ The second volume of this work, which was and general conclusions, has never appeared.
to have contained the phonology, morphology,

literature which follow more intelligible than they otherwise might be, as well as on account of the interest of the subject itself, it may be well that I should here draw attention to some of their more salient peculiarities, and especially to those in which they differ from ordinary Modern Greek. For clearness sake I will mention first those that are found (with slight differences) in both dialects, and afterwards those that are confined to the Otrantine and the Calabrian respectively. It may be convenient to use the following abbreviations. A.G. for Ancient Greek, M.G. for Modern Greek, Otr. for the Greek of the Terra d'Otranto, Bov. for that of Bova.

General Remarks on both Dialects.

SOUNDS.—(1) The pronunciation both of vowels and consonants is in most points the same as in Greece, and itacism prevails to the same extent; but κ is soft (Eng. *ch*) before soft vowels, as it is also in many of the Greek islands and in the south of the Morea. In Otr. also the letter δ , which in M.G. and Bov. has the sound of soft *th* (as in Eng. *this*), is pronounced like *d*. (2) Owing to the influence of the Calabrian and other neighbouring dialects of Italian, which substitute *dd* for *ll*, in the Greek dialects $\lambda\lambda$ becomes *dd*, as *dddo* for *ἄλλος*, *φddo* for *φύλλον*, *βddw* for *βάλλω*, *madđi* for *μαλλί*, 'hair'; and the same is the case with λ between vowels, as *āpriddi* for *ἄπριλιος*, 'April,' *barēddi* for *βαρέλιον*, 'barrel,' *puoddı* for *πουλί*, 'bird,' *perdikoudda* for *περδικούλα*, 'partridge.' It is noticeable that in one place, the village of Cardeto near Bova, where the Greek language has recently become extinct, this change did not occur, but the original sound of $\lambda\lambda$ was retained. (3) Probably the influence of the Italian dialects also caused the broad *u*-sound (*ou*) frequently to take the place of *o*: the *u*-sound predominates in Calabrian, as *maneu* for *manco*, *sulo* for *solo*, *doru* for *doro*; and, though it is often found taking the place of ω in M.G. dialects, as *kātu* for *κάτω*, *ōxu* for *ἔξω*, yet in the Italian Greek dialects, especially in Bov., it is much more common, as *ēxu* for *ἔσω*, *skoulhki* for *σκωλήκι*. Other changes in words fall under the following heads. (4) *Assimilation*; as Otr. *lunno* for *λύχνος*, *kanızo* for *καπνίζω*, 'I smoke,' *psunnāw* for *ἐξυπνāw*, *ēsēiouttai* for *σείονται*, *ēgētti* for *ἐγένθη*: Bov. *gunnō* for *γυμνός*, *skanı* for *σκαμνίον*, *pēttw* for M.G. *pēftw* (*πίπτω*). (5) *Transposition of consonants*; as Otr. *priko* for *πικρός*, *chroudo* for *χονδρός*, 'stout'; Bov. *grambo* for *γαμβρός*, *prandēw* for *ὑπανδρεύω*, 'I marry,' *spwmi* for *ψωμί*, *sulāuri* for *συραύλιον* (M.G. *σουραύλι*) 'reed-pipe.' (6) *Loss of initial vowels*; as Otr. *kōw* for *ἀκούω*, *milō* for *ὀμιλō*, *phānei* for *ὑφαίνει*, *noiftw* for *ἀνοίφτω* (= *ἀνοίγω*), *nafse* for *ἀναψε* (= *ἀναψον*); Bov. *mati* for *ἰμάτιον*, *stēa* for *ὀστέα*, *katō* for *ἐκάτον*, *drōnw* for *ἰδρώω*, *gapāw* for *ἀγαπάω*, *sāzei* for *ἰσάζει*. (7) *Prothetic vowels*; both before two initial consonants, as Otr. *aftecho* for *πτωχός*, *ēftāzw* for *φθάνω*: Bov. *ābdēlla* for *βδέλλα*, *āblēpw* for *βλέπω*, *ēbrēchi* for *βρέχει*: and also before one only, as Otr. *alāw* for *λαγώς*, *ilēw* for *λέγω*, *ichānei* for *χάνει*, 'he loses,' *ikaızei* for *καθίζει*; Bov. *Āpanagıa* for *Παναγία*, *ānogıw* for *νοέω*. (8) *Prothetic vowels*; as Otr. *kānune* for *κάνουν*,

'they make,' *τόνε* for *τόν*: *Bov.* (in some local dialects) *λόγοσε* for *λόγος*, *ἡμέισε* for *ἡμεῖς*. Changes corresponding in principle to those enumerated under the last five heads are found also in the dialects of Modern Greek.

ACCENTS.—These are generally the same as in *M.G.*, but in both the Italian Greek dialects we find certain irregularities; *e.g.* *Otr.* *τερμάσι* for *θέρμανσις*, *ἀδεία* for *ἄδεια*, *φτηνό* for *κτῆνος*, and *όλος* occasionally for *ὅλος*, though in this word the accentuation varies: *Bov.* *χάμαι* for *χαμαί*, *ἀνιζίο* for *ἀνεψιός*, *δαμάσκηνο* for *δαμασκηνό*, 'plum,' *κάταρα* for *κατάρα*. In both dialects the plural of *ἄνθρωπος* does not retain its normal accent; in *Otr.* we find sing. *ἄτρεπο*, plur. *ἀτρώποι*; in *Bov.* sing. *ἄθρωπο*, plur. *ἀθρώποι*; and a similar irregularity is found in some other words, as *ἀπόστολος*, *ἀποστόλοι*. In both, also, the adverb signifying 'yet,' 'still,' which in *M.G.* is *ἀκόμη*, appears as *ἀκομή*: possibly, however, this is not a corruption, but a retention of the accent of the classical *ἀκμήν*, from which the word is derived, and which is found in this sense from the time of Theocritus onwards. In both the word, which in *A.G.* and *M.G.* is *παλαιός*, has become *παλαῖα*. But the most remarkable change is that which has befallen *αὐτός*, which in *Otr.* is *αὐτο*, in *Bov.* *ἄστο*; this however, is occasionally found in Mediaeval Greek (see *J.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 205, 213). It is noticeable, also, that the tendency to throw forward the accent of words on to the final syllable, which is so common in Modern Greek, as *ἐκκλησιά*, *φωτιά*, hardly prevails at all in Italy.

INFLEXIONS.—In these the most marked peculiarity is the loss of final consonants, which is probably attributable in great measure to the influence of Italian. In Modern Greek *ν* is constantly dropped at the end of the nom. and accus. sing., as *νερό* for *νερόν*, *ἄγριο* for *ἄγριον*, *τὸν κόσμο* for *τὸν κόσμον*, *τὴν θάλασσα* for *τὴν θάλασσαν*: and occasionally in verb. forms, as *ἤϋραμε* for *ἤϋραμεν* &c.: but here both *ν* and *ς* are regularly lost in all cases of nouns and persons of verbs, unless they are followed by an initial vowel, or, in the case of *ν*, by a guttural. Considerable confusion has thus been introduced into the inflexions; *e.g.* *λόγου* stands for gen. sing., and accus. plur., *ἀγάπη* for nom. accus., and gen. sing., *γράφει* for 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. On the other hand, not only *ν*, but also *ς* is occasionally interposed to prevent hiatus between words; and in the gen. plur. in *Otr.* the *ς* has come to be usually attached to the form, when it is followed by an initial vowel, the *ν* having been previously lost, as *τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω* for *τῶν ἀποθαμμένων*. The article has especially suffered in this way, because throughout its declension it has frequently lost also the initial *τ*: hence *τό* and *τόν* are both corrupted into *ὀ*, and thus become indistinguishable from *ὀ*, since here, as elsewhere in Modern Greek, the sound of the aspirate is lost. Both in *Otr.* and *Bov.* much irregularity has crept into the use of the gender of the article, the masc. and neut. being often confused, as *τὸ καιρό* (nom.) for *ὁ καιρός*, *τὸν γαῖμα* for *τὸ αἶμα* (accus.). The dative case is lost, and has usually been replaced by the genitive, as *σοῦ ἔστειλε*, 'he sent to you'; more rarely by the accusative with a preposition. Verbs with vowel-stems generally insert a consonant (which in the majority of cases is *ν*) after the stem in the present tense; as *κλάνω* for

κλαίω, κλείνω for κλείω, περάνω for περάω, ἀπανταίνω for ἀπαντάω. This feature, which is of common occurrence in Greece, is especially prevalent in the dialect of Bova, but it applies less to verbs in -εω than to other contract verbs; these however have not retained their original form, but in most cases have changed into -αω, as ζητάω (ζητέω), φιλάω (φιλέω), ἀκολουθάω (ἀκολουθέω). Italian verbs, when they are imported or borrowed, as they have been in large numbers, generally take the termination in -εω (pronounced *eguo*), as penseνω (*pensu*), λοδεύω (*lodo*),adoreύω (*adoru*); a small number take -αζω, as mugghiιάζω (*mugghio*).

WORDS.—The negative, which in M.G. is δέν (οὐδέν), in Bov. takes the forms of δέν, δέ, έν and έ, while in Otr. it is only found as έ, and έν before vowels. In both dialects 'neither—nor,' is expressed by δέ—δέ, and the prohibitive particle is μή, μήν. 'No one' is τίσπο, i.e. τίς ποτε, the interrogative being used for the negative: it is natural to suppose that this form must once have existed in M.G., since the neuter of the same, τίποτε, is the regular word for 'nothing' in that language. Otr. ιτου, Bov. ωτου, 'thus,' are from οὕτω, and in this way are probably connected with M.G. ετзи for ούτωσί: while Otr. ιτοϋ, Bov. έτοϋ, 'here,' are from αὐτοϋ, and thus are probably connected with M.G. εδώ. Otr. άφσε, Bov. άζε, 'from,' is possibly a combination of από and ές, or perhaps a corruption of έξ. Both use γιά, a common dialectic M.G. form of διά, which in Otr. sometimes is lengthened into γιάι: this is to be distinguished from γιαί, 'because,' which is for M.G. διατί (= διότι). The change in the meaning of words from that which they bear in ancient and modern Greek is often instructive. Both in Otr. and Bov. μελετω is used for 'I read'; thus it is said of a letter, δός το του servo σου ν' δ μελετήση, 'give it to thy servant that he may read it.' Φωτία, M.G. for 'fire,' is here used almost invariably in the sense of 'anguish.' Otr. σώζω, Bov. σώνω, means 'I am able.' Κούω (ἀκούω) is used for 'I feel'; thus in Bov. κούω ψυχράδα means 'I feel cold'; and, in an Otr. version of the *Stabat Mater*, Πόση doglia εις τη καρδιά Γιαί δ παιδιν ήκουσε έσύ; signifies, 'How great sorrow did'st thou feel in thy heart for thy Son?'

Peculiarities of the Dialect of the Terra d'Otranto.

SOUNDS.—(1) The consonants κ, γ, τ, δ, β, ν, are frequently lost between vowels; e.g. κ in πλέω for πλέκω, στέω for στέκω: γ in αλίω for αλίγον, ρήα for ρήγας, 'king,' μέα for μέγας, πάο for πάγος, 'ice'; τ in τόα for τότε, τουο for τούτο, ακάου for κάτω, γιαί for διατί: δ in δίω for δίδω (δίδωμι), βράϋ for βράδυ, 'evening,' αλάι for ελάδιον (M.G. λάδι) 'oil'; β in πρόατα for πρόβατα, φών for φόβον, κροάτι for κρεβάτι, 'bed'; ν in άπάου for επάνω, κείο for εκείνο, κανέα for κανένα, 'any one.' (2) γ becomes β in έβώ for έγώ, τραβουδω for τραγουδω, 'I sing.' (3) θ becomes τ, when initial, as τέλω for θέλω, τάλασσα for θάλασσα, τάνατο for θάνατος, τεό for θεός, τείο for θείος, 'uncle'; and also in various internal combinations, as ήρτε for ήλθε, πεττερά for πενθερά, έσκίστη for έσχίσθη: between vowels it becomes ς, as λισάρι for λιθάριον, αλησινό for αληθινός, άπέσανε for άπέθανε: in χνατέρα for θυγατέρα

initial θ has become χ . (4) The combination of ϕ with other consonants is of frequent occurrence; thus $\phi\sigma$ stands for $\nu\sigma$, as $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\omega$ for $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\omega$; also for ξ , as $\phi\sigma\eta\rho\acute{o}$ for $\xi\eta\rho\acute{o}$, $\phi\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\upsilon\pi\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$; and for ψ , as $\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\eta\lambda\acute{o}$ for $\acute{\alpha}\psi\eta\lambda\acute{o}\nu$, $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\sigma\epsilon$ for $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon$, $\phi\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ for $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$. Again, $\phi\tau$ stands for $\kappa\tau$, as $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\tau\alpha$ for $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$, $\delta\phi\tau\acute{\omega}$ for $\delta\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$; also for $\chi\theta$, as $\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. Also $\phi\nu$ stands for $\kappa\nu$, as $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\nu\omega$ for $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\omega$ ($\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\upsilon\mu\iota$). (5) The loss of internal consonants has sometimes involved the loss of entire syllables, as $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ for $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$, $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ for $\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, $\pi\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$ for $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}$, $\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ for $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (the Eucharist).

INFLEXIONS.—In the verb $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$ the forms most in use are pres. 3rd. sing. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon$, which becomes also $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}$: 3rd plur. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon$, which becomes $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$: imperf. 3rd sing. $\acute{\eta}\nu\epsilon$, $\acute{\eta}\alpha\nu\epsilon$: 3rd plur. $\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon$, $\acute{\eta}\alpha\nu\epsilon$. In two of the verbs which in classical Greek form aor. 1 active in $-\kappa\alpha$, that form has been retained both in Otr. and Bov.; viz. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\kappa\alpha$ (A.G. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha$) from $\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ($\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\eta\mu\iota$), and $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$ (A.G. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$) from $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ ($\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$); whereas in Greece they have become $\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\sigma\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\sigma\alpha$. It is probably on the analogy of these that in Otr. the aor. $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha$ is formed from $\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$ ($\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$), and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\alpha$ from $\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\omega$ ($\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\acute{\zeta}\omega$). In the 2nd sing. imper. the o (for ou) of aor. 1 is preserved where the word is proparoxytone, as $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\sigma\sigma\circ$, $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\circ$, $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\sigma\circ$: but it is replaced by ϵ where the word is paroxytone, as $\kappa\lambda\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon$, $\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\sigma\epsilon$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon$. The accent of $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}$, $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ is preserved in the abbreviated forms $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$, 'look,' $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, 'see,' $\pi\acute{\epsilon}$, 'say': in M.G. $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ is used as an interjection, but in Bov. its plur. $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ is found. The absolute use of an indeclinable verb-form as a substantive is not infrequent, as $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 'loving,' $\tau\acute{o}$ $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 'lamentation,' $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$, 'thy death.' The question of the origin of this usage cannot be dissociated from that of the ordinary compound forms in Modern Greek, as $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$, 'I shall write,' $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\theta\acute{\eta}$, 'I have been written,' analogous to which in this dialect are the phrases with $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\omega$, 'I am able,' $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ (Bov. $\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$) 'it can be,' $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\acute{\eta}$, 'you cannot see me.' Coray's view of the Modern Greek forms is that they are derived from the future infin., but M. Psichari, in his essay entitled *Futur composé du Grec Moderne* (p. 43), decides that the orthography of the termination throughout is $-\eta$, not $-\epsilon\iota$, and that it is derived from the aor. subj., the form of the 3rd pers. having been in the course of time used for the other persons. If, as I believe, this is the true view, then the substantial use of the verb in this dialect must be, not as Morosi thinks (*Studi*, p. 137), a survival of the infinitive, but a further adaptation of the fixed subjunctive form.

Peculiarities of the Dialect of Bora.

SOUNDS.— ζ (pronounced dz) frequently takes the place of ξ and ψ : as $\zeta\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ for $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$, $\delta\zeta\upsilon$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon$ for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon\iota\acute{\xi}\epsilon$, and $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$ for $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$, 'a lie,' $\delta\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ for $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$. θ almost always retains its original sound, whether at the beginning or in the middle of a word; but in a few instances, when initial, it becomes χ , as $\chi\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}$ for $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}$, 'I believe,' $\chi\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$ for $\theta\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$ ($\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omega}$); and in $\phi\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$ for $\theta\eta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}$ it becomes ϕ . The combination $\sigma\tau$ is of very frequent occurrence, as $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$ for $\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$, $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha$ for $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$, $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ for

κτένι, 'comb,' ἔστέ for ἔχθές, δεστέρα for δευτέρα, ἀστεντία for αὐθεντία—the last of which words is used in courteous address (ἀστεντία σα, 'your honour'), thus corresponding to the M.G. title αὐθέντης, whence comes the Turkish *efendi*. In these instances στ represents πτ, κτ, χθ, υτ, υθ; but in every case there was an intermediate sound φτ, from which στ is derived.

INFLEXIONS.—In the verb, the classical form of the 3rd plur. pres., which is lost in M.G. and Otr., is here preserved; e.g. from γράφω, M.G. γράφουν or γράφουνε, Otr. γράφουνε, Bov. γράφουσι. This form also survives in the dialect of Siphnos, Naxos, and Santorin.¹ In the same person of the aor. the termination, which in M.G. and Otr. is -αν or -ανε, in Bov. is -αῖ; e.g. M.G. ἔγραψαν or ἔγράψανε, Otr. ἔγράψανε, Bov. ἔγράψαῖ. Now, since in the islands just mentioned the same part of the verb is -ασι—a form which is found also in the language of the Mainotes in the south of the Morea,² and in mediaeval Greek³—it is reasonable to suppose that the inflexion used at Bova is a corruption of this.

In speaking of the songs composed by these Italian Greeks, of which such extensive collections now exist, we may remark at starting that they bear no resemblance to the ballads and other popular poetry of modern Greece. This is the more remarkable because in every other region where Greeks are found—throughout the length and breadth of Greece, and in places as remote from one another as Cyprus, Samothrace, and Corsica—there are poems bearing the same features, and relating either to the same or to closely cognate subjects; nay, in some cases identical with one another, if allowance be made for differences produced by oral transmission. Here, however, we find no pastoral idylls, no stories turning on stirring incidents in war or brigandage, none which refer to the triumphs of Charon, the god of death—themes which are of constant occurrence in the mother country.⁴ The long ballad metre, or *political* verse, in which the mediaeval Greek compositions, from the eleventh century onwards, were composed, and which is still the favourite measure in Greece, is unrepresented, except in a few fragments and distichs; nor is there any trace of the influence of the more elaborate rhyming metres, which in the course of the last four centuries the Greeks have borrowed from the Italians. The form of the poems on sacred subjects is derived from the religious songs of the Western Church, such as the *Stabat Mater* and *Dies Irae*, of both of which Italian Greek versions exist; in fact, these compositions probably are all either translations or adaptations. The longer of them comprise from twelve to thirty stanzas of four lines each either in iambic or trochaic metre, the second and fourth lines rhyming; and these lines are made up, sometimes of six or seven, sometimes of eight or nine syllables: but, in order that the metre of the verse may be preserved, it

¹ Mullach, *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache*, p. 92.

² Bernhard Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neu-griechen*, p. 11.

³ *J. H. S.* vol. iv. p. 206.

⁴ For a further account of the Romaic ballads I may refer to a chapter on that subject in my *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. pp. 224 foll.

is often necessary that vowels should be elided, or syllables allowed to coalesce, in pronunciation. The love-songs—which form the bulk both of the Otranto and Bova collections, but in the latter district are almost the only existing kind of poetry—are usually composed of one or more stanzas of eight lines of ten or eleven syllables, in iambic metre. In these the rhymes are sometimes alternate throughout, but sometimes alternate in the first six lines, while the two last rhyme with one another. Some, however, are composed of six or of ten lines. The thoughts and sentiments which they contain, as well as their metrical form, correspond to those of the Italian love-songs of Apulia and Calabria, numerous specimens of which are given by Casetti and Imbriani in their *Canti Popolari delle Provincie Meridionali*; indeed, the amatory poems of Bova are for the most part imitations or paraphrases of these. To some extent the same thing is true of those of the Terra d'Otranto; but they possess much greater originality and variety, and are frequently shown to be the outcome of genuine feeling by their tender and impassioned expressions. Still, but few of them are devoid of some idea or phrase, the *naïveté* of which borders on bathos, so that it is difficult to select specimens which are thoroughly suitable for translation.

A third class of compositions, in addition to the religious and amatory poems, is formed by the dirges. These are made up of poetical similitudes and other commonplaces, many of which belong to a common stock, the inheritance of successive generations of professional mourners. They are sung over the bier during the interval between a person's death and his funeral, and the mode of proceeding on such an occasion—to judge from the account which Morosi has given¹—seems to correspond to what Fauriel² and Mr. Bent³ have described as taking place in similar ceremonies in Greece. The idea that the custom is an inheritance from the mother country, though the songs themselves are not so, is confirmed by the word which is used in Greece to describe it—*μοιρολογῶ* or *μυριολογῶ*—being found here also,⁴ and the practice itself is unknown to the neighbouring Italians. These mourners are everywhere females; and at Sternatia, I was informed, there are still a few old women who sing these dirges at funerals. At Bova, however, the custom is unknown. They are supposed to be extemporised; and consequently, from the greater regularity of the metre of those which are given in Morosi's collection, we may conclude that we find them there in a somewhat more polished form than the original one. Frequently dialogues are introduced into them—between the wife and her dead husband, or the mother and her dead child; and sometimes Death is represented as interlocutor, as Charon is in the ballads in Greece. Some of these features will be traced in the following passage, which consists of three out of twelve stanzas of a mother's lament over her dead daughter.

¹ *Studi*, pp. 93, 94.

² *Chants Populaires de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. cxxxvii.

³ *The Cyclades*, pp. 217 foll.

⁴ Morosi, *Studi*, p. 54. No. 126. l. 4. (*νὰ μοιρολόιση = νὰ μοιρολογήσῃς*).

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 9 : from the town of Martano.)

- Αρτε ποῦ σε χῶσα, checcia μου,
 τίς σου στρώνει ὁ κροβατάκι ;
 Μοῦ τὸ στρώνει ὁ μαῦρο τάνατο
 γιὰ μία νύφτα ποddν μάλη.
 5 Τίς σου φτιάξει ἃ capetália
 νὰ ᾿ῃ νὰ πλώση τρυφερά ;
 Μοῦ τὰ φτιάξει ὁ μαῦρο τάνατο
 μ' ἃ λισίαρια τὰ φσηρά.

 Ἔχει νά με κλάφση, checcia μου,
 10 ἔχει νά με νοματίση·
 'ς τ' abbesogna σου μ' ἥσελε,
 'τοῦ 'ς τὸ petto μου νὰ κουμβήση·
 Χυατεpedda, χυατεpedda μου,
 τόσον ὥρρα γενομένη,
 15 τί καρδιά ποῦ κάνει ἡ μάνα σου
 νά σε δῇ ἀπεσαμμένη ;

 Τίς ἐσέα φσυννᾶ, χυατέρα μου,
 μότι ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἀψηλή :
 Ἐτοῦ κάου ἐ πάνταν ὕπουνο
 20 πάντα νύφτα σκοτεινή.
 Τ' ἦαν ὥρρα τούη χυατέρα μου,
 μότι μου ἔβγη 'ς τὴ cantata.
 Spiandurίζανε αἱ colonne
 καὶ derlampριζε ὅλη ἡ στράτα.

TRANSLATION.

‘Now that they have buried thee, my darling, who will make thy little bed?’ ‘My bed, dark Death makes it for me, for a long, long night.’ ‘Who will arrange thy pillows, that thou mayest be able to sleep softly?’ ‘Dark Death arranges them for me with the bare stones.’

‘Thou must weep for me, my darling, thou must call me by my name ; in thy troubles thou wert wont to desire me, that thou mightest lean here upon my breast. My dear daughter, my dear daughter, that wert so beautifully formed ; what must thy mother’s feelings be at seeing thee dead !

‘Who will wake thee, my daughter, when the day is high?’ ‘Here below there is evermore sleep, evermore murky night.’ ‘How beautiful was this my daughter, when she went forth to the high mass ! then the columns gleamed, and all the street was filled with light.’

NOTES.—Line 1. "Αρτε, for ἄρτι, which is also found; χῶσα, for ἔχωσαν, from χῶνω (χῶννυμι); *cherchia*, a word not found either in M.G. or Italian; the meaning is 'little.' 2. δ, for τό; κροβατάκι, dimin. of κροβάτι (= κρεβάτιον). 4. ποδάδὲ μάλῃ, for πολὺ μεγάλην. 5. φτιάξει, for εὐθυάξει; ἀ, for τὰ. 6. ἦ, for ἔχῃς; πλώσῃ, for πλαγιώσῃς, from πλαγιώνω, 'I lie down' (M. G. πλαγιάζω). 8. ἀ λισάρια, for τὰ λιθάρια; φσηρά, for ξηρά. 9. ἔχει νά, for ἔχεις νά, 'thou hast to'; κλάφσῃ, for κλαύσῃς. 10. νοματίσῃ, for ὀνοματίσῃς. 11. ἤσελε, for ἤθελες. 12. τοῦ, for ἐτοῦ or ἰτοῦ (= αὐτοῦ); κουμβήσῃ, for M. G. ἀκουμβήσῃς (Lat. *adcombere*). 13. χυατεpedda, for θυγατέρα, with S. Italian dimin. termination. 14. ὠρηα, for ὠραία; γενομένη, part. of γένομαι (γίγνομαι), only used passively, in the sense of 'made' 'done.' 15. κάνει, for κόμνει. 16. δῆ, for ἴδῃ; ἀπεσαμμένη, for ἀπεθυμένην, from ἀπεθαίνω (ἀποθνήσκω). 17. ἐσέα, for ἐσένα; φσυννᾶ, for ἐξυπνᾶ. 18. μότι, perhaps for ἡμα ὅτι; ἐν, for ἔνε, as also is ἔ in the next line; ἀφσηλή, for ἐψηλή. 19. κάου, for κάτω; πάνταν, for πάντοτε, with ν ephelenticon to prevent hiatus; ὑπουνο, for ὕπνος. 21. τοῦῃ, for τοῦτή. 22. ἔβγῃ, 2 aor. from M.G. βγαίνω, by metath. for ἐκβαίνω.

It is noticeable with regard to these dirges—and the same thing is true of those of Modern Greece¹—that the conception of death which they imply is purely pagan. In all of them the tomb is conceived of, not as a place of rest, but as a joyless abode, where the dead is oppressed by the gravestone that lies over him: there is no thought of a future state, or of rewards and punishments; the one prevailing feeling is that of regret for the loss of temporal enjoyments, which the departed has to suffer.

The specimens of the literature of these Greeks of South Italy which I subjoin consist of five poems and one story from the Terra d'Otranto, and two poems, some verses of a translation of the story of Joseph and his brethren, and a number of proverbs from the district of Bova. The former of these sets, which is by far the more important, contains one sacred song, two relating to the subject of love, and two others in a lighter vein; the latter comprises one love-poem, and another on the subject of the redbreast. As these compositions have been transmitted orally by the people who possess them, without being committed to writing, it was natural that those who collected them should write them down phonetically in Roman characters; and Professors Morosi and Pellegrini, with whom linguistic accuracy was rightly the first consideration, have printed them thus in their publications. Still, it seems a little hard that the Greek language, wherever found, and however corrupted, should not be written in Greek; and for this reason, and still more because the difficulty of understanding the words is increased two-fold by the unfamiliarity of their appearance in a Roman dress, I have transcribed them in Greek characters. I have also in each case added an English translation, either in prose or verse, and notes to explain the peculiar forms of the words, though I am obliged to assume that my readers possess an elementary knowledge of Modern Greek. By this means, and by the aid of the hints on the language already given, I trust that these specimens may become intelligible. It will be observed that Italian words are occasionally interspersed among the Greek ones; this has arisen in some cases from their having been permanently embodied in the language; but more often, in all

¹ See my remarks on this subject in *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 323.

probability, it has been the result of substitution in the course of singing, when the original word has been forgotten. The process has gone further in the Bova songs than in the others; and in some of these the Italian words seem to have been purposely introduced, for in one we find Italian rhymes alternating with Greek ones, in another all the rhyming words are Italian, and in a third the entire lines are alternately Greek and Italian.¹

Specimens of the Poems &c. of the Terra d' Otranto.

I.

A LAMENT AT THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 95: from Corigliano.)

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | Τίς κλαίει, τίς κλαίει 'ς τὸ νῆμα
ποῦ κλείνει τὸ Κριστό ;
ὁ Κύρη ὁλῶς ἀπέσανε
μ' ἃ χέρια εἰς τὸ σταυρό. | |
| 2. | 'Ο ἥλιο ἀμπι 'ς τὸ φέγγο
ἐβάρτη νὰ μὴν δῇ,
καὶ ὁ μεσημέρι νύφτα
ἐγέττη ἄνου 'ς τὴν γῆ. | 5 |
| 3. | 'Ο κόσμος ὅλο τρεμάζει
γιαῖ ὁ πόνο ποῦ νοᾶ,
καὶ ἡ τάλασσα mugghιάζει,
καὶ ἐσείουτται τὰ νερά. | 10 |
| 4. | 'Εσκίστη εἰς δύο μέρη
τῆς ἰγλησία ὁ πανί,
σάππου τὶ ἔλε, 'Κλάψετε,
τὶ ὁλοὺς ὁλοὺς πονεῖ.' | 15 |
| 5. | Πλέο ἐ κούει νὰ τραβουδήσου
πουδία γιαῖ ὁ καιρὸ,
ποῦ ἰκάνει τόσον ἄσχημο,
γιατ' ἀπέσανε ὁ Κριστό. | 20 |
| 6. | Καὶ mancu ἃ πρόατα ὁ λύγο
γιαῖ φῶν ἱκανονεῖ,
καὶ κείνα πλέον ἐν ἔχουνε
δὲ χόρτα δὲ μανδρί. | |
| 7. | 'Εβγήκα ὅλα τ' ἀφσάρια
ἀπόφσου ἃ τὸ νερό,
καὶ ὅλοι ἰλέου, 'Τοῦ κόσμου
ἦρτε ὁ καταλυμό.' | 25 |
| 8. | Καὶ ἡ ἰγλησία μᾶς δείφτει | |

¹ Comparetti, *Saggi*, Nos. 21, 18, 33.

- τὸ πόνο ποῦ νοῶ 30
 μὲ ἡ pissa ποῦ σημαίνει,
 μ' artaria ποῦ εἰ γυννά.
9. Καὶ ὅλοι οἱ πατέροι ικάνουνε
 τὴ λύπη μ' ἡ φωνή,
 καὶ, 'Κλάφσετε,' μᾶς λέουνε 35
 ' τὸ Κύρη, Κριστιανοί.'
10. Καὶ οἱ Κριστιανοὶ ἐ κλαίουνε
 'ς τὸ νῆμα τοῦ Κριστοῦ ;
 ἀδέρφια μου, δελᾶτε,
 νὰ κλάψωμ' ὅλοι ἱτοῦ. 40
11. Γιὰ ἡ ἀμαρτία μᾶ 'πέσανε
 βαρμένο εἰς τὸ σταυρό·
 ἡμεῖ κείνη τὴ κάμαμο
 ποῦ offendεφσε ὁ Τεό.
12. Καὶ ἡ μάνα ἡ πονημένη 45
 ποῦ στέει καὶ κανονεῖ
 εἰς τὸ σταυρὸ ποῦ ἀπέσανε
 τὸ ἀκαπητὸ παιδί·
13. Σάππου τὶ μᾶς φωνάζει
 καὶ ἱλέει, ' Δελᾶτ' ἱτοῦ,
 δελᾶτε καὶ γυρέφσετε
 φσιχώρη τοῦ Τεοῦ.' 50
14. Φσιχώρησι φσιχώρησι
 γυρέωμε, Κριστιανοί,
 κείνο μὴ κάωμε πλέο 55
 ποῦ κάμαμο ἄρτε ἀμπί.
15. Τὸ κλάφσει καὶ το πόνο
 τέλει ὁ Κριστὸ 'φσ' ἐμᾶ·
 καὶ ἂ πάντα ικάωμε ἱτου
 μᾶς δεῖ 'ν eternità. 60

TRANSLATION.

1. Who weeps, who weeps at the sepulchre which encloses Christ? The Lord of all has died with his hands upon the cross.

2. The sun hid (*lit.* placed) itself behind the moon that it might not see, and the midday became night over the earth.

3. The whole universe shudders from the suffering that it feels, and the sea roars, and its waters are agitated.

4. The vail of the temple was rent in twain, as though it said, 'Lament, for all are afflicted.'

5. No longer can you hear the birds sing because of the sky, which is so overcast (*lit.* the weather which is so bad) since Christ is dead.

6. And from terror not even does the wolf regard the sheep; and they no longer have either pasture or a fold.

7. All the fishes came forth from the water, and all men say, 'The dissolution of the universe has arrived.'

8. And the Church declares to us the suffering that it feels, by the pyx which gives a sound (from being empty), by the altars which are bare.

9. And all the priests express their sorrow with their voices, and say to us, 'Christians, lament the Lord.'

10. And shall not Christians lament at the sepulchre of Christ? Come, my brethren, that we may all lament here.

11. For our sin he died, fixed on the cross; it was we who committed that sin which offended God.

12. And lo, the suffering mother, who stands and looks at the cross, on which her beloved Son died:

13. Even as if she called to us and said, 'Come hither, come and seek forgiveness from God.'

14. Forgiveness, forgiveness, ye Christians, let us seek; let us do no more what we have done hitherto.

15. Lamentation and affliction is what Christ desires of us; and if we act always thus, he will bestow on us eternity.

NOTES.—Line 1. νῆμα, for μνήμα. 2. κλείνει, for κλείει; Κριστό, for Χριστόν; in a few words, of which this and ἔρχομαι are the most important, the aspiration of χ is lost. 3. Κύρη, for Κύρης (= Κύριος); ὁλῶς, for ὁλων, s being affixed after ν is lost; ἀπέσανε, for ἀπέθανε. 4. α, for τὰ. 5. ἀμπί, for ὀπίσω; φέγγο, for M. G. and Bov. φεγγάρι. 6. ἐβάρτη, for ἐβάλθη, aor. pass. from βαλλω, 'I put, place'; μὴν δῆ, for μὴ ἴδῃ. 8. ἐγέττη, for ἐγένεθ, aor. pass. from γένομαι (γίνομαι). 10. γιάι, for διά; δ πόνο, for τὸν πόνον. 12. ἐσείουτται, for σείονται. 13. ἐσκίστη, for ἐσχίσθη. 14. ἱγλησία, for ἐκκλησίας. 15. σάππου τι, for ὥσάν ποῦ ὅτι; ἔλε, for ἔλεγε; κλάφσεται, for κλαύσατε. 17. ξ, for δέν; κούει, for ἀκούεις; τραβουδήσου, for τραγουδήσουν. 18. πουddία, for πουλία, 'birds' (Lat. *pullus*). 19. ικάνει, for κάμνει; κάμνει ἄσχημο καιρό = *il fait mauvais temps*. 20. γιατ, for διατὶ (= διότι). 21. mancu, for nemmanco, nemmeno; α πρόατα, for τὰ πρόβατα; λύγο, for λύκος. φῶν, for φόβον; ικανονεῖ, for κανονεῖ; but whether κανονῶ is a corruption of κατανοῶ, or is derived from κανών, meaning 'I look straight at,' is uncertain. 23. ἐν ἔχουνε, for δέν ἔχουν. 24. δέ—δέ, 'neither—nor.' 25. ἐβγήκα, for ἐβγήκαν, 2 aor. of βγαίνω (ἐκβαίνω) with the M.G. passive aor. termination in -κα suffixed; ἀφσάρια, for M.G. ψάρια (from ὀψάριον). 26. ἀπόφσου α, for ἀπ' ἔξω ἀπό. 27. ιλέου, for λέγουν. 29. δέλφτει, for M. G. δείχτει (δείκνυσι). 31. pissa, for Ital. pisside. 32. artaria, for altaria; εἰ, for εἶνε; γυννά, for γυννά. 33. ικάνουνε, for κάμνουν. 34. η, for τήν. 39. ἀδέρφια, for ἀδελφία; δελάτε, for M. G. ἐλάτε. 41. 'ν ἀμαρτία μᾶ, for τὴν ἀμαρτίαν μᾶς. 42. βαρμένο, for βαλμένος, perf. pass. participle from βάλλω. 43. κάμαμο, for ἐκάμειμεν. 44. δ Τεό, for τὸν Θεόν. 46. στέει, for στέκει. 48. ἀκαπητό, for ἀγαπητόν; the change of γ into κ in this word is peculiar to the dialects of Corigliano and Castrignano. 51. γυρέφσετε, for γυρεύσατε; γυρεύω (γυρός) means in A. G. 'I go round,' in M. G. 'I go round, look round, seek for.' 52. φσιχώρη, an abbreviation of φσιχώρησι (= συγχώρησιν) in the next line. 55. κῶμε, for κάμνωμεν. 56. ἄρτε ἀμπί, for ἄρτι ὀπίσω, 'now in the past.' 57. κλάφσει, substantival use of indeclinable verb-form. 58. τέλει, for θέλει; 'φσ' ἐμά, for ἄφσε ἐμᾶς. 58. α, for ἄν; πάντα, for πάντοτε; ἔτου, for οὔτω. 60. δεῖ, for δίδει (δίδωσι); 'ν, for τήν.

II.

THE DYING LOVER'S INJUNCTIONS.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 80: from *Calimera*.)

- Ἄνε πεσάνω τέλω νά με κλάφση
 escappeddata μέσα 'ς τὴν αὐλή,
 καὶ σῦρε τὰ μαῖδια σου ἄφσε μαδάφσι,
 καὶ κούμβα μού τα πάνου 'ς τὴ φσυχή.
 5 Τόσο με πέρνουν ἐς τὴν ἀγλησία,
 κολούσα, ἀγάπη μου, σὲ παραγαλῶ,
 καὶ βλέφσε νά μου νάφσουν τὰ κηρία
 ἄνου 'ς τὸ νῆμα ποῦ 'χω νὰ χωσῶ.
 Καὶ ροὶ 'ς τὸ χρόνο πέ μου μία λουτρία,
 10 καὶ ροὶ 'ς τοῦ δύο κανένα Πάτρεμον,
 καὶ τὴν ἡμέρα τῶς ἀπεσαμμένω
 ἰνῖα μου 'να suspiro καῦμένο.
 τόσο ποῦ ὅλα τοῦα τὰ 'χεις γανομένα,
 νοῖφσε τὸ νῆμα κ' ἔμβα ἐκεῖ μὰ 'μένα.

TRANSLATION.

- Love, when I die, I will that thou bewail me
 Down in the court-yard with uncover'd head,
 And with the mantle of thy tresses veil me
 Over my heart in silken folds outspread.
 5 When to the holy Church my corpse they carry,
 I pray thee follow in the mourners' line,
 And o'er the grave, where thy true love they bury,
 See that the funeral tapers duly shine.
 When one year's past let mass be celebrated,
 10 And after two years chant a litany;
 And when the Spirits are commemorated
 Breathe burning sighs in memory of me.
 When these kind offices accomplished are,
 Open the tomb, and come my grave to share.

NOTES.—1. Ἄνε πεσάνω, for ἂν ἀποθάνω. 2. escappeddata, for scappellata; μέσα 'ς, 'within.' 3. σῦρε, 'draw out'; here, probably, 'tear out'; μαῖδια, for μαλλία, 'hair'; ἄφσε μαδάφσι, 'of silk'; μαδάφσι is M.G. μετάξιον (μέταξα), 'silk.' 4. κούμβα, imper. of κουμβέω (ἀκουμβέω), 'I lean,' here used transitively; πάνου 'ς, for ἐπάνω εἰς, 'over'; φσυχή, for ψυχήν. 5. τόσο, = A. G. ἐν ὧσιν, 'while.' 6. κολούσα, for ἀκολοῖθα, from ἀκολουθῶ (ἀκολουθέω); παραγαλῶ, for παρακαλῶ. 7. νάφσουν, for ἀνάψουν. 8. νῆμα, for μνῆμα; 'χω νὰ χωσῶ, ἔχω νὰ χωθῶ, 'I must be buried.' 9. ροὶ 'ς τὸ χρόνο, 'after the year'; πέ, for εἰπέ; λουτρία, for λειτουργία, 'Eucharistic service.' τοῦ, for τοῖς; κανένα, 'some, several' (prob.

καὶ εἰς ἓνα); Πάτρεμον, 'Pater-nosters.' 11. τῷς ἀπεσαμμένῳ, for τῶν ἀποθαμμένων; the 'Day of the Dead' is All Souls' Day. 12. καυμένο, participle of καίω. 13. τοῦα, for τοῦτα (ταῦτα); 'χὰς γανομένα, 'you have done'; γανομένα is another form of γενομένα. 14. νοίψε, for ἀνοιξε; μά, for μέ, 'with.'

III.

THE DESERTED LOVER'S IMPRECATION.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 119: from Corigliano.)

Turtura μότε ἰχάνει ἡ cumpagnia
 μανιχέdda τη πάει μαγραῖο καιρό·
 ἐν accucchέται maì μ' ἄdda πουddία,
 mancu ἰκαίζει εἰς τ' arvulo χλωρό·
 5 δὲ πόσο ποῦ τῆς μαύρισε ἡ καρδιά·
 ἐ πίνει ἂν δὲ ἔνε trubbo τὸ νερό.
 'Ο Κριστὸ κείτη turtura νά σε κάμη·
 μὲ τῇ καρδιά καμμένη νὰ πεσάνη.
 καὶ κείνη turtura νὰ σὺ γεττῇ·
 10 μὲ τῇ καρδιά καμμένη νὰ χωσῇ.

TRANSLATION.

The dove that is deserted by her mate
 In solitude abides the live-long day;
 Far from her fellows dwells she desolate,
 Nor even perches on the verdant spray:
 5 See how her soul is darkened by her fate!
 In turbid streams her thirst she doth allay.
 Like that sad bird may Christ the righteous make thee;
 With heart all flame may Death the avenger take thee;
 Like that sad bird distraught may'st thou become;
 10 With heart all flame descend into the tomb.

NOTES.—1. μότε, like μότι, for ἅμα ὅτι, 'when'; ἰχάνει, for χάνει, 'loses'; ἡ, for τήν. 2. μανιχέdda, for μανιχή (μοναχή), with dinnin. termination -edda for -ella; μανιχή τη(ς) is used, like μόνος του, μόνη της in M. G. for 'by herself'; πάει, M. G. for 'goes' (ἰπάγει); μαγραῖο, for μακρόν. 3. ἐν, for δέν; so ἔ in in l. 6; accucchέται, from accucciarsi, 'to nestle'; ἄdda πουddία, for ἄλλα πουλία, 'other birds.' 4. mancu, for nemmanco, 'not even'; ἰκαίζει, for καθίζει; arvulo, for albero. 5. δέ, for ἰδέ; μαύρισε, from μαυρίζω (μαῦρος, ἀμαυρός), 'I darken.' 6. 'she does not drink unless (ἂν δέ(ν)) the water is turbid.' 7. κείτη, for κείνην τη. 8. καμμένη, like καῦμένο, participle of καίω; πεσάνη, for ἀποθάνη. 9. γεττῇ, for γενθῆς aor. pass. subj. from γένομαι (γίγνομαι) 10. χωσῇ, for χωθῆς, 'may you be buried.'

IV.

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN INTENDING TO MARRY.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 120 : from Corigliano.)

- ἀκάπησο, ἀκάπησο, ἂ τέλη ν' ἀκαπήσῃ,
 μὰ χυατεpedda 'φσ' εἴκοσι χρονό.
 ἂν ἔχῃ εἴκοσιπέντε, μ' ἢ τελήσῃ,
 πές τη τὶ ἐ διαβημένο τὸ καιρό.
 5 ἂ τέλη πιάκῃ ὃ ῥόδο νὰ μυρίσῃ,
 σῦρέ το μόντ' ἐν ἡμισ' ἀνοιφτό.

TRANSLATION.

- If you would wed, then choose
 A maid of twenty years :
 At twenty-five, refuse,
 Say she too old appears :
 5 Half-blown he culls the rose,
 Who for its fragrance cares.

NOTES.—1. ἀκάπησο, for ἀγάπησον ; ἂ τέλη, for ἂν θέλῃς. 2. μὰ χυατεpedda, for μίαν θυγατεpeddan ; 'φσ' for ἄφσε, 'of.' 3. μ' ἢ τελήσῃ, for μὴ τὴν θελήσῃς. 4. πές τη τὶ ἐ, for εἰπὲ αὐτὴν ὅτι εἶνε ; διαβημένο, pass. part. from διαβαίνω ; τὸ καιρό for ὁ καιρός, an instance of the neglect of the distinction of the masc. and neut. genders. 5. πιάκῃ, subj. of ἐπίασα, aor. from πιάω (A. G. πιάζω), 'I take' ; ὃ, for τό ; νὰ μυρίσῃ, 'that it may be fragrant.' 6. σῦρε, 'draw' 'pluck' ; ἀνοιφτό, for ἀνοικτόν.

V.

THE SON-IN-LAW'S COMPLAINT.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' No. 94 : from Castriignano.)

- Ἄν ἤφσερα τὶ ἐπιάνω πεττερά,
 ἐν ἀρμάζονε μαὶ κανέα καιρό.
 ἔστεκα ἔσω μου 'ς τὰ σκοτεινὰ,
 δὲ λύφνο δὲ lumera μαὶ νὰ δῶ.
 5 ἢ πεττερά dopu σε τρώει καὶ πίνει
 βγαίνει 'ς τὴν γειτονία κ' ἐσένα σύρνει.

TRANSLATION.

If I had known that (in marrying) I was taking to me a mother-in-law—I would never have married under any circumstances:—I would have stopped at home in the dark—so as never to see either lamp or fire.—Your mother-in-law after eating and drinking at your expense—goes out among the neighbours and maligns you.

NOTES.—1. ἡφσερα, imperf. from φσέρω, M. G. ἡξεύρω, 'I know'; τι, for δτι; ἐπιάνω, for πιάνω; πεττερά, for πενθεράν. 2. ἀρμάζονε, imperf. of ἀρμάζω (ἀρμόζω), 'I marry', with prosthetic ε; so ἀρμασία is 'marriage'; κανέα for κανένα, 'any'. 3. ἔστεκα, imperf. of στέκω, 'I stand, remain'; ἔσω μου, 'chez moi.' 4. δε, —δε, 'neither,—nor'; λύφνο, for λύχνον; lumera, frequently used in this dialect for 'fire'; δῶ, for ἰδω. 5. τρώει, for τρώγει. 6. βγαίνει, for ἐκβαίνει; σύρνει, another form of σύρει, 'pulls to pieces.'

VI.

STORY OF THE WOMAN WHO PRAYED FOR THE KING.

(Morosi, 'Otranto,' p. 73: from Martano.)

Μία φορά εἶχε μία γυναῖκα, ποὺ πάντα ἐπραγάλει τὸ Τεὸ νὰ ὁ ρῆα στασῇ καλό. Καὶ ἀντρώποι εἶπανε 'ς τὸ ρῆα τοῦτο πρᾶμα, καὶ ὁ ρῆα τὴν ἐφώνασε καὶ τὴν ῥώτησε γιατί ἐπραγάλει τόσο γιὰ σαῦτο. Καὶ κείνη εἶπε, 'Ἐβὼν παραγαλὼ τὸ Τεὸ νὰ μείνης ὕγιον πάντα, γιατί ἐσὺ μᾶς ἐscoreευσε, καὶ, ἂ πεσαίνῃ ἐσὺ, ἔρχεται ἐν ἄλλο ποὺ ἔχει νὰ χορτώσῃ τὴν πεινᾶ του.'

TRANSLATION.

There was once a woman, who prayed to God continually that the king might keep in good health. Certain men reported this matter to the king, so the king summoned her, and asked her why she prayed so much for him. And she said, 'I pray God that you may continue in life for ever, because you have flayed us, and, if you die, another will come who will have to satisfy his hunger.'

NOTES. Μία φορά, the M. G. expression for 'once'; in Bov. ἔνα viaggio is used, 'viaggio' for 'volta' being common in the S. Italian dialects; εἶχε, for the phrase cp. Fr. *il y a*, ἐπραγάλει τὸ Τεὸ, for ἐπαρακάλει τὸν Θεόν. ρῆα for ῥήγας (*rex*); στασῇ, for σταθῇ; cp. Ital. *star bene*. Καὶ, for M. G. *κάτι* (perhaps καὶ ἐάν τι) 'some,' 'some or other'; πρᾶμα, for πρᾶγμα; ῥώτησε, for ἠρώτησε; γιατί, for διατί; σαῦτο, in this word σ has got prefixed, and the accent is drawn back, as in αὐτο; ἐβὼν, for ἐγὼ; ὕγιον, for ὑγίης, 'sound,' 'alive'; πάντα for πάντοτε; ἐscoreευσε, for ἐscoreευσας, Ital. *scorticare*; πεσαίνῃ, for ἀπεθαίνῃς, from ἀπεθαίνω (ἀποθνήσκω).

Specimens of the poems &c. of the district of Bova.

I.

GOOD NIGHT.

(Morosi, 'Bova,' No. 34; cp. Pellegrini, No. 40, and Comparetti, No. 29.)

Καλὴ σπέρα σου λέγω κ' ἐγὼ πάω.
 μὰ sulo pena 'ς τὴν καρδιά μου πέρρω,
 τὶ πάω λάργα ἄζε τινὸ 'γαπάω,

- 5 πᾶω λάργα ἄξε 'σὲ πάντα penseύω·
 ἐτούντη εἰκόνι δὲ τὸ σδημονάω,
 stampεμεμένη 'ς τὸ petto μου τῇ φέρω.
 'ς τὸν ὕπλο μου τὸ νόμα σου στριγάω,
 νύφτα κ' ἡμέρα πάντα suspireύω.

TRANSLATION.

- Thus bidding thee 'Good Night' I go my way;
 Yet naught but sorrow in my heart I bear—
 Grief, that from her I love afar I stray,
 Afar from thee who art my constant care:
 5 Stamped on my heart thy image dwells alway;
 That vision from my memory ne'er can fall:
 I ever sigh for thee by night and day;
 E'en in my sleep upon thy name I call.

NOTES.—1. πᾶω, M. G. for ὑπάγω. 2. μά, the Ital. conjunction, which has long been naturalised in M. G.; πέρω, for πέρνω, 'I take.' 3. τι, for ὅτι; λάργα, though this word is of Italian origin, yet in the form ἀλάργα it is found in M. G., and a verb ἀλαργάω, 'I remove', is derived from it; ἄξε, the same as Otr. ἄφσε, 'from'; τινό, a form used for the oblique cases of the indef. pronoun τίς; here it means 'one whom.' 5. ἐτούντη, the M. G. αὐτούντην την; this is the regular demonstrative in this dialect; δέ, for δέν; σδημονάω, by metathesis for M. G. ἐλησμονώ, 'I forget.' 7. ὕπλο, for ὕπνον; νόμα, for ὄνομα; στριγάω, perhaps from Ital. *stridere*; Kind's *Lex.* gives a M. G. form σπρίζω for τρίζω.

II.

THE FATE OF THE REDBREAST.

(*Morosi*, 'Bova,' No. 38; *cp. Pellegrini*, No. 10.)

- 'Η πύρρρια ἔνε ὁ πλὲ κέδδι ἂν τὰ πονδδία,
 καὶ κάνει τῇ φωλέα μὲ χουρχουράτα·
 τὸ καλοκαίρι πάει 'κεῖ 'ς τὴν ὀξεία,
 τὸ χειμῶνα καταβαίνει ὧδε κάτον.
 5 Παρεύουσι τῇ πλάκα τὰ παιδία·
 λιμπίζεται κ' ἐμβαίνει 'κεῖ 'ποκάτον·
 ῶτου κάνει, καὶ γιὰ ἡμισο δακία
 ἀφίνει τὸ σκυδδάκι του ἄνουκάτον.

TRANSLATION.

- The redbreast is the smallest bird that flies;
 He builds his little nest with tufts of hay:
 In summer-time he to the mountain hies,
 In winter he comes down with us to stay.

- 5 The children to entrap him springes make ;
 He is enticed, and enters in beneath.
 Poor fool ! and for a sorry morsel's sake
 His neck is twisted and he meets his death.

NOTES.—1. *πύρρια*, in M.G. *πυρρούλας*, 'redbreast'; *ὁ*, an instance of confusion of genders in the article; *πλέ*, for *πλέον*; *κέδδ*, an abbreviation of *μικέδδ*, 'little,' which is perhaps a corruption of *μικρός*: Comparetti (p. 94) points out that *μτζέ* bears this meaning in the Tzaconian dialect in the Peloponnese, and *μτζής* in the dialect of Cyprus; *άν*; this is the form which *ἀπό* regularly takes with the article in Bov. 2. *κάνει*, for *κάνει*, 'makes'; *χουρχουράτα*, probably for M.G. *χορταράκι*, dimin. from *χορτάρι*, 'grass,' 'hay' by transposition of *τ* and *κ*, and assimilation of *κ* to *χ*. 3. *καλοκαίρι*, M.G. for 'summer'; *ὄξεια*, a word for 'mountain' peculiar to this dialect, probably for *ὄξεα*, 'peak.' 4. *ὦδε κάτω* 'here below.' 5. *παρεύουσι*, Ital. *parare*, converted into a verb in *-ευνω*; remark the classical inflexion *-ουσι*; *πλάκα*, 'lid, cover of trap.' 6. *λιμπίζεται*, from M.G. *λιμπίζομαι*, 'I desire,' with subst. *λίμπισμα*, 'desire'; *κεῖ* 'ποκάτον,' 'there underneath.' 7. *ὦτου κάνει*, for *οὕτω κάμνει*, 'so he does'; *γιά*, for *διά*; *ἥμισο δακία*, 'half a morsel.' 8. 'he leaves his poor neck topsy-turvy'; *σκυδάάκι*, for *σκυλλάκι*, probably from Ital. *collo* with dimin. termination.

GENESIS XLV. 1—6.

(*Pellegrini*, pp. 118, 119.)

1. Τότε ὁ Gioseppi, δὲ σώνοντα κρατιστῇ πλέο ἀμπρό σὲ ὅλου ποῦ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, ἐκούδδιε, 'Κάμετε πάη πασᾶνα λάργα ἄζ' ἐμένα.' Καὶ τίσπο ἔμεινε μεθέ του, σὰν ἐκείνο ἐδόστη ἃ conusceri τῷ leddidíων του.

2. Καὶ ἐκείνο ἔβγαλε μίαν κουδδιμία κλώντα, καὶ οἱ Egiziani τότε 'κούαῖ ἐκείνοι τοῦ σπιτίου τοῦ Faraone τότε 'κούαῖ κιόλα ἐκείνοι.

3. Καὶ ὁ Gioseppi εἶπε τῷ leddidíως του, 'Εγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Gioseppi· ὁ πάτρε μου ζῇ ἐκείνο ἀκομή; Μὰ τὰ leddidíα του δὲν τοῦ σώναῖ ἀπολογήση, γιὰτὶ ἦσα ὅλοι σκιασμένοι ἂν τὴν presenza τὴν δικήν του.

4. Καὶ ὁ Gioseppi εἶπε τῷ leddidíως του, Deh! ἐλάστε κοντά μου. Καὶ ἐκείνοι τοῦ ἰάησα κοντά. Καὶ ἐκείνο εἶπε, 'Εγὼ εἶμαι ὁ Gioseppi, ὁ leddé σα τὶ ἐσεῖ ἐπουλίετε νᾶνε πηρμένο 'ς τὸν Egitto.

5. Μὰ ἄρτε μὴ πιαστήτε ἄζε λύπη, καὶ μὴ 'ncaricheστήτε διατὶ μοῦ ἐπουλίετε νᾶμαι φερμένο ὦδε· γιὰτὶ ὁ Θεὸς μ' ἔστειλε ἀμπροττέ σα γιὰ τὴν ὑγιεία σα.

6. Γιὰτὶ τοῦτο ἔνε τὸ secundo χρόνον ἂν τὴν πείνα ὅσου εἰς τὴ χώρα· καὶ ἔχει ἀκομή ἄδδου πέντε χρόνον, καὶ σὲ τούτου δὲν ἔχει δὲ νὰ ἀλαστήῃ, δὲ νὰ θεριστῇ.

TRANSLATION.

1. Then Joseph, not being able to command himself longer before all who were there, cried, Make every one to go out from me. And no one remained with him, while he made himself known to his brethren.

2. And he uttered a cry weeping, and the Egyptians heard him; those of the house of Pharaoh, they also heard him.

3. And Joseph said to his brethren, I am Joseph; my father, doth he yet live? But his brethren were not able to answer him, for they were all afraid at his presence.

4. And Joseph said to his brethren, Pray, come near to me. And they came near to him. And he said, I am Joseph, your brother whom ye sold to be taken to Egypt.

5. But now, be not seized by grief, and be not burdened because ye sold me to be brought hither; because God sent me before you for your welfare.

6. Because this is the second year of the famine in the land, and there are yet five years, and in these there will not be either ploughing or harvest.

NOTES.—1. *σώνοντα*, indeclinable active participle from *σώνω*, 'I am able'; *κρατιστῇ*, for *κρατισθῇ*, 3rd. sing. 1 aor. pass. from *κρατίζω* (*κρατέω*) with *νά* understood; *ἀμπρὸ σέ*, for *ἐμπρὸς ἐς* 'before'; *ἔλου*, for *ἐλους*; *ἐκούδιαι*, aor. from *κουδίζω*, 'I cry'; so *κουδιμία*, 'cry,' below; *κάμετε*, for *κάμνετε*; *πάη* same construction as *κρατιστῇ*; *πασάνα*, for *πάσα* (indeclinable) *ἕνα*, 'every one,' feim. *πασαμία*; *μεθέ του*, *μετά* with the personal pronouns becomes *μεθέ* in this dialect, as *μεθέ μου*, *μελέ σου*; *ἔδότη* (for *ἔδόσθη*=*ἐδόθη*) à *conusceri*, 'gave himself to be known'; *τῶ*, for *τῶν*; *λεδιδίδων*, plur. of *λεδέ*, which, whatever its derivation, takes the place of *ἀδελφός* in this dialect.

2. *ἐβγαλε*, aor. from *βγάλω* (= *ἐκβάλλω*); *κλώντα*, for *κλαίοντα*, indeclinable participle; *κούαῖ*, for *ἀκούασι*, 3rd. plur. of aor.; *σπιτίου*, gen. of *σπίτι* (*hospitium*); *κίόλα*, from *καὶ ὅλα* 'withal'; in M. G. usually in the sense of 'for all that,' 'notwithstanding.'

3. *λεδιδίδως*, the gen. plur. terminations in *-ως* and *-ων* are equally found; *ἀκομή*, M. G. *ἀκόμη*, 'yet,' 'still'; *γιατί*, for *διὰτι* (= *διότι*); *σκιασμένοι*, 'darkened,' 'afraid'; in M. G. *σκιάζομαι* also means 'to shy,' of a horse; *τὴν δικήν του*, properly 'his own'; *δικός* is for *εἰδικός*, 'proprius.'

4. *ἐλάστε*, M. G. *ἐλάτε*, plur. of *ἔλα* 'come'; *κοντά*, 'near,' from *κοντός*, 'short'; *τάησα*, for (*ἐδ*)*ιά(β)ησα(ν)* from *διαβαίνω*, 'passed,' 'presented themselves'; *σα*, for *σας* enclitic; *τι*, indeclinable relative, used in Bov. in the same way as *ποῦ*; *ἔσει*, for *ἐσεῖς*; *ἐπουλίετε*, from *ἐπουλία*, aor. of *πουλάω* (= *πωλέω*); *νάνε*, for *νὰ ἐνε* 'to be'; *πηρμένο*, for *παρμένο*, perf. pass. part. from *πέρνω*, 'I take.'

5. *πιαστήτε*, for *πιασθήτε*, from *πιάνω*; *ἄζε* (Otr. *ἄφσε*), 'by'; *νάμαι*, for *νὰ εἶμαι*; *φερμένο*, perf. pass. part. from *φέρω*; *ἀμπροττέ*, for *ἐμπροσθεν*; *ύγεια*, 'welfare,' 'life'; so *ύγιο* 'alive.'

6. *δσου εις*, for *ἔσω εἰς*, 'in'; *ἄδδον πέντε χρόνου*, for *ἄλλους πέντε χρόνους*, governed by *χει* in the sense of '*il y a*'; *σέ τούτου*, for *ἐς τούτου*, 'in these'; *δέν ἔχει δέ . . . δέ*, 'there will be neither . . . nor'; *νὰ ἀλαστῇ*, lit. 'that it should be ploughed'; *ἀλαστη* for *ἀλασθῇ*, from *ἀλάνω* (= *ἀρόω*).

PROVERBS.

(*Morosi*, '*Bova*,' Nos. 75, 23, 30, 41, 120, 116, 53, 105.)

1. *Λιρὶ τὴν πουρρῇ,*
κέντα 'ς τὴν μονή.
Λιρὶ τὴν βραδιά,
κέντα 'ς τὴν δουλεία.

'A rainbow in the morning,—hasten to your dwelling:—A rainbow in the evening,—hasten to your work.'

(Λιρί, for ἴρις, with the accent shifted.—πουρρή, for πρωϊνή.—κέντα, 'spur, hasten,' from κεντάω (κεντέω).—βραδία, M. G. βράδυ.)

2. Τὰ ξύλα τὰ στραβὰ, τὰ σάζει τὸ lucisi.

'Bent timbers are straightened by the fire.'

(σάζει, for ἰσάζει.)

3. Ὁ σκύδδο ποῦ δὲν ἀλεστάει δαγκάνει κρυφά.

'The dog that does not bark bites stealthily.'

(Ὁ σκύδδο, M. G. τὸ σκυλί, but ὁ σκύλος is found in mediaeval Greek, and in Hesych.—ἀλεστάει, for ὑλακτεῖ.)

4. Τὶ δὲν ἔχει φοῦρρο δικόν του, δὲ τὸ χορταίνει τὸ ζωμί.

'If a man has no oven of his own, his bread does not satisfy him.'

(Τὶ, for ὅστις.—φοῦρρο, M. G. φοῦρνο (Lat. *furnus*).—ζωμί, for ψωμί.)

5. Παῖξε μὲ τὸ γάδαρο, τί σε ταβρεῖ μὲ τὴν guda.

'Play with an ass, and he'll hit you with his tail.'

(γάδαρο, M. G. for 'ass,' more correctly γαῖδαρο.—ταβρεῖ, by metathesis for τραβᾶ, 'pull,' 'strike.'—guda for coda.)

6. Τὸ βοῦδι κρατεῖται ἀν τὸ κέρατο, καὶ ὁ ἄθρωπο ἀν τὸ λόγο.

'An ox must be held by his horns, and a man by his word.'

7. Τὶς ἐσπέρρει 'ς τὸ ἀργό,
τρώγει χόρτο, δὲν καρπό.

'He that sows untilled land, will eat grass instead of corn.'

(ἐσπέρρει, for M. G. σπέρνει (σπείρω).)

8. Ἡ γλῶσσα στέα δὲν ἔχει, καὶ στέα κλάνει.

'Though the tongue has no bones, it can break bones.'

(στέα, for ὀστέα.—κλάνει, for κλάει.)

It remains now to investigate the evidence which is furnished by the language, and by historical documents, with regard to the time at which these Greeks settled in southern Italy. We have already seen that, at an early stage in the enquiry respecting the language, Prof. Pott showed that it is Modern Greek, and not a dialect derived independently from the ancient language; and this, I think, will have been clear to any one who has examined the specimens which have been given above. But it may perhaps be worth while to enumerate a few out of the very numerous words and phrases, in which the correspondence with the one, and the contrast with the other, is unmistakable. Among familiar substantives we find (allowing in some instances for a slight difference of form from Modern Greek)—for 'water,' not ὕδωρ, but νερό; for 'wine,' not οἶνος, but κρασί; for 'bread,' not ἄρτος, but ψωμί; for 'a fish,' not ἰχθύς, but ψάρι; for 'hair,' not τρίχες, but μαλλία; for 'silver,' not ἄργυρος, but ἀσήμι; for 'summer,' not θέρος, but καλοκαίρι; for 'a year,' not ἔτος, but χρόνο; for 'a song,' not ᾠδή, but τραγούδι; for 'the moon,' not σελήνη, but φεγγάρι. Among adjectives, ἄσπρο

has taken the place of λευκός, μαῦρο of μέλας, χονδρό of παχύς, κινούριο (καινούργιος) of νέος. Among verbs, ποιέω and πράσσω are replaced by κάμνω, ἀπόλλυμι by χάνω, οἶδα by ἤξεύρω, οὐτάω by λαβόω, τίθημι by βάλλω. The same thing is even more clearly seen in phrases, such as ἔχει with the accusative, for ‘there is,’ ‘there are’; με̄ κακοφαίνεται, for ‘I am sorry’; ἔχετε δίκαιο, for ‘you are right.’ Indeed, expressions such as these are so modern in their aspect, as to tempt us to believe that they belong to a recent stage in the development of Modern Greek; but this again would probably be a rash conclusion, for the more we study the mediaeval Greek poems and documents, the more we are struck with the modern character of the diction which they employ. Anyhow, it is possible to show by several different lines of proof, that the Greek which is spoken in Italy separated off at a comparatively early period from the language of the mother country; and to this point in the argument we will next proceed.

In the first place, there are not a few classical words, which are retained either in the Terra d'Otranto, or in the Bova district, or in both dialects, while they are lost, or have become quite unfamiliar, in Greece. A striking instance of this is found in the adverb of time 'now.' In Ancient Greek this is expressed by *νῦν*, *ἤδη*, and *ἄρτι*. In Modern Greek none of these have survived, and their place is taken by *τώρα*, i.e. (*αὐ*)*τῇ ὥρᾳ*. But in Italy *νῦν* and *ἤδη* on the one hand, and *τώρα* on the other, are unknown, and *ἄρτι* or *ἄρτε* is universally employed. In both dialects *χρυσάφι* (A. G. *χρυσός*) is used instead of M. G. *μάλαγμα*, 'gold'; *ψυχρό* instead of M. G. *κρύο*, 'cold'; *κλάω* (Otr.) and *κλάνω* (Bov.) instead of M. G. *τσακίζω*, 'I break'; *σώζω* (Otr.) and *σώνω* (Bov.) instead of M. G. *ἠμπορῶ*, 'I am able'; *ρίω* (Otr.) and *ρίγάω* (Bov.), where A. G. is *ρίγέω*, for M. G. *κρύνω*, 'I am cold'; *ἔσου* (Otr.) and *ἔσου* (Bov.) for M. G. *μέσα*, 'inside.' In Otr. are found *ἀρμάζω* (A. G. *ἀρμόζω*) for M. G. *στεφανόνω*, 'I marry'; *ταράσσω* for M. G. *μισεύω*, 'I depart'; *ἀμπάρι* (A. G. *ἰππάριον*) for M. G. *ἄλογο*, 'a horse': and in Bov. *χίμαρο* for M. G. *κατζίκι*, 'kid'; *ἀλέστορα* (A. G. *ἀλέκτωρ*) for M. G. *πετεινός*, 'cock'; *δερφάκι* (A. G. *δελφάκιον*) 'sucking-pig'; *ὄπλή* (A. G. with the meaning of 'hoof') 'footprint'; *ζέμα* (A. G. 'decoction') for M. G. *ζουμί*, 'broth'; *ὀργάδα* (A. G. *ὀργάς*), 'fertile land'; *ὦδε* for M. G. *ἐδώ*, 'here': *μεταπάλε* also (*μετὰ πάλιν*), 'once more,' has an ancient character. To these we may add certain words, the original form of which is found here, while only the diminutive exists in Greece—*αἶγα* (M. G. *γίδι*, for *αἰγίδιον*), *κεφαλή* (M. G. *κεφάλι*, for *κεφάλιον*), and *ἄλα* (M. G. *ἀλάτι*, for *ἀλάτιον*). Most remarkable of all is the termination of the 3rd plur. of the present tense of verbs, in *-ουσι* for *-ουν*. These survivals of classical diction are interesting in themselves, and serve also to prove the primitive character of these dialects.

Further; the numerous differences of usage which exist between the Greek that is spoken in Italy and ordinary Modern Greek imply that the two have long been separated. Among these the following are the most noticeable. In Greece the forms of affirmation and negation are *ναί* or *μάλιστα*, and *ἄχι*; in Italy none of these are found, but 'yes' is expressed in Otr. by

οὔμμε, in Bov. by *μαναί*, and 'no' in Otr. by *δέγε* (pronounced *deghe*), in Bov. by *δέ*. The last of these is evidently for *δέν* (οὐδέν), and *δέγε* looks like an extension of it—hardly, as Morosi thinks, by the classical *γέ* being affixed, for the day of particles with an independent meaning had passed away long before this word was created. *Μαναί* is *ναί* with *μά* prefixed; but this *μά* is more likely to have been the Italian for 'but,' which is frequently used in M. G., than the ancient particle; for the usage compare Fr. '*mais oui*.' The barbarous *οὔμμε* defies analysis.—The comparative form in *-τερος* is lost, but two comparatives, which are either lost or extremely rare in M. G., *κάλλιο*, 'better,' and *χείρο*, 'worse,' are regularly in use here.—The aor. pass. is free from the accretion of *-κα*, which is found in mediaeval and modern Greek, as *ἐστάθηκα* for *ἐστάθην*; the only forms in which it is found being the neut. aor. of *βαίνω* and its compounds, as *διάβηκα*, *ἀνέβηκα*, *ἐμβήκα* for *διέβην*, *ἀνέβην*, *ἐνέβην*.—Though the form of the future tense is lost, yet *θά* with the subjunctive, which has supplied its place in Greece, is wanting here; *θέλω νά* is used for 'I wish to,' and *ἔχω νά* for 'I have to,' 'I must,' but neither of them serves for the simple future. If *θά* had been in use before these Greeks migrated to Italy, it would be strange if they had lost so serviceable a form; as it is, they can only express the future by the present combined with an adverb, as *ἔρχομαι αὔρι(ον)* for 'I shall come to-morrow.'—The tendency to shift the accent of words on to the final syllable, the influence of which already shows itself in mediaeval Greek, and which appears almost like a trick in the modern language, is hardly found here (see above, p. 17).—There is no trace of the complimentary Greek address *τοῦ λόγου σας*, 'your honour,' though this is found in embryo as early as the fourteenth century¹; its place is taken by *ἀστεντία σα* (*αὔθεντία σας*).

Again, the words of foreign importation—Slavonic, Albanian, Venetian, and Turkish—which have influenced so considerably the Modern Greek vocabulary, are here almost entirely wanting. The influence of the Slavonic languages, indeed, on Modern Greek, as Miklosich has shown in his valuable paper, *Die slavischen elemente im Neugriechischen*, has not been extensive; but of the words which he there mentions as having this origin, only one, *ρόυχα*, 'clothes,' seems to have found its way into Italy, and this may have been adopted into Greek at a comparatively early date. Albanian seems to be unrepresented, and the Venetian dialect of Italian almost entirely so, though in Greece from the fourteenth century onward, owing to the extensive dominion of the Republic in the East, it furnished many expressions which afterwards became naturalised. The question of Turkish words is a more difficult one, because it depends in part on the amount of confidence that is to be placed in a book published by Morelli at Naples in 1847, entitled *Cenni storici intorno alle colonie greco-calabre*. This work, which I have not seen, but which in the judgment of Morosi and Pellegrini is full of errors, contains in one part a list of words in use at Bova, among which are several of Turkish origin. For the existence of these Morelli seems to be the sole

¹ See *J.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 205.

authority, and when I enquired about some of them on the spot I found them to be unknown; indeed, Morosi is led to suspect that they must have been obtained from some Calabrian Greek who had been in Greece. The name *Τοῦρκο*, it is true, occurs in the songs, but this proves nothing with regard to this point, since it is used generally in the sense of a ‘corsair.’ To all this we may add what has already been remarked, that the regular ballad metre of the Greeks, and the familiar subjects of their songs, are wanting in Italy; and, moreover, that the popular mythology, with the well-known figures of Charon, the Nereids, &c.,¹ which is everywhere else the inheritance of this people, is unknown here. This is the more striking, because the Greeks of Cargese in Corsica, who migrated from the Morea two centuries ago, and have ever since been cut off from communication with their countrymen, still retain the ballads which they brought with them, and speak a language but little different from that which is in use in southern Greece.

The proofs which have thus been accumulated to shew that the Greek which is spoken in Italy is mediæval, and not simply modern, in its leading features are corroborated by a comparison of the dialects of the Terra d’Otranto and of Bova with one another. My readers cannot fail to have been struck with the correspondence between these where they mutually differ from ordinary Romaic, in respect of their preservation of classical words, as *κλάω*, *ρίγῳ*; their use of words otherwise unknown, as *τίσπο*, *κανονῶ*; and their peculiarities of form and accent and meaning. From these we naturally conclude that the two were derived from a common original dialect, which was in use in Italy at one time as an independent language, distinct from that which was spoken in Greece. On the other hand, the differences between the two dialects are sufficiently strongly marked to prove that the period when they were one is of considerable antiquity. Thus, to take a few instances out of many, the consonants *κ*, *γ*, *τ*, *δ*, *β*, *ν*, which as a rule are lost between vowels in Otr.; are usually kept in Bov.; *δ* is pronounced in Otr. as Eng. *d*, in Bov. as Eng. soft *th*; *θ* never retains its aspirated sound in Otr., but almost always does so in Bov.; the combinations *κτ* and *χθ*, which in Otr. become *φτ*, in Bov. become *στ*; as *κτένα κτενίου*, Otr. *ἀφτένι*, Bov. *στένι*; *ἐχθές*, Otr. *ἀφτέ*, Bov. *ἐστέ*. I may remark in passing that, chiefly owing to the loss of internal consonants, the Otrantine dialect is much the more difficult of the two to understand. In that district I was informed that, when the inhabitants came in contact with a Greek from Greece—a thing which now and then happens, and is only natural owing to the proximity of the two countries, since on a clear day Corfu is in sight from that neighbourhood—they have great difficulty in comprehending his language; whereas my informant at Bova assured me that he had met such a Greek at Reggio, and that, when he spoke slowly, he could understand very fairly what he said.

Still, notwithstanding the evidences of antiquity which have been

¹ On these, my *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. ii. pp. 304 foll., may be consulted.

mentioned, there are various features in these dialects which it is difficult to regard as otherwise than comparatively modern. The study of mediaeval Greek is hardly, perhaps, as yet sufficiently far advanced for us to be able to say with confidence at what period a particular word or form first appeared; but it is certainly striking that, whereas in the Italian Greek the words used for 'not' are corruptions of δέν, in the mediaeval chronicle of the Conquest of the Morea, which was written in the Peloponnese in the fourteenth century, this form does not occur, but only οὐδέν in the same sense. M. Psichari, however, in his lately published work, *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque*, has furnished us with a test by which the periods of development of the modern Greek language may be approximately determined. By a careful examination of all the available compositions in popular mediaeval Greek he has shewn, that until the beginning of the fourteenth century the nom. plur. fem. of the article was αἱ and the accus. τὰς, but that from that time onward οἱ (ῆ) began to take the place of the former, and τές (ταῖς) of the latter,¹ until in the course of the two following centuries they respectively drove out the earlier forms. Now we find that in Otr. the nom. plur. fem. is αἱ and the accus. τές, while in Bov. the nom. is οἱ and the accus. τές. The conclusion to which this brings us is that, unless the correspondence in these changes in Greece and Italy is accidental—which it is difficult to suppose—the Otrantine dialect must have been in some degree, that of Bova considerably, exposed to the influence of the language spoken in Greece subsequently to the thirteenth century.

Let us now enquire how far the results at which we have arrived by examining the language are borne out by the evidence of historical documents. With regard to the dying out of ancient Greek in the south of Italy, Strābo tells us that in his time the whole of that country, with the exception of the cities of Tarentum, Rhegium, and Naples, had been completely barbarised (ἐκβεβαρβάρωσθαι), i.e. that it had ceased to use the Greek tongue²; and from the absence of Greek inscriptions of the imperial period in that district—as far as the present state of our knowledge justifies us in speaking on the subject—we may conclude that that language became extinct there within the first, or at the utmost the second, century after Christ. From that period onward no considerable influx of Greeks into Italy took place until the outbreak of iconoclasm in the Eastern empire in the eighth century. At that time, owing to the persecutions to which the image-worshippers were exposed and their unwillingness to resign their cherished observances, large numbers of Byzantine Christians, especially of monks, left their homes, and settled in Apulia and Calabria; and the movement thus set on foot assumed so great proportions, that we are told that in the course of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries as many as two hundred Greek monasteries were erected in south Italy, and were subject to the

¹ The difference between οἱ and ῆ, τές and ταῖς, is one of orthography, for the pronunciation in each case is the same; there is no need here to discuss the question, which of the two is prefer-

able, though it is important in determining the origin of these forms.

² Strabo, vi. 1. § 2, p. 253.

patriarch of Constantinople.¹ But as the monks are *gens in qua nemo nascitur*, and with the final cessation of iconoclasm in the middle of the ninth century the primary cause of their emigration was removed, there must have existed on the spot a large number of their coreligionists to furnish inmates for those institutions. Such a Greek population was provided through the reestablishment of Byzantine influence in south Italy at that period by the emperor Basil the Macedonian, who organised his possessions there into a province called the Theme of Langobardia. After Basil's death, when the rich widow Danielis of Patrae (Patras), whose adopted son he was, left her immense possessions to his successor, Leo VI., that emperor enfranchised three thousand of her slaves, and established them in Apulia to cultivate the land as serfs.² Subsequently to this the Greek element must have greatly increased through the power exercised by the Byzantine officials, for we hear of as many as twenty important places, chiefly on the sea-coast, which were centres of their activity.³ After the final overthrow of the rule of the Eastern empire in these parts by the Normans in 1071, we have no definite evidence of any further reinforcement of these Greek colonies during the middle ages; though it is possible that in the time of the Comneni persons of this nationality may have been brought over to Italy by the Norman princes, first when Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemund invaded Greece, and afterwards when Roger II., after overrunning the country, carried off to Sicily the silk-workers of Thebes and Corinth. Nor can we overlook the close connexion which existed between the Kingdom of Naples and the Principality of the Morea in the latter part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴ Perhaps also at the time of the Ottoman conquest other Greeks may have fled hither for refuge, like those Albanians who crossed the Adriatic subsequently to the time of Scanderbeg, and whose settlements are still numerous in south Italy. But concerning the arrival of one additional colony at a later period we have certain information. Spon and Wheler mention that in 1673, about the time of their visit to Greece, when the Turks were endeavouring to subjugate the Mainotes in the south of the Morea, more than two thousand persons of that race

¹ Zambelli, *Ἱταλοελληνικά*, pp. 23, 202, and the authorities there given.

² See Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 255.

³ Zambelli, pp. 56, 57. In this connexion we may notice a remarkable group of words, which from having had a military application have come to be used of agriculture. In Otr. the term for 'tilling' the fields is *πολεμῶ*, and agricultural implements are called *ἄρματα*, which is the regular word for 'arms' in mediaeval and modern Greek. Again, in Bov. the word for an agricultural labourer is *πεζός* 'a foot-soldier,' and that for 'a person' is *θέμα*, which also is said to have been previously used for 'a cultivator of the soil.' The last word is used in Byzantine Greek first for 'a division of soldiers,' and then for the district in which they were

stationed; whence it was technically used for the Themes of the Empire, and ultimately was equivalent to a geographical administrative division like the Theme of Langobardia just mentioned. It has been suggested by Morosi and Pellegrini that the use of these expressions takes us back to the time of Byzantine military occupation; and the hypothesis is a tempting one, for nothing corresponding to this change of meaning is found elsewhere among Greek-speaking peoples, so that it would seem to have been caused by circumstances peculiar to the Italian colonies. When, however, it is applied to the words severally, it is difficult to see how it can be made to explain the change.

⁴ See *J. H. S.* vol. iv. pp. 179—181

migrated to Apulia in order to preserve their independence, and had lands assigned to them there by the King of Spain.¹ From Italian sources we learn that in 1674 a detachment of these, consisting of 175 inhabitants of Pressio in the Morea (*i.e.* probably Prastio, near Cardamyla), landed in the Terra d'Otranto, and were established at Mottola, a hill-town at the back of Taranto. When, however, an attempt was made to force them to adopt the Latin rite, they declined to submit, and betook themselves to Tricarico, a place further inland in the neighbourhood of Potenza.² This took place about the same time that the Greek settlement was established in Corsica. We are further informed that in 1716 many families came from Greece to Lecce, and settled in that city and its neighbourhood.³

To turn now to the evidence furnished by Italy itself; we have ample proof from this source of an extensive Greek population existing in the country during the Middle Ages. In the Neapolitan archives there is a large collection of local Greek documents, ranging from A.D. 983 to 1304, and containing charters, agreements, forms of sale, &c., the information contained in which has been sifted by Zambelli (Zampelios), and summarised in his *Ἱταλοελληνικά*. The lists of Greek family names belonging to persons attached to farms and properties in various parts of the country, which occur in these, are very interesting, and the names correspond to a great extent to those which exist among the Greeks of the present day; such as Παλαιόπουλος, Μουσούρης, Καλογερίτζης, Κοσκινᾶς, Κονταράτος.⁴ But the local names evidently of Greek origin which at the present day are widely spread over these provinces of Italy show that Greek was once used throughout a much more extensive area than any documents would seem to imply. Zambelli has collected more than fifty of these, which are found either there or in Sicily, and the following may

¹ Spon, *Voyage d'Italie* &c., Amst. 1679 vol. i. p. 122; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, Lond. 1682, p. 47. Among the Bova songs there is one that turns on the subject of 'the Greek girl' (ἡ Ῥωμαιοπούλα) who refuses the suit of a Turkish lover, notwithstanding her mother's solicitations (Comparetti Nos. 36, 37; Pellegrini, No. 62). This poem differs completely in metre and mode of treatment from all the rest that are found in Italy, and corresponds to two on the same subject which are sung in Greece, Nos. 574 and 574a in Passow's *Carmina popularia Graeciae recentioris*; there can be no doubt therefore that it has been imported from abroad. Morosi ('Bova,' p. 74), mentions a story which was current at Bova, to the effect that it had been introduced early in the present century by a native of that place who had lived abroad. If this was not the case, it is probable that it dates from the time of the migration of the Mainotes.

² Rodotà, *Dell' origine del rito greco*, vol. iii. p. 96.

³ Aar, in *Archivio storico italiano*, 4th ser. vol. vi. p. 316.

⁴ Zambelli, p. 168. It is also noticeable, as illustrating the numerous points of correspondence which exist between modern and early mediaeval Greek, how many words and peculiarities of form which are familiar at the present day are found in these early documents. Thus 'water' is νερόν, the 'nose' μύτη, 'a dog' σκύλλος, 'oil' λάδι, 'a goat' γίδα, 'the summer' καλοκαίριν, 'a forest' λόγος, 'silver' ἀσήμι, 'an ass' γαῖδαρος: 'white' ἄσπρος, 'black' μαῦρος, 'short' κοντός, 'lame' κουτσός: and (to illustrate peculiarities of form) for ἀέρα, 'wind' we find ἀγέρας, for αἶμα γαῖμα, for κεκαυμένος καμμένος, for ἔφερον ἐφέρασιν, for ἔκαμον ἐκάμασιν. (Zambelli, pp. 154, 171, 184, 185). It may be added, that in the Greek of the Bova district at the present day there are words in use which exist in Greek MSS. of Calabria earlier than Cent. xiii., but do not belong to the language as spoken in Greece—βαθεῖα 'valley,' ἀρτυσία 'seasoning,' κεφάλωμα 'extremity,' στεννάτο (for στεγνάτον) 'boiler,' and others. (Morosi, 'Bova,' p. 75.)

be taken as specimens:—Monastarace (Μοναστηράκι), Riace (Ῥνάκι), Velanidi (Βελανίδι), Neocastro (Νεόκαστρον), Policastro (Πολύκαστρον), Contoguri (Κοντογούρι), Petrizza (Πετρίτζα), Acri (Ἄκρη), Cropolati (Κυροπαλάτης).¹ An additional and very curious form of evidence is supplied by the numerous mediaeval Greek words which are found embedded in the modern Apulian and Calabrian dialects of Italian. Thus the 'tortoise' is *celona* (χελώνη), 'a frying-pan' *tiame* (τηγάμι), 'a fox' *lipuda* (ἄλιπούδα, = ἄλώπηξ), 'a skull' *coecalo* (κόκκαλον), 'fresh cheese' *provola* (πρόγαλα), 'a nest' *foddea* (φωλέα); and there are many others.²

With regard to the two groups of Greek townships and villages which are the subject of this paper we have information of a fairly early date, and in both cases we discover that at one period they extended more widely than they do at the present day. In the case of the Terra d'Otranto the intimations occur at sufficiently frequent intervals to form a continuous chain of evidence from early in the middle ages to the present time. These have been collected with great care and learning by Sig. Aar in his articles entitled *Gli studi storici in Terra d'Otranto* in vols. vi. and ix. of ser. 4 of the *Archivio storico italiano*; ³ and for the earlier period are derived from Greek manuscripts, like those already mentioned, in the Neapolitan and other archives, and from incidental notices in other documents. Thus a bull of Urban VI. in 1384 informs us that the town of Galatina, between Lecce and Gallipoli, had then a mixed population of Greek and Latin Christians, but that the services of the Church were conducted only in the Greek tongue. From this period onward the number of our authorities increases. Early in the fifteenth century Epifanio, abbot of Nardò, near Galatina, mentions many places inhabited by Greeks, whose number amounted to 12,330 souls. At the beginning of the following century Galateo, who was a native of these parts, in his book *De situ Iupigiae* makes mention of other towns where Greek was spoken; and this was confirmed during the sixteenth century by Alberti in his *Descrizione di tutta l'Italia*, by Porzio in his *Relazione del regno di Napoli*, and by Persio in his *Discorso intorno alla conformità della lingua italiana con le più nobili antiche lingue*. Further evidence on the same subject is furnished in the first half of the seventeenth century by Arcudi, priest of Soleto, who in a letter addressed to Pope Urban VIII. describes the Greek that was in use in that place; and in the early part of the eighteenth century by Ughelli in his *Italia Sacra*.⁴ Of the Greeks of Bova the first notice is found in a charter (without date) of Roger II., who died in 1154: in this, among the serfs presented by him to a monastery in Calabria, we find *Γρηγόριος βουτάνος* and *Νικήτης βουτάνος*; and the gentile name here given can hardly mean anything else than 'inhabitant of Bova (Βούα),' being in fact the name

¹ Zambelli, pp. 54, 55; cp. Morosi, *Studi*, 206.

² Zambelli, p. 68; cp. Morosi, *Studi*, p. 206.

³ Proofs of the existence of a much more numerous Greek population are given in vol. vi. pp. 101, 102, and notes. For evidence on the

same subject derived from the continuance of the Greek rite in Italy the reader is referred to an article in the *Antiquary* for 1888, pp. 195—197.

⁴ See the authorities in Morosi, *Studi*, pp. 181, 207, and Pellegrini, pp. ix—xi.

applied to the people of that place at the present day.¹ At a later period they are explicitly mentioned by Barrio in his *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* (Rom. 1571). After mentioning various other places in that province where Greek was spoken, that writer names 'Bova civitas, sedes episcopalis in montis cacumine sita,' and then adds—'A Leucopetra villa hucusque incolae in familiari sermone Latina (*i.e.* Italian) et Graeca lingua utuntur, sacra vero Graeca lingua, Graecoque ritu faciunt.'²

The conclusion, then, to which we are led with regard to the origin of the Greek-speaking population of South Italy is, that they are descendants of the Byzantine Greeks who migrated thither not later than the eleventh century, and that the groundwork of their language is to be found in the Greek that was spoken in Greece at that time. But, notwithstanding that we have no definite evidence of any other immigrants having come over from the mother-country between that date and the seventeenth century, yet so great difficulty is involved in supposing that all the forms and expressions which these dialects possess in common with Modern Greek existed so early, that we are almost forced to the conclusion that the original colonies must at some time have been reinforced in this manner. We have seen that it is a doubtful question whether any Turkish words are to be found in the Italian Greek at the present day. If this should prove to be the case, their introduction may with some confidence be referred to the migration from Greece which took place in 1673; and other peculiarities in the language, which can be proved to bear a comparatively modern stamp, may not unreasonably be attributed to that period.

H. F. TOZER.

¹ Morosi, '*Bova*,' p. 76.

² Barrius, p. 228, quoted by Pott in *Philologus*, vol. xi. p. 247.

APOLLO HIKESIOS.

IN an article by J. Y. Akerman (*Num. Chron.* iv. p. 97) is the following inscription:—

Obv. Head of Antoninus Pius.

Rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. Apollo Embasius of the Ephesians. A galley. (Vaillant, *Num. Græca.*)

On turning to Vaillant's work, p. 291, I find the coin referred to by Akerman quite differently described:—

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. Apollo stans nudus, dextrâ demissâ sinistro cubito columnæ imposito, telum gerit: ex adverso Diana Venatricis habitu, dextrâ pariter demissâ, sinistrâ jaculum tenet. *Num. Antonini Pii.* ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC Apollinis fuit cognomen, hoc est, *ascendens navim*, &c.

Eckhel also cites Vaillant's description and remarks (ii. 516), 'Apollonius *Lib. I. Argonauticorum* saepius meminit 'Απόλλωνος 'Εμβασίου et 'Εκβασίου quem venerati sunt Argonautæ velut qui tueretur eos qui ad iter maritimum accincti *ingrediuntur* navim, praestaretque salvos *egredi*. Numen urbi opportunum cujus amplum fuit mari commercium.'

Without wishing for a moment to call in question Akerman's good faith, I cannot bring myself to believe that any such coin as he describes was before him when he wrote his paper, and I am driven to the conclusion that either through want of familiarity with Latin or through carelessness he entirely failed to comprehend Vaillant's words, and took the explanation of the epithet ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC '*ascendens navim*' as referring to the type of the coin: or possibly he may have had before him a coin of Ephesus with a galley upon it (cf. *Mion.* iii. 112, 378), but with an illegible inscription in which he may have fancied that he could trace the words ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ.

In any case I must decline to accept Akerman's description as of any value whatever.

With regard to Vaillant's coin the case is different, but I think I shall be able to show that he also has fallen into some serious errors in describing the coin, though in his case the faults are more excusable owing to the poor preservation in which the specimen evidently was.

The following is an exact description of a piece which is in all probability identical in type and inscription with the coin cited by Vaillant.

Obv. Τ. ΑΙΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝ[ΤΩΝΕΙ]ΝΟC. Bust of Antoninus Pius r. laur.

Rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΚΕ ΚΙΟΣΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. Apollo and Artemis standing face to face: Apollo left, naked but for chlamys wound round left arm and hanging from his elbow, grasps with his right hand a laurel-branch offered him by Artemis, and holds bow in left: Artemis right, wearing long chiton with diplois and quiver at shoulder, holds in left hand a bow and in lowered right a branch of laurel which she offers to Apollo: from the stem of the branch near her hand hangs apparently a fillet. Æ 1.2.



It will be seen that the general aspect of this type is not inconsistent with Vaillant's description. He has simply mistaken the chlamys which hangs in a straight line from Apollo's elbow for a column, and the bows held by the two figures for darts: the laurel-branch has escaped his notice entirely.

These and such-like errors in description are unfortunately common enough in all numismatic works, and may be held excusable in the case of ill-preserved coins. But in transcribing the legend Vaillant must be held responsible for a serious misapprehension of the mutual relation of inscription and type on Greek coins.

An epithet such as ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC, implying a well defined aspect of Apollo worship, could hardly be looked for in conjunction with such a type as Vaillant describes, and it may have been some half consciousness of this incongruity which led Akerman to the hasty assumption that the type of the coin was a galley, although a galley unaccompanied by the god himself would be equally surprising.

What can have induced Vaillant to assume that he could read the word ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC I am at a loss to imagine. The result has been that he has mislead all numismatists, Eckhel included, for nearly two hundred years.

The coin which I now describe was purchased by the British Museum in 1848 from Mr. Borrell of Smyrna. The inscription is legible throughout though slightly indistinct in parts. It is of importance in the first place as correcting Vaillant and compelling us to erase the epithet ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC from among the titles of Apollo which occur on coins, and in the second place as introducing an entirely new epithet ΙΚΕCΙΟC which has hitherto, so far as I know, never been met with either on coins, in inscriptions, or in literature, in connection with Apollo, though it is a well-known epithet of Zeus as the Protector of Suppliants (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 341, 610; Soph. *Phil.* 484; and Eur. *Hec.* 345).

The epithet ΙΚΕCΙΟC is nevertheless one which is entirely in harmony

with the idea of purification from blood-guiltiness so intimately associated with the religion of Apollo as it is exemplified, to quote one notable instance, in the well-known story of Orestes.

ἐγὼ μὲν ἔρπω πρὸς πολυστεφεῇ μυχόν.
 ὀρώ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῇ
 ἔδραν ἔχοντα προστρόπαιον, αἵματι
 στάζοντα χεῖρας καὶ νεοσπαδὲς ξίφος
 ἔχοντ' ἐλαίας θ' ὑψιγέννητον κλάδον.
 λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἔστεμμένοι,
 ἀργῇτι μαλλῶ· τῇδε γὰρ τρανῶς ἐρώ.

Aesch. *Eum.* 39 sqq.

The man who was stained with the blood of his fellow-man, the criminal or the outcast, if he turned as a suppliant *ἰκέτης* or *προστρόπαιος*, to Apollo and humbly sued for purification, could obtain it at the hands of the god after the performance of the due rites and ceremonies, among which the sprinkling of the suppliant with the blood of the expiatory victim and subsequent penance were the most characteristic. The ceremony of sprinkling was performed with the sacred olive or laurel branch, *ἰκετηρία*, bound with a fillet of white wool: Γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κλήρου παραλαβὼν τοὺς λαχόντας ὁ Θησεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφίνιον ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἰκετηρίαν. Ἦν δὲ κλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας ἐρίῳ λευκῷ κατεστεμμένος (Plut. *Thes.* 18).

The suppliant seeking relief from sin is frequently spoken of as approaching the altar of the god holding this symbol of his condition as a suppliant for purification in his hand.

This *ἰκετηρία* is the branch which on our coin is presented by Artemis to Apollo clearly with the object of distinguishing him as Apollo *Ἰκέσιος*, a title which we may therefore conclude that he bore in some temple at Ephesus, which was perhaps consecrated in the reign of Antoninus Pius, a temple which very probably may have enjoyed a right of Asylum for fugitives similar to that of the temple of the great Ephesian goddess herself.

In conclusion I may remark that the pieces said to bear the legend ΠΕΙΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ (Eckhel ii. 516), which are of the same type as the one described above, seem to be misread specimens of the same coin.

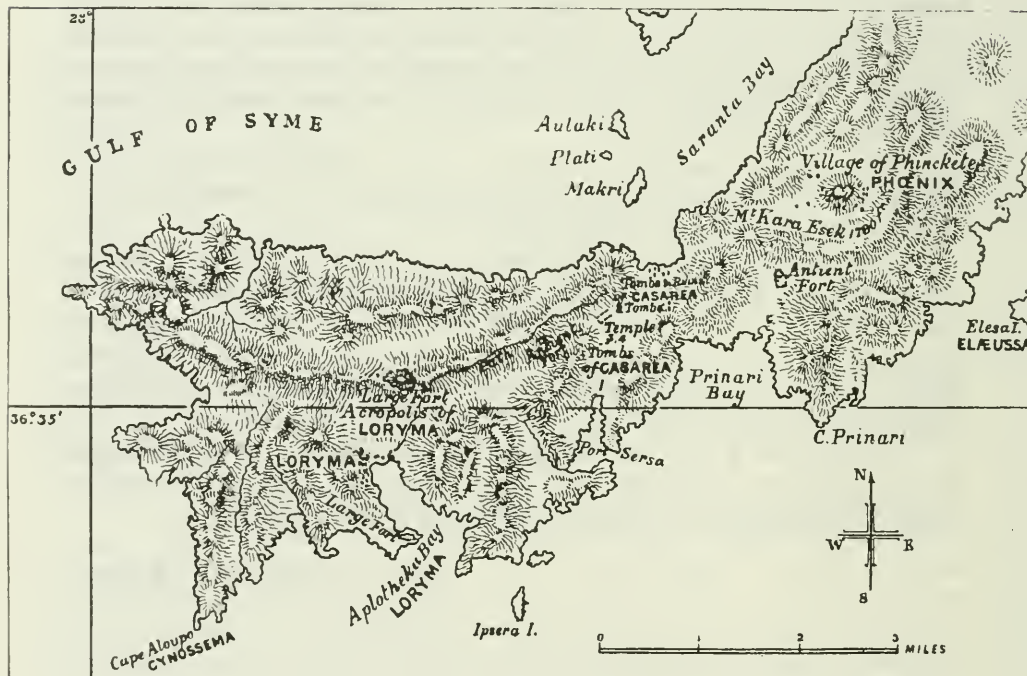
BARCLAY V. HEAD.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CASAREA, LYDAE, PATARA, MYRA.

I.

CASAREA.

In last year's volume of this *Journal* (ix. pp. 82, 83) Mr. Theodore Ben described the situation of this Carian town, which he discovered about three miles to the north-east of Loryma.¹ In laying before the reader the



inscriptions found on this site, from which we recover its name, I would call attention to the accompanying Map of Casarea and its neighbourhood,

¹ Photographic views and plans of Loryma are published in Benndorf and Niemann, *Lykien*, vol. i. plates ix., x.; p. 20.

prepared by Mr. Bent at my request. He has made it the more valuable by adding the following memoranda:—

‘During investigations on the southern coast of Caria, near the promontory anciently called Cynossema, and now known as Cape Aloupo or Fox, we were anchored in the Bay of Aplotheka, around which are the ruins of ancient Loryma. Whilst here, we heard from the peasants of a curious harbour and ruins at a little distance from the bay. Accordingly we rowed along the coast in our boat past several islets, and soon arrived at this harbour, the entrance of which is not a stone’s throw across, though it opens within into a considerable basin surrounded by high mountains. This harbour appears now to be known only to smugglers and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Phinekete, or Phenike,¹ who have two or three boats here and a rude cottage for wayfarers. It is now known as Sersa, and may be identified with the *Κρήσα λιμὴν* of Ptolemy (v. 2) and Pliny’s ‘Portus Cressa’ (*N.H.* v. 104), which he describes as in Caria, and distant twenty miles from Rhodes.² From the mouth of the harbour there runs northward across the isthmus a narrow valley, which the people of Phenike use for growing corn; it is full of the *débris* of an ancient city. Beneath a large caroub-tree, and covered by the ruins of a Byzantine church, we found a row of bases of columns (apparently *in situ*), as if a temple had stood here. At this spot (marked 3, 4 in the Map) we found two inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, *infra*). Towards the southern end of the valley were tombs, one of which bore the inscription No. 1, *infra* (the site is marked 1 in the Map). About half-way up the valley, some way up the slopes to the east of the ruins of the town, were three large stones, on one of which was the inscription No. 2, *infra* (marked 2 in the Map). At the northern extremity of the valley, at the top of a cliff going down very abruptly into the sea, and affording a lovely view of the island-dotted gulf of Syme, were large quantities of tombs composed of blocks of marble piled pyramid-wise upon each other.’

To these remarks of Mr. Bent let me add a word or two respecting the name and site of Casarea. The site belongs, of course, to the Rhodian territory on the Carian mainland. The ethnic names *Κασαρεύς*, *Κασαρίς*³

¹ The ancient *Φοῖνιξ*: see Ptolemy, v. 2 § 11, and Strabo xiv. p. 652: ‘*Ἐξῆς δὲ Φύσκος πολίχνη λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ἄλσος Λητῶν· εἴτα Λώρυμα παραλία τραχεῖα, καὶ ὕψος ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτῃ (ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ δὲ φρούριον δμῶνυμον τῷ ὕρει) Φοῖνιξ.* Compare *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. 1886, pp. 248 foll., where some inscriptions from Phoenix are published.

² Ptolemy is usually careful to enumerate the names of places in proper geographical order: accordingly the position of *Κρήσα λιμὴν* in his list is important, as confirming the identification of *Κρήσα λιμὴν* with the modern Sersa,—viz.

Loryma, Portus Cresa, Phenike. There may well be a connexion also between the names *Κρήσα* and Sersa.

³ While I am preparing this paper there reaches me from Paris the index, just issued, of the first ten volumes of the *Bulletin*, ‘*Table générale des dix premières années (1877–1886).*’ This will be a welcome help to all the readers of the *Bulletin*, that is to say to every student of Classical antiquities throughout the world. The *Table* is planned on a larger and fuller scale than either the *Register* of the *Mittheilungen*, or Mr. Hamilton Smith’s Index to the *Hellenic Journal*,

occur not unfrequently in lists or epitaphs of Rhodian citizens; see Ross *Hellenika* i. p. 103, No. 28 (from Rhodes): 'Αγαθάνασσα 'Αγαθοκλεῦς Κασαρίς, whereupon Ross remarks, 'Das weibliche Demotikon Κασαρίς lässt auf einen Ortsnamen Κάσαρα schliessen, wie Μεγαρίς von Μέγαρα. Wahrscheinlich ist dieser unbekannte Ort wieder ein Rhodischer Demos.' This conjecture of Ross is approved by MM. Holleaux and Diehl, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* ix. p. 120 (Πεισικράτης 'Αριστοφύλου Κασαρεύς, and Ξενοφῶν Ξενοκλεῦς Κασαρεύς), who refer to *Bulletin* ii. pp. 617, 618 (Νυμφόδοτος 'Ροδοκλεῦς Κασαρεύς, where the editor has wrongly suggested Κα[ι]σαρεύς), and *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 121, line 12 ([ὁ δέῖνα Κα]σαρεύς). To these instances, tombstones found in Rhodes itself, we may add *Bulletin* x. p. 259, where, in a decree of an eranos of Adonis-worshippers found at Loryma, occurs the name [Τελέ]σταν Τελέσωνος Κασαρῆ. Here also the editor alters the local name to Κα[ι]σαρῆ. This makes it probable that the name may still have to be restored in some or other of the classical texts, since Κασαρεύς was sure to be corrected by ancient scribe or modern editor into Καισαρεύς.

I could wish that Mr. Bent's inscriptions given below (Nos. 1—4) were more numerous, and afforded more distinct evidence to connect the name with this particular site. There is nothing to compel us to do so. In this valley of the Rhodian Peraea, whatever its name, a townsman of Casarea may conceivably have been honoured with a tomb or a statue, even if Casarea was a deme in the island of Rhodes. But probability favours Mr. Bent's identification, and we may provisionally accept it. The occurrence of the name in the decree of Adoniasts at Loryma certainly points rather to the Peraea. No. 2 of Mr. Bent's inscriptions is edited from an impression which is difficult to read, and (if rightly deciphered) it gives an unusual form of the ethnic adjective, Κασαρεάτης instead of Κασαρεύς. This however is no real difficulty; compare Κεραμικήτης, Κεράμιος from Κέραμος. I infer, however, that the name of the town was not Κάσαρα (as Ross), but Κασαρέα.

It may be added that the personal names occurring in the following inscriptions are thoroughly Rhodian in character: names compounded with 'Αγη-, 'Αγε-, Τιμα-, or -αναξ, abound in Rhodian lists, and in documents from the Rhodian Peraea (see 'Inscriptions de la Pérée Rhodienne,' in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. pp. 245 ff.).

and contains both a *Table des noms propres Grecs* and another *des noms de choses Grecs*. I find however that the Index of proper names *s.v.*

Κασαρεύς, Κασαρίς, omits the references to ii. 618 and x. 259.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CASAREA.

1.

On a tomb at Casarea consisting of four marble blocks resting like steps one upon another: the inscription is upon the lowest step. From an impression.

ΑΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΑΓΗΝΑΚΙ
ΚΑΣΑΡΕΩΣ

Ἀγησάνδρου Ἀγήνακτος
Κασαρέως.

The letters are perfectly preserved, except at the end of line 1, and belong to a good time, say B.C. 150.

2.

Inscribed on one of three large stones, lying a good deal higher than the town below. 'I dug underneath it,' writes Mr. Bent, 'to see if there was any trace of a tomb; but there was not.' It is clearly the base of a statue. From an impression. Broken apparently on the left only; the first six letters are very illegible. The demotic adjective, if rightly read, is out of its proper place.

. . . ΚΑΣΑΡΕΑΤΗΝΠΕΙΣΙΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ
. ΝΔΕΑΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

Ὁ δῆμος (?) τὸν δέινα] Κασαρεύτην Πεισιάνακτος,
καθ' ὑποθεσίαν] δὲ Ἀγεστράτου.

3.

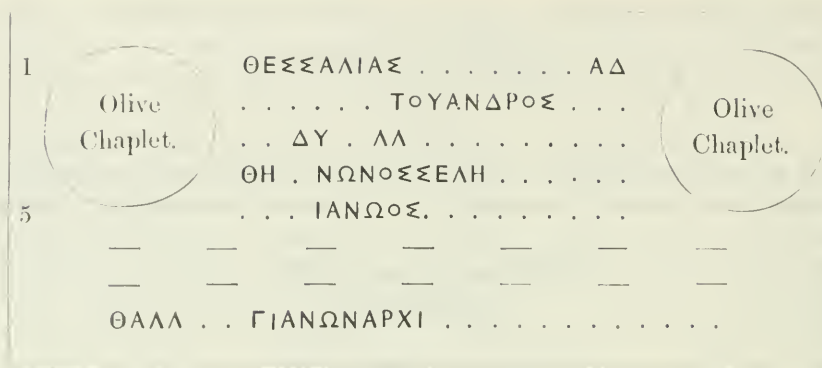
From the base of a column, found apparently *in situ*, among the ruins of a Byzantine church that may have been originally a temple. Rather coarsely inscribed; but the letters are of a good time. From impression.

ΤΙΜΑΓΓΟΛΙ Τιμάπολ[ις
ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ Ἱέρωνος.

Perhaps the name of the donor of the column.

4.

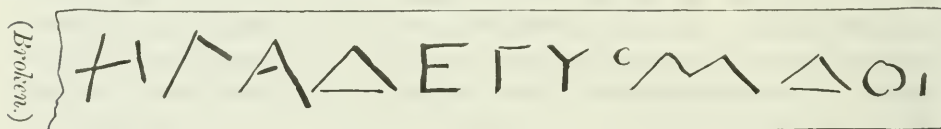
On a marble block discovered close to the base of the column (No. 3) in the ruins of the Byzantine church. Inscribed in small letters of a good time, but so obliterated that no impression could be taken.



Probably a dedication in some one's honour. Θεσσαλία in line 1 may be a woman's name.

5.

‘From a tomb at the northern extremity of the valley across the isthmus described above, at the top of the cliff, overlooking the Gulf of Syme.’ From a copy.



The inscription, which I cannot decipher, seems to be complete, except at the left extremity. Mr. Bent assures me that his copy was carefully made; he describes the letters as appearing to be half-Carian and half-Greek in form.

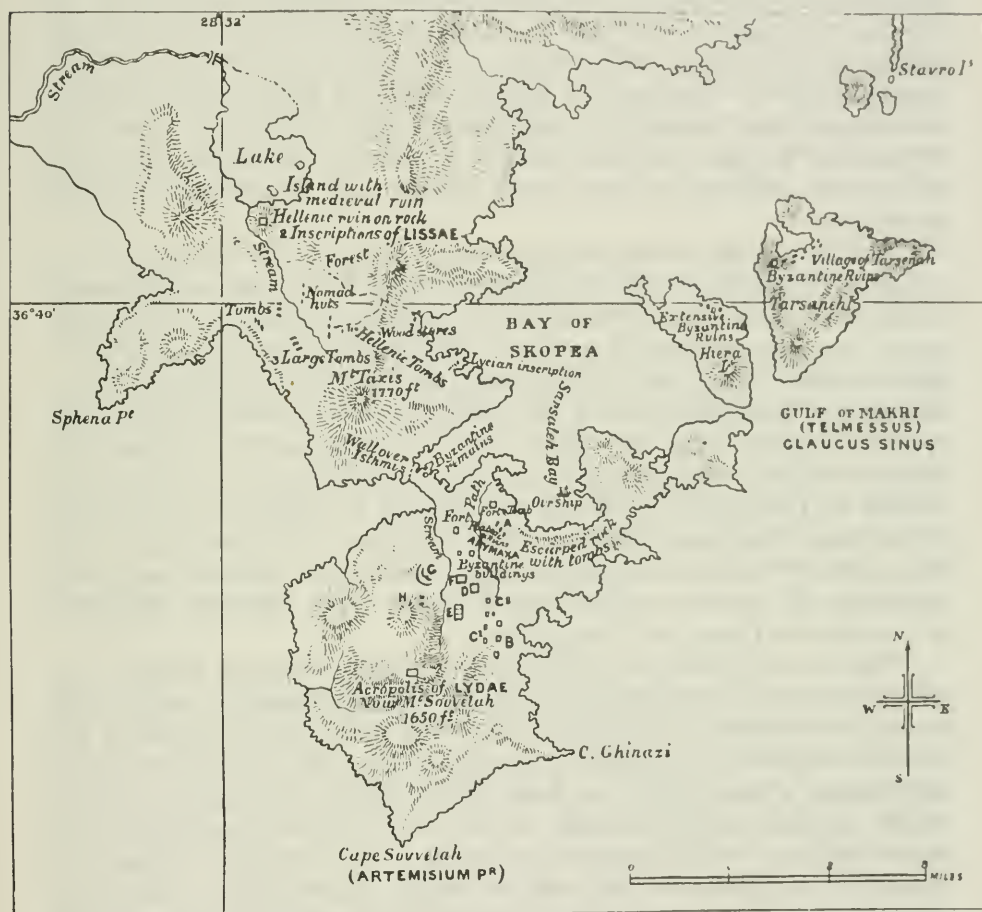
II.

LYDAE (Λύδαι) IN LYCIA.

THE geographer Ptolemy (v. 3, 2) enumerates the following Lycian towns as situated round the basin of the Gulf of Makri (Sinus Glaucus): *μετὰ Καῦνον Λύδαι, Καρύα, Δαίδαλα, Τελμησσός*. These places are enumerated from west to east. In a corresponding passage Pliny (*N. H.* v. 103) enumerates the following from west to east: oppida Daedala, Crya fugitivorum, flumen Axon, oppidum Calynda. He calls the *Καρύα* of Ptolemy Crya (see Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Κρύα*), and he omits Lydae altogether. The texts of Ptolemy variously give this last name as *Λύδαι, Χύδαι, Χλύδαι*:¹ but the inscriptions which are now presented to the reader prove that *Λύδαι* is the correct form, and that Ptolemy has accurately indicated its site by the place it occupies in his enumeration.

¹ Kiepert gives the name as Klydae in his *Atlas von Hellas*, 1851.

In the winter of 1887-8 Mr. Theodore Bent anchored in the Gulf of Makri, within the basin formed by the northern shore of the promontory or peninsula of Artemisium. This description will become intelligible from a glance at the accompanying Map, which Mr. Bent has prepared from the Admiralty Charts. His explorations in the neighbourhood have been briefly described by him in the last volume of this *Journal* (ix. p. 83). Archaeologists, however, will thank me for having prevailed upon him to furnish some



additional particulars respecting the scenery of the neighbourhood, my own immediate object being to identify the exact site of each of the inscriptions presently to be published. 'The character of the country round the Gulf of Makri (the ancient Glancus Sinus),' writes Mr. Bent, 'is exceedingly fine, the gulf being hemmed in by high mountains, and forcibly reminding us of the Lake of Lucerne. The town of LYDAE we discovered on the small peninsula to the north-west of the gulf. It is built in a basin surrounded by mountains,

of which Mount Souvelah, with its ruins of the acropolis of Lydae, is 1,650 feet above the level of the sea. There are three other peaks on this peninsula which attain nearly an equal height; and as, roughly speaking, the peninsula is not fifteen miles round, the precipitous character of the ground may easily be imagined. From this peninsula an excellent view of the gulf can be obtained, its surface dotted with islands, its rugged pine-clad slopes, and the snowy peaks of the Taurus range in the background. In the north-west corner of the gulf, where our ship lay, is a tiny archipelago, Tarsenah being the largest island, and possessing a good harbour: this island, moreover, is the only one inhabited; a few poor Greeks from Makri (anciently Telmessos), having built a miserable village thereon amongst the ruins of a town of the Byzantine epoch. Tarsenah, the adjoining island of Hiera, and the islets to the north, all bear evidence of having been extensively inhabited in the days of the lower Empire; but they contain no traces of any earlier occupation, as far as I could gather from a hasty survey and conversation with the inhabitants.'

'Taking one of the Greeks of Tarsenah as our guide, we first of all visited a curious escarped rock on the mainland opposite; it was simply honey-combed with tombs, before which slabs had been placed, and of very irregular shape. Amongst brambles to the left of this rock were some tombs of much finer execution. Over one of these, cut in the rock after the same fashion as the tombs of Telmessus, there is an inscription in red incised letters in an unknown tongue. This was copied in the first instance by a German, von Hammer-Purgstall (*Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante*, 1811), and again by Forbes and Hoskyns, as published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1843, xii. p. 158. My own copy agrees almost exactly with the German one, that of Forbes and Hoskyns being very inaccurate (see *Classical Review*, 1888, ii. p. 234). The characters appear to be a mixture of Carian and Pamphylian.'

'We then went with our ship and anchored at the head of Skopea Bay, just off the peninsula of Lydae, and on the following morning started with our men to examine the ruins which our Greek guide told us existed in the interior of this tongue of land. A precipitous path led up from the water's edge through a dense forest, and forms the sole approach on this side; for an abrupt mountain ridge, in which we saw many rock-cut tombs, acts as a natural fortification for the north-eastern side of the peninsula. About half-way up, in an opening in the forest, we found a quadrangular Hellenic fort, which doubtless in ancient days commanded this approach: and close alongside of this were three tombs cut in the living rock, with domed roofs.'

'On reaching the summit of the ridge, we descended a little to our left, and there came across a plateau covered with ruins. Three large tombs (A in Map), constructed of massive slabs of marble and standing about ten feet high, occupied a commanding position overlooking the Gulf of Makri and the distant mountains. From inscriptions upon these' (nos. 6, 16, 17, *post*), 'we learned for the first time that we were in "the deme of Arymaxa,"

which belonged to the town of "Lydae," and that the tombs belonged to the Diophantus family, who seem to have been the chief people of the place. All around here were traces of extensive ruins, columns and piles of stones, pointing to the existence of a temple and other buildings in this locality. Here too, we found a good spring of water, which doubtless accounts for the choice of this high plateau for building.'

'Ascending again to another elevation, we passed by an ancient and long-disused quarry for marble, which had supplied the material for the construction of Lydae; presently, having passed through the forest southward for another mile, we found ourselves just over the basin in the mountains in which the ruins of Lydae stood. The only inhabitants of the place are nomad Yuruks, who have their skin tents amongst the ruins, while the old buildings provide excellent stabling for their camels. The sole occupation of these nomads is cutting down timber in the surrounding forest, the best pieces being taken down to the sea-shore for sale, and the refuse burned into charcoal.'

'The most conspicuous objects among the ruins of Lydae are three large Heroa, built on the edge of a ridge overlooking the sea to the east (marked *B* on Map). From the southernmost of these tombs we extracted fragments of sarcophagi and a few inscriptions' (nos. 8, 9, 10 *post*).

'From this ridge the ground slopes rapidly down into the basin in which the town was built, and is covered with rough rocks and brushwood, amongst which we found many tombs (*C*^{1, 2} in the Map), most of them having inscriptions (nos. 12-15 and 18 *post*). Our work in the actual basin was much hindered by the growth of the "wait-a-bit" thorn: surrounded by a dense mass of these brambles we discovered a very large block of marble standing with an inscription in honour of a priest named Leontomenes; this monument appeared to be of earlier date than any of the others at Lydae' (no. 6).

'A large mass of building next attracted our attention, the chief of which appeared to have been a large Byzantine structure (*F*). Close to this, after digging for two days, we came across a number of pedestals, all of which had once carried statues; many of these pedestals stood apparently in their original places, whilst others had been built in between them, so as to form the foundation wall of some later edifice. These pedestals contained inscriptions in honour of men of Lydae, and others who had distinguished themselves in the service of the state (nos. 20—27 *post*). This spot (*D* in Map), we may assume to have been the Agora of ancient Lydae.'

'At a little distance from here, were three gigantic Heroa, built side by side (*E*), and similar in construction to those already mentioned upon the ridge (*B*). Fragments of statuary lay all around, all headless, and one fragment of a draped female figure seated on a chair or throne. All, however, were distinctly of the Roman period, and we found no inscriptions on or near these Heroa.'

'Down from Mount Souvelah, on which stood the acropolis of the town, there ran a stream right through the centre of the ancient town; it has now

hardly any water in it, but it bears evidence of having been a much more considerable stream in former days. On the left bank of this stream were traces of many buildings, and in a depression filled with a dense growth of brambles and thorns I identified the site of the theatre (*G*). On the slopes above the theatre were traces of many ruins, and a rock-cut Lycian tomb of the usual type (*H*). Another fortress guarded the approach to Lydae from the isthmus, and across the isthmus itself was a wall running up a gentle slope from the Bay of Skopea, and ending at the edge of a steep precipice some 500 feet above the sea on the outer side. Hence Lydae, being so well fortified by nature, needed no walls for the protection of the city itself.

‘After some days of work at Lydae, our guide of Tarsenah took us to another site more inland. We rowed in our boat to a small bay, where were some wood-stores belonging to the nomad Yuruks, who bring hither their cut wood from the mountains for sale to the merchants from the towns. Again we ascended from the shore by a steep path leading through a *col* in the mountains, and after walking for some miles through a dense forest, we saw at some distance below us a lake of considerable size, the southern end of which was shut in by very precipitous cliffs, while the north-western end was low and marshy, terminating in a plain which extended to the mountains behind Caunos. In this lake, near the southern extremity, we saw two islets, on one of which, with the aid of our glasses, we distinguished extensive Byzantine remains; but as there was no boat on the lake, and no village near, we were unable to visit them.’

‘Between the southern end of the lake and the open sea ran a very narrow valley, the part near the lake being densely wooded and overgrown with rank vegetation. All down the valley were traces of Hellenic tombs, some of them constructed of great marbles, and generally three close together, as was the case with the tombs at Lydae. On a plateau, which the Yuruks had lately cleared of trees for pasture for their flocks, we opened many tombs of an inferior character, containing pottery, glass, and a silver coin of Caunos (*Hellenic Journal*, ix. p. 85). As the valley narrowed towards the lake, the traces of remains were more considerable; a finely executed rock-cut tomb, large blocks of marble and columns and other remains lay amongst the brushwood, and pointed to the existence of a town containing specimens of the best period of Hellenic art. On the top of an escarped rock running down into the lake, and standing several hundred feet above it, was a considerable building of good Hellenic masonry; the surrounding walls were irregular in shape, but on the top a square building appears to have stood—presumably a temple. One of the courses of the outer wall to the south had apparently been inscribed all over. We took impressions of the only two legible inscriptions, the others having become defaced through the peeling of the stone, so that only a letter appeared here and there. Owing to the site being so far from the sea, *i.e.* a two hours’ walk through a forest and over a mountain ridge, we were unable to take anything with us beyond spades and pickaxes; and I only reached the inscriptions to take the squeezes by standing on an

old rotten bee-hive, which had been left there by some wandering tribe.' These two inscriptions have already appeared in the *Hellenic Journal*, *ibid.* p. 88; they inform us that the place was called Lissa or Lissae, a name never alluded to in classical literature.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM LYDAE.

6.

'From a large base at Lydae, with traces above of a colossal statue.' It stood all alone among the brambles in the valley between the sites marked on the Map *B* and *C*¹ and *C*²

ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΗΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ

ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΑ

ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΔΙΟΣΚΑΙΘΕΩΝΑΓΡΟΤΕΡΩΝ
ΚΑΙΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΩΝΚΑΙΠΑΝΟΣΚΑΙΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙ
5 ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΔΙΣΚΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΑΔΕΚΑΙΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝΑΡΓΥΡΕΟΝ
ΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΕΞΙΔΙΟΥΨΤΟΝΚΑΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΓΕΡΑΙΟΝΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ
ΤΕΙΜΑΓΟΡΑΣΒ̄ΚΑΘ̄ΔΕΑΓΡΕΟΦΩΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΛΕΟΝΤΟ
ΜΕΝΟΥΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΥΣΤΟΝΕΑΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΩΝΚΑΤΑΔΕ
10 ΤΗΝΥΟΘΕΣΙΑΝΠΑΤΕΡΑ

ΘΕΟΙΣ

Λεοντομένην Ἀπολλωνίδου

Ἀρυμαξέα·

ἱερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγροτέρων
καὶ Διοσκόρων καὶ Πανὸς, καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ
5 πρυτανεύσαντα δις καὶ γραμματεύσαντα βουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δήμου, κατασκευάσαντα δὲ καὶ ποτήριον ἀργύρεον
τῇ πόλει ἐξ ἰδίου· τὸν καὶ γενόμενον γεραιὸν διὰ βίου·
Τειμαγόρας β̄, καθ' (ὕθεσίαν) δὲ Ἀγρεόφωντος καὶ Λεοντο-
μένου, Ἀρυμαξεὺς, τὸν ἑατοῦ πατρῶν κατὰ δὲ
10 τὴν ὕθεσίαν πατέρα,
θεοῖς.

Base of a statue in honour of Leontomenes, a distinguished citizen of Lydae. Mr. Bent tells me that this monument struck him as being of older date and of a better style of art than any others which he found at Lydae. This opinion is borne out by the inscription: the lettering is fairly good, and the form ΕΑΤΟΥ (line 9) points to the Augustan age, or (more strictly) to between B.C. 70 and B.C. 1; see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 356 *note* 8, No. 272 *note* 2; Meisterhans, *Grammatik* (2nd ed.), p. 121. Some examples however of a later date occur in Benndorf's *Iykien*: see vol. i. No. 105; vol. ii. No. 177.

Leontomenes is described as of the deme Arymaxa (line 2), the position of which is fixed by No. 16; see *A* on the Map, and compare Nos. 16, 17. The name of one other deme of Lydae is recovered from No. 7, but its site is unknown.

The relationship of the persons named in lines 8 foll. seems to be as follows. Teimagoras' mother, being a widow, had married Leontomenes, Leontomenes therefore became Teimagoras' stepfather (πατρώος, line 9). But Leontomenes proceeded further to adopt him (line 10), as one Agreophon had previously done (line 8).

Leontomenes had served for at least one year (ἱερατεύσαντα, line 3) as priest of Apollo, of Zeus, of the Dioscuri, and of Pan, and also of the Ἀγρότεροι Θεοί. I infer that the town possessed temples, or at least altars, with these several dedications; and the reason why these several priesthoods were combined in one person was, that they had come to be virtually λειτουργίαι, and so could be accepted only by a person of wealth. In the next inscription, of somewhat later date, one Theugenēs is described as priest of Apollo, of Zeus, and of Θεῶν Ἀγρέων. The last are evidently the same as Θεοὶ ἀγρότεροι, and who are these? I do not find Ἀγρότερος actually used except of Artemis: but Plutarch, *Amatorius*, ch. 14, writes: ἀλλὰ δορκάδας μὲν θηρένουσι καὶ λαγωὺς καὶ ἐλάφους ἀγρότερός τις συνεπιθωῦσσει καὶ συνεξορμᾷ θεός, εὐχονται δ' Ἀρισταίῳ δολοῦντες ὀρύγμασι καὶ βρόχοις λύκους καὶ ἄρκτους κ.τ.λ. Immediately he quotes a line from Aeschylus in which Apollo is styled Ἀγρεύς, an epithet more commonly used of Aristaeus (see Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 65), but also of Pan (Hesych. *s.v.*). Clearly we may understand by Θεοὶ Ἀγρότεροι or Θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς the deities of the chase and of wild life, Artemis, Aristaeus, Pan, and Apollo under some aspects,—deities not unsuited to this somewhat wild and secluded region.

From line 4 foll. we learn something of the internal condition of the town. It had a gymnasium (line 4), and a Gerousia (line 7, γεραιός): moreover, if this inscription is rightly assigned to the Augustan age, it affords one of the earliest known examples of a Gerousia (see Menadier, *Qua Condicione Ephesii etc.*, p. 61), and also the phrase γεραιὸς διὰ βίου implies that an appointment to the Gerousia for life (though it afterwards, as we know, became the rule) was at this earlier date the exception. We learn further that Lydae had a Boule and Ecclesia: these assemblies are also named in subsequent documents. They had a prytanis and a secretary (line 5), and Leontomenes had served in the former office for two years, and in the latter one year.

7.

'From small base of statue: Lydae.' Found in the Agora (*D* in Map).

ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΑΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΔΟΥΚΡΗΝΕΙΤΙΣΘΕΥΓΕ
ΝΗΝΘΗΡΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΘΥ·
ΔΕΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΚΡΗΝΕΑ

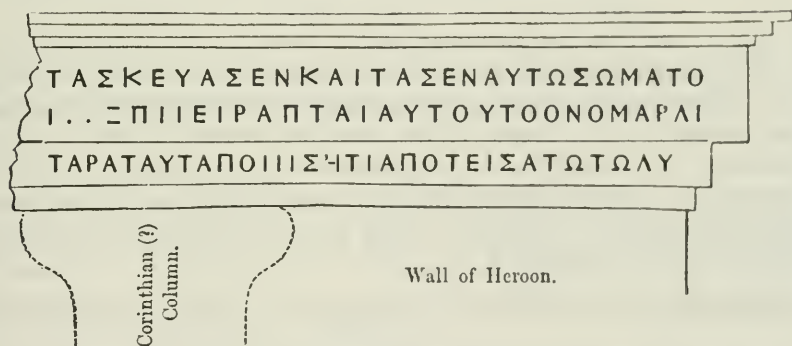
5 ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑΙΕΡΑΤΕΥ
ΣΑΝΤΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΔΙ
ΟΣΚΑΙΘΕΩΝΑΓΡΕΩΝΦΙΛΟΣ
ΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ

Μηνοδώρα Ἀπολλω-
νίδου Κρηνείτις Θευγέ-
νην Θηραμένον καθ' ὑ(ο)θεσίαν)
δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδου Κρηνέα
τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, ἱερατεύ-
σαντα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δι-
ὸς καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγρέων, φίλοσ-
τοργίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτ(ή)ν.

Dedication in honour of Theugenes, priest of Apollo, of Zeus, and of the Θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς. It resembles the preceding, *q.v.* The deme of Lydae (Κρήνη or Κρήναι) corresponding to the demotic names Κρηνεύς, Κρηνείτις, is not otherwise known.

8.

'End of a long inscription over entrance to Heroon at Lydae; the two following inscriptions were found on the two sarcophagi inside.' The site is marked *A* on the Map. From MS. copy only; no impression.



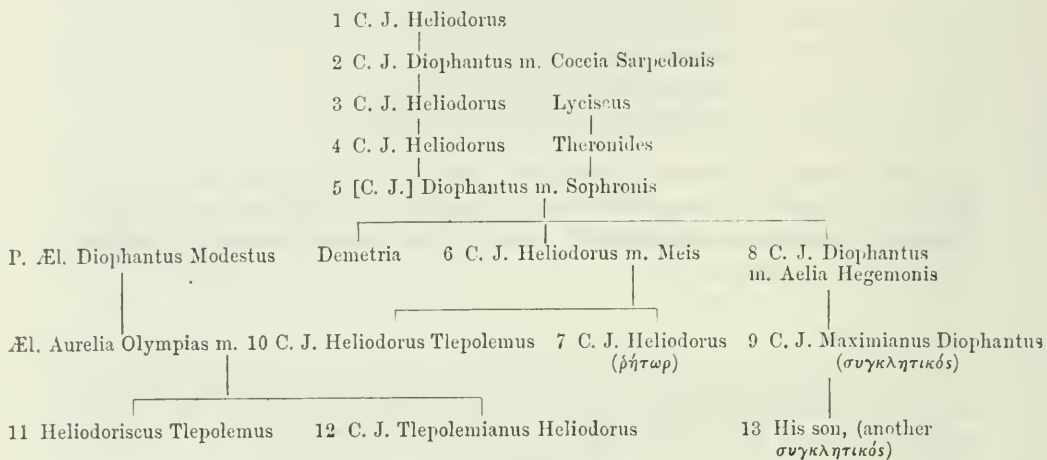
Τοῦτο τὸ ἥρῳον Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώρου υἱὸς Διόφαντος κα]τασκεύ-
ασεν καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ σωματο-
θήκας ζῶν αὐτῷ ὥστε ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ σωματοθήκῃ ἐφ' ἧπερ καὶ] ἐπιγέγραπται
αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, (κ)αὶ
τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ Κοκκία Σαρπηδονίδι· ζῆ· ἣν δέ τις] παρὰ
ταῦτα ποιήσῃ τι ὑποτεισάτω τῷ Λυ-
δατῶν δήμῳ ✕ . . .].

The name of the builder of the monument is restored from No. 9. He is to be identified with No. 2 in the family tree. An early date in the first

century A.D. would agree with the comparatively ancient forms of the letters as given in Mr. Bent's copy.

It may assist the reader if I place here my attempt to trace the genealogy of the family which figures so largely in the subsequent documents. The names Caius Julius suggest that the founder of the family was a freedman of the Dictator, and perhaps he received the privilege under Caesar's Will.

FAMILY TREE OF THE DIOPHANTUS FAMILY.



9.

'Sarcophagus from inside the Heroon described under No. 8; profusely ornate. Three heads (probably likenesses), to the front, encircled in garlands and supported by naked female figures, standing on small altars. At the four corners were four draped female figures standing on the shoulders of four old men kneeling. To the sides and back were herds of bulls, supporting garlands which encircled heads of Medusa. Below, there ran the following inscription.' MS. copy only; no impression.

Γ.ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΥΙΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΗΣΩΜΑΤΟΘΗΚΗΜΟΝΟΥ

Γ. Ἰουλίου, Γ. Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώρου υἱοῦ, Διοφάντου ἡ σωματοθήκη μόνου.

The occupant of this sarcophagus, C. J. Diophantus, son of C. J. Heliodorus, is numbered 2 in the family tree; his father appears as No. 1. Neither of them are Roman citizens, although their mode of naming themselves is thoroughly Roman.

10.

'Sarcophagus from within the same Heroon as No. 2: see on No. 8. Cupids lean at either corner, holding bunches of grapes at which partridges are pecking. Round the margin of the sarcophagus is a garland of olive-

leaves. On the lower edge is the following inscription.' MS. copy; no impression. Broken to right.

ΚΟΚΚΙΑΣΣΑΡΠΗΔΟΝΙΔΟΣΗΣΩΜΑΤ

Κοκκίας Σαρπηδονίδος ἡ σωματ[οθήκη μόνης.

See the remarks on Nos. 8 and 9. Sarpedon was naturally a favourite name in Lycia: see *C.I.G.* 4242; Herod. i. 173; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 78, 79.

11.

'From base of statue; Lydae.' Found in the Agora (*D* in Map). From impression.

ΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙ
ΟΣΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥ
ΛΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩ
ΡΟΥΥΙΟΣΔΙΟ
ΦΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙ
ΤΟΝΑΣΚΛΗΠΙ
ΟΝΣΥΝΤΗΒΑ
ΣΕΙΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙ
ΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

5

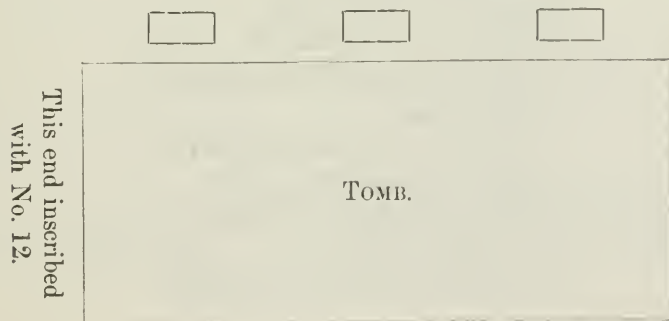
Γάιος Ἰούλιος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώρου υἱὸς Διόφαντος καὶ
τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν σὺν τῇ βάσει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν.

The dedicator of the statue of Asclepius is probably the C. Jul. Dio-
phantus numbered 2 in the family tree, and named also in Nos. 8, 9. The
καὶ in line 5 ought to have been followed by *καὶ τὴν βάσιν* in line 7.

12.

'From grave at Lydae with several inscriptions around it.' Mr. Bent
informs me that this tomb was of oblong shape, and was discovered at the
spot marked on the Map as *C1*. The ground-plan of the tomb is roughly
indicated below. Of the inscriptions Nos. 12, 13, 14 no impression was
taken; they are printed from a MS. copy.

Inscribed statue bases, Nos. 13—15.



ЦΩΦΡΟΝΙΔΑΘΗΡΩΝΙΔΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΝΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΤΟΥ(ΗΛΙ)
 ΘΗΡΩΝΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥΛΥ ΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΛΥΔΑ
 ΔΑΤΗΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΤΗΠΕΝΤΗ ΤΗΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΤΗΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝ
 ΚΟΝΤΑΕΠΤΑΣΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΑ ΤΑΕΠΤΑΣΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΓΑ
 5 ΓΑΘΩΣ ΘΩΣ

ΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΝΙΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΣΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣΡΗΜΝ
 ΟΣΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗΣΚΑΙΑΛΛΩΝΠΟΛ(ΕΩΝ) . . . ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣΤΟΥΣ
 ΕΑΥΤΟΥΓΟΝΕΙΣ

Σωφρονίδα Θηρωνίδου τοῦ Διόφαντον Ἡλιοδώρο(υ) τοῦ [*Ἡλι-*
οδώρου τοῦ Διοφάντου Λυδά-
δὰτ(ι)ν ζήσα(σαν) ἔτη πεντή-
κοντα ἑπτα σεμνῶς καὶ φιλα-
 5 *γάθως.* *θως.*

Γάιος Ἰού(λ)ιος Διοφάντου υἱὸς (Β)ου(λ)τινία Ἡλιοδώρος Ῥ(ω)μ(αῖ)-
 ος καὶ Λυδάτης καὶ ἄλλων πόλ[εων] πολεῖτης τοὺς
 ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς.

Mr. Bent notes that the letters ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥ in line 2 are doubtful; but they seem right. I have corrected some obvious errors of the copy in lines 1, 3, 6, and have restored Βουλτινία (Vultinia) as the name of the Roman tribe to which Heliodorus belonged; see Nos. 13—19. This Heliodorus is numbered 6 in the family tree: he is by far the most important personage in the family, having filled a number of provincial and civic offices (see No. 17), and obtaining the Roman citizenship. He was evidently a person of wealth.

The account to be given of this and the three following inscriptions appears to be as follows. Heliodorus, who has raised his family to a high rank in the province, first builds a tomb to his parents (No. 12). He further rears a statue to his sister Demetria, close beside the tomb (No. 13), and presently another to his son, who is cut off in the midst of a promising career (No. 14). Lastly, upon his own death, his grandsons reared a third statue in honour of himself (No. 15).

13.

‘On pedestal beside the same grave.’ See notes on No. 12, and the ground-plan there given. From a MS. copy only.

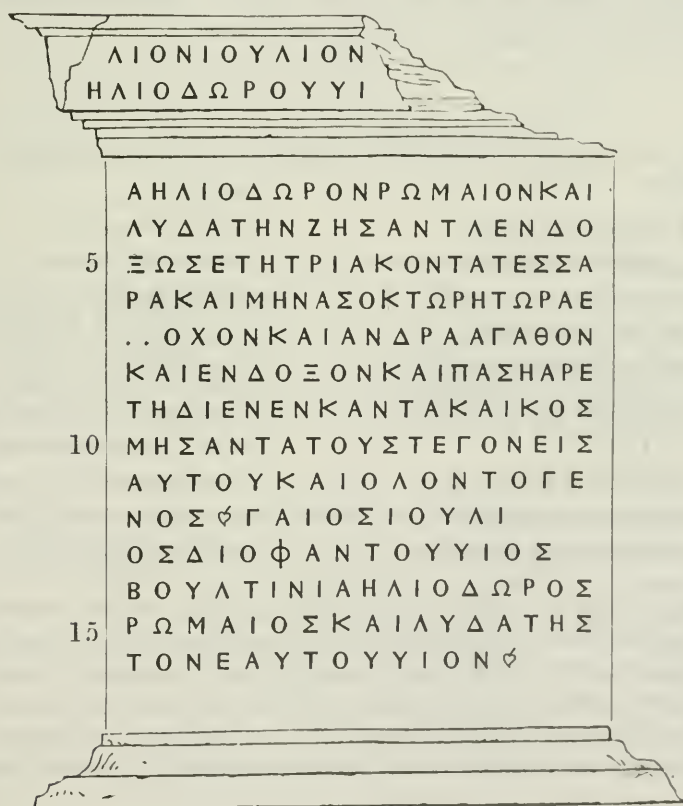
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΝΔΙΟΦΑΝ
 ΤΟΥΛΥΔΑΤΙΝΚΑΙΤΕΛ
 ΜΗΣΣΙΔΑΖΗΣΑΣΑΝΕΤΗ
 ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑΚΟΝΤΑΣΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙ
 5 ΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΩΣ
 ΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙ
 ΟΣΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ
 ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗΣΚΑΙ
 ΑΛΛΩΝΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΟ
 10 ΛΕΙΤΗΣΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΗΝ

5 Δημητρίαν Διοφάν-
 του Λυδάτιν καὶ Τελ-
 μησιίδα ζήσασαν ἔτη
 τεσσεράκοντα σεμνῶς καὶ
 φιλαγάθως
 Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Διοφάντου υἱ-
 ὸς Βουλτινία Ἠλιόδωρος
 Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης καὶ
 10 ἄλλων πόλεων πο-
 λείτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφήν.

Certain letters after ΠΟΛΕΩΝ in line 9 are carefully cut out. On Heliodorus, who erects this statue in memory of his sister Demetria, see the note on No. 12, and also Nos. 14-19. He is numbered 6 in the family tree.

14.

'Base or pedestal for a statue, found near the same tomb described above,' No. 12. From MS. copy; no impression taken.



- Γ]άιον Ἰούλιον [Γαίου Ἰουλίου
 Ἡλιοδώρου υἱὸν Βουλτινί-
 α Ἡλιοδώρου Ῥωμαῖον καὶ
 Λυδάτην, ζήσαντα ἐνδό-
 5 ξως ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσα-
 ρα καὶ μῆνας ὄκτω, ῥήτ(ο)ρα ἔ-
 ξ]οχον καὶ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν
 καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ πάση ἀρε-
 10 τῇ διενέγκαντα καὶ κοσ-
 μήσαντα τοὺς τε γονεῖς
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅλον τὸ γέ-
 νος· Γάιος Ἰούλι-
 ος Διοφάντου υἱὸς
 Βουλτινία Ἡλιοδώρος
 15 Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν.

On C. J. Heliodorus who reared this monument, see on No. 12, and Nos. 15–19: he is numbered 6 in the family tree. His son of the same name is described as a *ρήτωρ ἔξοχος* (lines 6–7); but as he was cut off at the age of thirty-four (line 5), he had not made a name to be recorded in literature. I can find no mention of him elsewhere.

15.

‘From base of pedestal, beside the same tomb.’ See on No. 12. From an impression.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΔΙΟ | Γάιον Ἰούλιον Διοδ- |
| ΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΟΥΛΤΙ | φάντου υἱὸν βουλτι- |
| ΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΙΕΓ | νία Ἡλιοδώρον [ο]ῖ ἔγ- |
| ΓΟΝΟΙΑΥΤΟΥΓΙΟΥΛΙΣ | γονοι αὐτοῦ Γ. Ἰούλι[ος |
| 5 ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΙΑΝΟΣΗΛΙ | Τληπολεμιανὸς Ἡλι- |
| ΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΥΡ | όδωρος καὶ Ἡλιοδωρί[σ- |
| ΚΥΣΤΛΗΠΤΑ | κ[ο]ς Τληπόλ[εμος τὸν |
| ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΝΚ | γλυκύτατον κ[α]ὶ [εὐεργέ- |
| 10 ΤΗΝΠΑΠΠΟΝΕΥΣΕΙ | την πάππον εὐσε[β]ί- |
| ΑΣΚΑΙΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ | ας καὶ μνήμης χάριν. |

Monument in honour of C. J. Heliodorus, a Roman citizen, and a man of mark in his own town of Lydae, and in the province of Lycia: see on Nos. 12–19. His grandsons erect the statue: they are numbered 11 and 12 in the family tree. For their parentage see No. 23. A. C. J. Tlepolemus is mentioned as *ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν* in an inscription of Cyanæe dated A.D. 149: he may be the same person (see Benndorf and Niemann, *Lykien*, ii. p. 124 n.).

16.

'A large tomb about a mile from Lydae, upon the high plateau (marked A in the Map) overlooking the sea.' From an impression.

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΖΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ ΕΚ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΑΙΣ ΠΕ-
 ΡΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΙΣ ΚΡΗΠΕΙΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΕΣΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΛΙΘΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣ
 ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΗΛΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΦΑΝ-
 ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑ
 5 ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΔΑΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΩΝ ΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕ-
 ΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝ ΝΟΤΕΝΟΙΣ
 ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΤΑΙΑΓΡΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΡΥΜΑΞΕΩΝ ΔΗΜΩ ΤΗΣ
 ΛΥΔΑΤΙΔΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΣ ΠᾶΣΙΝ ΟἷΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΛΥ-
 ΔΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ ΔΕΔΗΛΩΚΕΝ

Τ]ὸ μνημεῖον ζῶν κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν ταῖς πε-
 ρικειμέναις κρηπίεσιν καὶ βάσεσιν μονολίθοις εἰς ἀνδριάντας
 τέσσαρες (sic) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνηλωμάτων Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διοφάν-
 του τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Διοφάντου υἱὸς Βουλτινία
 5 Ἡλιοδῶρος Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης δήμου Ἀρυμάξων, τετειμημέ-
 νος δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις πολειτεῖαις πόλεων πλείστων, ἐν οἷς
 αὐτὸς ἔκτεται ἀγροῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀρυμαξέων δήμῳ τῆς
 Λυδατίδος ἐπὶ δικαίοις πᾶσιν οἷς αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ἐν Λύ-
 δαῖς ἀρχείων δεδήλωκεν.

The tomb of the same C. Julius Heliodorus (No. 6 in the family tree) whom we have already discussed on No. 12 *ante*; his public offices and distinctions are set forth in Nos. 17, 18 *post*. The tomb was erected upon steps or plinths (*κρηπίδες*, line 2), and comprised monolithic bases for four statues (*ibid.*), just as in the case of the tomb reared by this same man to his parents (No. 12). Upon one of these statue-bases was engraved the next inscription (No. 17).

The tomb stands ἐν τῷ Ἀρυμαξέων δήμῳ (line 7), Heliodorus having apparently purchased land upon the plateau which formed part of the deme. He is careful to point out that the deme stood within the territory of Lydae (τῆς Λυδατίδος, lines 7, 8), and the last three lines of the document refer to the title-deeds of this purchase which were deposited in the muniment-room of the city (διὰ τῶν ἐν Λύδαις ἀρχείων δεδήλωκεν). The form ἔκτεται in line 7 is classical. (Meisterhans, *Grammatik*², p. 139, *note* 1213; for ἀνηλωμάτων, line 3, see *ibid.*, p. 138, *note* 1208). The deme is called in line 5 δήμος Ἀρυμάξων, and in line 7 δήμος Ἀρυμαξέων: we may acquit the lapidary of error by supposing Ἀρύμαξα (τά) to be the name of the deme, and Ἀρυμαξεῖς the name of its inhabitants (compare No. 17, line 5).

17.

From a statue-base pertaining to the tomb described on No. 16. The site is marked *A* in the Map. From an impression.

. ΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΤ
 ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟ
 ΔΩΡΟΝΡΩΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗΝ
 5 . ΗΜΩΑΡΥΜΑΞΩΝΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕ
 ΝΟΝΔΕΚΑΙΑΛΛΑΙΣΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΙΑΙΣ
 ΠΟΛΕΩΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΠΑΣΑΣΑΡ
 ΧΑΣΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΕΤΕΛΕΚΟΤΑΚΑΙ
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΛΥΚΙΩΝ
 10 ΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΠΑ
 ΤΡΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟΥΣ
 ΔΩΡΕΑΝΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΕΩΝΕΠΙΔΟΣ
 ΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ
 ΤΑΙΣΠΟΛΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΩΚΟΙΝΩΛΥΚΙ
 15 ΩΝΕΘΝΕΙΚΑΙΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΥΠΟΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΥΚΟΙ
 ΝΟΥ ΠΑΤ
 ΠΟΛΕΩΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΠΑΣΗ
 ΑΡΕΤΗΚΟΣΜΟΥΝΤΑΤΗΝΕΚΠΡΟΓΟ
 20 ΝΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΞΙΑΝ

The impression was a good one, but seems to have become accidentally moistened since it was made, so that the letters are blurred and very difficult to read. The text however, as given above, is quite certain; the letters expressed in dots are doubtful. Parts of lines 17, 18 I failed to decipher in spite of many efforts. Happily the sense is obvious enough, as follows:—

Γ]άϊον Ἰούλιον Διοφάντου τ[οῦ
 Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ
 Διοφάντου υἱὸν Βουλτινία Ἑλιο-
 δωρον, Ῥωμαῖον καὶ Λυδάτην,
 5 δ]ήμῳ Ἀρνμάξων, τετειμημέ-
 νον δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις πολειτείαις
 πόλεων πλείστων, πάσας ἀρ-
 χὰς τῇ πατρίδι τετελεκότα, καὶ
 ἀρχιερεύσαντα Λυκίων, [πρεσ-
 10 βεύσαντα πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς πα-
 τρίδος καὶ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους
 δωρεάν, πανηγύρεων ἐπίδοσ[ιν

15

ποιησάμενον τῇ πατρίδι [καὶ
ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ τῷ κοινῷ Λυκί-
ων ἔθνει, καὶ τετειμημένον
πολλάκις ὑπὸ Λυκίων τοῦ κοι-
νοῦ [καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς] πατ[ρίδος καὶ
ὑπὸ] πόλεων πλείστων, πάσῃ
ἀρετῇ κοσμοῦντα τὴν ἐκ προγό-
νων αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν.

20

This statue was reared in honour of C. Julius Heliodorus, of whom we have spoken in No. 12 *ante*: he is numbered 6 in the family tree. In building his own tomb in his lifetime (see No. 16), he prepared four bases close to the tomb, to receive as many statues. Upon his death his own statue occupied one of them, with the present inscription on the base.

Line 5: on the deme Arymaxa, see No. 16. Lines 6 foll. Heliodorus was evidently a prominent personage throughout Lycia in his day. He had filled every office in his own little town; he had been honoured with the gift of citizenship in many of the Lycian towns; he had acted as ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Λυκίων, *i.e.* high priest of the provincial κοινόν for the worship of the Caesars. He had gone on embassies without payment, probably as far as Rome (lines 9 foll.). He had also been a munificent promoter of festivals, both at Lydae and at other towns, and in connection with the League (lines 12 foll.).

The coinage and inscriptions of Lycia under the earlier Empire reveal to us a province thickly studded with towns and cities, the home of a vigorous, thriving and well-organized population (see Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 575 foll.; Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. pp. 218 foll.; Strabo, xiv. 664, 665). When Claudius, A.D. 43, deprived Lycia of independence, and united it with Pamphylia, the Lycian League still survived though stripped of power; it became, like the κοινά of other provinces, a mere union for Caesar-worship. Strabo speaks of twenty-three towns as constituting the League, the larger cities having three votes, the middle-sized two, the smaller one vote only. Lydae is not known to be of the number; but perhaps it was admitted later. At all events Heliodorus is described in No. 18 as the first citizen of Lydae who had ever held the chief offices of the κοινόν, Ἀρχιερεὺς Λυκίων, &c.: πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς . . . πατρίδος ἡρχιερατευκότα τῶν Σεβαστῶν [τῶν ἐ]ν τῷ Λυκίῳ ἔθνει, κ.τ.λ. His date is probably early in the second century A.D.

We may certainly identify the subject of this inscription with the ἀρχιερεὺς of Lycia, whose name is quoted in an epitaph from Tlos to fix the date (*C.I.G.* 4247): Ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἀσφάλεια ἀναγράφεται διὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμματοφυλακίων ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώ(ρ)ου τοῦ καὶ Διοφάντου. Since the foregoing was in type, I find the same person mentioned in the second volume of Benndorf and Niemann's *Lykien* (see p. 125); he was ἀρχιερεὺς from October, 140 A.D. to October 141. This date tends entirely to confirm the genealogy which I have ventured to construct, and agrees quite well with the suggestion that the founder of the family was a freedman of the Dictator.

18.

Base of statue; Lydae: inscribed on front A, and side B. From the site marked *C*² in the Map. From an impression.

A.

Ο ΦΑΝΤΟΥΙΟΥΗΛΙΟ
 ΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ
 ΙΝΙΛΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΝΡΩ
 ΛΥΔΑΤΗΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΟ
 5 ΙΕΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΤΑΛΥΚΙΑΝΠΟΛΕΣΙ
 ΞΗΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΚΟΤΑΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣ
 ΝΤΩΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΕΙΚΑΙΓΕΓΡΑΜ
 'ΚΟΤΑΚΑΙΗΡΧΙΦΥΛΑΚΗΚΟΤΑ
 'ΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΠΡΩΤΟΝΕΚΤΗΣ
 10 ΟΥΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΛΥΔΑΤΩ
 ΑΙΕΠΙΔΟΣΕΙΣΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕ
 'ΝΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΕΚΤΩΝΙ
 \ΙΕΙΣΕΡΓΑΕΘΝΙΚΑΚΑΙ
 ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΙΑΣΚΑΙΚΥ
 15 ΤΑΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΚΑΙΕΝ
 ΙΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΩΣ
 ΥΤΗΤΕΙΔΙΛΛΥΤΟΥ
 ΡΧΑΣΚΑΙΛΕΙΤΟΥΡ
 ΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΙΑΣ
 20 ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΚΟ
 ΑΩΡΕΑΝ
 ΕΘΟΥΣ
 ΕΥΣ

B.

ΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΜΕΝΟΝΥΙ,
 ΚΙΩΝΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΚΑΙ
 ΤΑΠΟΛΙΝΚΑΙΜΕΜΑΡΤ
 ΜΕΝΟΝΕΠΙΤΩΚΛΛΛΙΣΤ
 5 ΚΑΙΥΠΟΗΓΕΜΟΝΩΝΥ
 ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΑΜΗΝΟΦΑ
 ΝΟΥΣΚΑΤΑΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΠ
 ΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΗΣΜΗΝΟΦΑ
 ΝΟΥΣΤΡΙΣΤΟΥΠΑΝΚΡΑ
 10 ΤΟΥΣΛΥΔΑΤΟΥ

A

Γ'. Ἰούλιον Δι]οφάντου [τ]οῦ Ἡλίου[δω-
 ρου τοῦ Ἡλίουδ]ώρου τοῦ Διοφάντου
 υἱὸν Βουλτ]ινία Ἡλινόδωρον Ῥω
 μαῖον καὶ] Λυδάτην, πολιτενό-
 5 μενον καὶ] ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλ[εσι
 π[ό]σαις], ἡρχιερατευκότα τῶν Σεβασ-
 τῶν ἐ]ν τῷ Λυκίῳ ἔθνει, καὶ γεγραμ-
 ματε]υκότα καὶ ἡρχιφυλακηκότα
 Λυκίῳ] τοῦ κοινοῦ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς
 10 φιλοσεβαστ]ου πατρίδος τῆς Λυδατῶ[ν,
 μεγάλας δὲ κ]αὶ ἐπιδόσεις πεποιημέ-
 νον εἰς τὴν πόλ]ιν πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν ἰ-
 δίων, δόντα δὲ κ]αὶ εἰς ἔργα ἔθνικὰ καὶ
 εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ] μονομαχίας καὶ κυ-
 15 νηγεσίας . . .]τα πολλάκις καὶ ἐν
 ἰν καὶ πολυτελῶς
 υ τῇ τε ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ
 ἀ]ρχὰς καὶ λειτουρ-
 γίας]μένον ἐνίας
 20 πε]πρεσβευκό-
 τα]δωρεὰν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λυκίῳ]ν ἔθνους
 εὐσ[ε-
 |βῶς
 (Whether more lines are here lost is doubtful.)

B.

τετειμημένον ὑπ[ὸ] Λυ-
 κίων τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ [κα-
 τὰ πόλιν, καὶ μεμαρτ]υρη-
 5 μένον ἐπὶ τῷ καλλίστ[ῳ]
 καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνων,
 Τρύφαινα Μηνοφά-
 νους κατὰ διαθήκην π[α-
 τρὸς αὐτῆς Μηνοφά-
 νους τρὶς τοῦ Πανκρά-
 10 τους Λυδάτου.

A statue in honour of the C. J. Heliodorus whom we have discussed already in Nos. 12—17. The monument is erected, as we learn from B, by Tryphaena, daughter of Menophanes, in fulfilment of the directions of her father's will. Her father, Menophanes, is described as τρὶς τοῦ Πανκράτους, i.e. Μηνοφάνης Πανκράτους τοῦ Πανκράτους.

Apparently B is merely the continuation of A, and little has been lost from the foot of A.

Little need be added to what has been said on No. 17 respecting the offices held by Heliodorus. Besides being the provincial ἀρχιερεύς (lines 6, 7; compare No. 17, line 9), he had been γραμματεὺς of the κοινόν, and also ἀρχιφύλαξ (lines 7, 8): the mention of the office of γραμματεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ here confirms the restoration of the same title by Waddington in a similar document to the present one, from Patara (No. 1266). The office of ἀρχιφύλαξ is mentioned in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1224, from Balbura. The gifts referred to in lines 13 foll. were for the more splendid celebration of the festival of the κοινόν, by means of gladiatorial and other shows; compare *Martyrdom of S. Polycarp*, ch. 12: ὁ δὲ (Ἀσιάρχης) ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια, and *C.I.G.* 2511.

19.

‘From pedestal at Lydae.’ There is some doubt as to the exact spot where it was found: Mr. Bent inclines to the Agora, but I think it likely that the statue of Meis stood on one of the bases mentioned in connection with No. 16.

	ΙΕΙΝΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΥ	Μ]εῖν Μενεδήμου
	ΠΙΝΑΡΙΔΑΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΙΝ	Πιναρίδα καὶ Λυδάτιν
	ΖΗCΑCΑΝΕΤΗΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ	ζήσασαν ἔτη τριάκοντα
	CΕΜΝΩCΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΓΑΘΩC	σεμνῶς καὶ φιλαγάθως
5	ΓΑΙΟCΙΟΥΛΙΟCΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ	Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διοφάντου
	ΥΙΟCΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑΗΛΙΟΔΩ	υἱὸς Βουλτινία Ἡλιόδω-
	ΡΟCΡΩΜΑΙΟCΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΗC	ρος Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης
	ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ	καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων
	ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΕΝΟ	πολείτης τὴν γενο-
10	ΜΕΝΗΝΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ	μένην αὐτοῦ γυναικα.

The name Μέις is recognised by Suidas *sub voc.* It should be restored in *C.I.G.* 4242, an epitaph from Tlos, where the editor gives Μεῖδι with a query: read Μεῖδι. The Μ is partly visible on the stone, and there is only room for one letter. She was the wife of C. J. Heliodorus, of whom enough has been said on Nos. 17 foll.

20.

Square statue-base from the Agora, Lydae (*D* on the Map). From an impression.

	ΥΛΙΟΝΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ
	ΠΟΝΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΝΛΥΔΑΤΗΝΠΟΛΙ
	ΤΕΥCΑΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΤΑΙCΚΑΤΑΛΥΚΙΑΝ
	ΠΟΛΕCΙΠΑCΑΙCΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥCΑΝ
5	ΤΑΤΩΝCΕΒΑCΤΩΝΚΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥ

ΣΑΝΤΑΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΥΕΘΝΟΥΣΠΡΟΓΓ
 ΝΩΝΙΠΠΑΡΧΩΝΝΑΥΑΡΧΩΝΛΥΚΙ
 ΑΡΧΩΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΥΚΑ
 ΤΑΛΙΠΟΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΙΣ
 10 ΤΟΔΙΗΝΕΚΕΣΔΩΡΕΑΣΕΙΣΘΕΣΙΝ
 ΕΛΑΙΟΥΛΥΔΑΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗ
 ΜΟΣΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝΠΟΛΙΤΗΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ
 ΓΕΤΗΝΤΟΝΔΕΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΚΑΤΕΣΤΗ
 ΣΑΝΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΟΙΥΙΟΙΑΥΤΟ
 15 ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ

Γ. Ἰούλιον Γ. Ἰουλίου Διοφάντου
 υἱὸν Διόφαντον Λυδίτην πολι-
 τευσάμενον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν
 5 πόλεσι πάσαις, ἀρχιερατεύσαν-
 τα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γραμματεύ-
 σαντα Λυκίων τοῦ ἔθνους, προγό-
 νων ἱππάρχων ναύαρχων Λυκι-
 αρχῶν, πατέρα συγκλητικῶν, κα-
 ταλιπόντα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι εἰς
 10 τὸ διηνεκὲς δωρεὰς εἰς θέσιν
 ἐλαίου, Λυδατῶν ἢ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δὴ-
 μος τὸν ἴδιον πολίτην καὶ εὐερ-
 γέτην· τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα κατέστη-
 σαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ
 15 Γ. Ἰούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Διόφαντος

In honour of C. J. Diophantus, a distinguished citizen, who had taken a prominent place in the province (lines 2—5), and had been *γραμματεὺς* of the provincial league (lines 5—6); compare on No. 18A, line 7). Whether he had also been *ἀρχιερεὺς* of the province (line 4), or only *ἀρχιερεὺς* of the Caesars in his own town, seems doubtful from the language of the inscription: but more probably *Λυκίων τοῦ ἔθνους* is to be understood with *ἀρχιερεύσαντα* as well as *γραμματεύσαντα*. If so, Diophantus is only a less distinguished man than C. J. Heliodorus of Nos. 17, 18, &c.; it will be seen from the family tree, in which he is numbered 8, that I suppose him to be his brother. In lines 6—8 we are reminded that in the palmy days of the Lycian League, *i.e.* before Claudius in A.D. 43 placed Lycia under provincial government, the family of Diophantus had supplied men for the highest offices of the League, even that of *Λυκιάρχης*; see Strabo, xiv. 665: *ἐν δὲ τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρῶτον μὲν Λυκιάρχης αἰρεῖται, εἴτ' ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ αἱ τοῦ συστήματος*. The *ἱππαρχοὶ* and *ναύαρχοι* must have been among these *ἄλλαι ἀρχαί*, though I find them mentioned nowhere else; compare No. 28 *post*, lines 6 foll. More important is the fact that his son (line 8) is a Roman

senator; compare Wilmanns' *Exempla*, No. 665 (from Brixia): 'L. Gaboni Arunculeio Valeriano . . . patri et avo senator(um),' &c. This son is honoured in the next inscription (No. 21).

Lines 8—11: Diophantus had left a perpetual endowment to the city for the supply of oil, εἰς θέσιν ἐλαίου. This was a common form of public munificence; see *C.I.G.* 1122, 1123 (from Argos), τό τ' ἐλαιον θέντα ἐν παντὶ γυμνασίῳ καὶ βαλανείῳ ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ πρῶτας ἄχρις ἡλίου δύσεως παντὶ ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ δούλῳ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων: similarly *C.I.G.* 2929 (from Tralles), καὶ θέντα ἐλ[α]ιο[ν] ἡμέρας πέντε: *ibid.* 4025 (Ancyra), δι' ὅλης ἐλεοθετήσαντα τῆς ἡμέρας. In *C.I.G.* 4039, ἐλαιον θείναι or ἀλείφειν are used indifferently, and so elsewhere. In a document from Attaleia in Lydia (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1887, xi. p. 399) it is directed in a man's will: ὅς ἂν γένηται μου [κλ]ηρονόμος ἐντέλλομαι αὐτῷ [τριέτη? ἐ]λαιοθεσίαν τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μου πατρὶδι Ἀτταλείᾳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἡμέραν μίαν. The same practice found its way into Roman usage; see Persius, *Sat.* vi. 50; Suet. *Caes.* 38, *Nero*, 12; Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 47. The bequest of Diophantus takes the form of a permanent endowment for this purpose, but we are not informed how many days' oil it furnished. For εἰς τὸ διηνεκές see the commentators on *Hebrews* vii. 3, and x. 1, 12, 14.

The statue is erected to Diophantus by vote of the boule and ecclesia, at the expense of his sons: the name of one only remains (lines 11 foll.).

21.

'A round base of statue: Lydae.' From the Agora (*D* in the Map). From an impression.

ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΔΙΟ
ΦΑΝΤΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΟΥΛΤΙΝΙΑ
ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΟΝΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΝ
ΛΥΔΑΤΗΝΤΟΝΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΝ
5 ΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝΛΥΔΑΤΩΝ
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΤΟΝ
ΙΔΙΟΝΠΟΛΙΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

Γ. Ἰούλιον Γ. Ἰουλίου Διο-
φάντου υἱὸν Βουλτινία
Μαξιμιανὸν Διόφαντον
Λυδαίην τὸν κράτιστον
5 συγκλητικὸν Λυδατῶν
ἢ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν
ἴδιον πολίτην καὶ
εὐεργέτην.

In honour of C. J. Maximianus Diophantus, a Roman senator, for whose parentage see the preceding inscription.

22.

Square statue-base, from the Agora. From an impression.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΗΓΕΜΟ
ΝΙΔΑΛΥΔΑΤΙΝ
ΤΗΝΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗΝ
ΜΗΤΕΡΑΚΑΙΜΑΜ
5 ΜΗΝΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙ
ΚΩΝΤΗΝΕΥΕΡΓΕ
ΤΙΝΔΙΑΠΑΡΕΣΤ
ΕΝΛΥΛΑΤΩΝ
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗ
10 ΜΟC

Αἰλίαν Ἑγεμονίδα Λυδάτιν | τὴν κρατιστὴν | μητέρα καὶ μάμ|μην
συνκλητι|κῶν τὴν εὐεργέ|τιν διαπαρέστ[η|σ]εν Λυδατῶν | ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ
δῆ|μος.

There is no proof that this lady was a member of the Diophantus family : but it is an obvious conjecture that she was the wife of C. J. Diophantus (No. 8 in the family tree), who is spoken of in No. 20 *ante* as πατὴρ συγκλη-
τικοῦ. We have only to suppose that C. J. Maximianus Diophantus (9 in the family tree, see on Nos 20, 21) had a son who was also a senator, and we can explain μητέρα καὶ μάμμην συγκλητικῶν.

23.

'Base of statue; Lydae.' From the Agora. From an impression.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΑΘΥΓΑ
ΤΕΡΑΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΥΔΙΟΦΑΙ
ΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΟΔΕCΤΟΥΚΑΛΥΝ
ΔΙΑΝΚΑΙΛΥΔΑΤΙΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ
5 ΤΟΥΠΡΩΤΟΥΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩC
ΗΜΩΝΒΙΟΥΑΙΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩ
ΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ
ΤΗΝΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΗΝ
ΛΥΔΑΤΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟ
10 ΔΗΜΟCΤΟΝΔΕΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑ
ΛΕΤΕC ΑCΕΝΛΑΙΑΝΕCΤΗ

Αἰλίαν Αὐρηλίαν Ολυμπιάδα θυγα-
τέρα Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Διοφά[ν]-
του, τοῦ καὶ Μοδέστου, Καλυν-
δίαν καὶ Λυδάτιν, γυναῖκα

- 5 τοῦ πρώτου τῆς πόλεως
 ἡμῶν Γα(ίου) Ἰουλίου Ἡλιοδώ-
 ρου, τοῦ καὶ Τληπολέμου,
 τὴν ἀξιολογωτάτην
 Λυδατῶν ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ
 10 δῆμος· τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα
 κατεσ[κε]ύασεν καὶ ἀνέστη-
 [σεν ὁ δεῖνα.]

In framing the genealogy of the family I have assumed that Heliodorus Tlepolemus and C. J. Tlepolemianus Heliodorus, who erected a statue in honour of their celebrated grandfather C. J. Heliodorus (see on No. 15), were the sons of the Tlepolemus who married Olympias.

24.

Base of statue from the Agora at Lydæ. From impression.

- ΑΜΕΙΝΙΑΝΤΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥ
 ΛΟΝΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΤΟΥΑΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΛΥΔΑΤΗΝ-ΓΕ
 ΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΙΑΤΡΟΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΝΚΑΙ
 5 ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΝΓΟΝΕΩΝΚΑΙΠΡΕ
 ΓΟΝΩΝΕΝΔΟΞΩΝΠΑΣΑΝΑΡ
 ΧΗΝΚΑΙΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ
 ΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣΤΕΤΕΛΕΚΟΤΩΝ
 ΚΑΙΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣΜΕΧΡΙΡΩΜΗ
 10 ΡΕΑΝΚΑΙΥΠΕΡΤΟΥΕΘΝΟ
 ΞΙΔΙΑΣΔΕΚΑΙΕΡΓΑΤΗΠΟ/
 ΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΩΝΤΕΤΕΙΜΗ
 ΝΩΝΥΠΟΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΕΙ
 ΚΟΣΙΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΤΗΜΟΚΑΙ
 15 ΜΗΝΑΣΕΞ-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣΑ
 ΜΕΙΝΙΟΥΚΑΙΚΛΕΑΡΓΑΙΣΘΗΡΩ
 ΝΟΣΟΙΓΟΝΕΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΔΕΛ
 ΦΟΙΑΥΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣΚΑΙΘΗΡΩ

- Ἀμεινίαν τὸν καὶ Ἀριστόβου-
 λον Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ Ἀμεινίου
 τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου Λυδάτην, γε-
 νόμενον ἱατρὸν τέλειον καὶ
 5 φιλόλογον,—γονέων καὶ προ-
 γόνων ἐνδόξων, πᾶσαν ἀρ-
 χὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν τῇ πόλει

- 10 φιλοτείμως τετελεκότων
 καὶ πρεσβείας μέχρι Ἰώμη[ς δω-
 ρεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἐ-
 ξ ιδίας δὲ καὶ ἔργα τῇ πόλ[λει
 πεποιημένων, τετειμη[μέ-
 νων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐ[ί-
 κόσιν,—ζήσαντα ἔτη μθ καὶ
 15 μῆνας ἕξ, Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀ-
 μεινίου καὶ Κλεάργασις Θήρω-
 νος οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελ-
 φοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Θήρω[ν.

In honour of a physician of Lydae, Ameinias Aristobulus, a man of learning and of distinguished family. I have not been able to discover any mention of him elsewhere. But it happens that Galen does mention another physician of Lycia more than once, Diophantus, who probably belonged to the family discussed in the preceding inscriptions; see Galen, *Περὶ συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τῶν κατὰ τόπους*, lib. ix. Tom. 2, ed. Basil. 1538, p. 299, line 13: *κωλικὴ ἦν ἐθαύμαζεν Ἀρίστων ὡς Διόφαντος ὁ Λύκιος*; compare *ib.* lib. v., p. 228, line 43.

25.

'On a pedestal which once bore a statue; from the Agora.' From a MS. copy by Mr. Bent: no impression taken.

ΣΕΞΣΤΟΝΜΑΡΚΙΟΝ	Σέξστον Μάρκιον
ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΝΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΝ	Πρεῖσκον,—πρεσβευ(τῆ)ν
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ	Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥΣΕΒΑ	Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβα-
5 ΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΩΝ	στοῦ καὶ πάντων
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝΑΠΟ(ΤΙ)	Αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπὸ [Τι-
ΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ	βερίου Καίσαρος,—
ΤΟΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΔΟΤΗΝ	τὸν δικαιοδότην
ΛΥΔΑΤΩΝΟΔΗΜΟΣ	Λυδατῶν ὁ δῆμος.

Sextus Marcius Priscus is known from other documents to have served under Vespasian as *legatus pro praetore* of Lycia and Pamphylia; see *C.I.G.* 4270, 4271 (both from Xanthus), and the inscription from Patara in Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1265. The official Greek for *legatus* was *πρεσβευτής*, but here *δικαιοδότης* is used (line 8) which properly stands for 'juridicus': but Marquardt (*Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 411) cites several instances from Lycia in which *δικαιοδότης* is used of a *legatus* (see *C.I.G.* 4237, 4238c, and 4236, 4240).

Thus far all is plain. What, however, is the meaning of lines 2—7 of our inscription: ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΝ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πάντων Αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπὸ [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος? If we restore

πρεσβευ(τή)ν, and suppose that Mr. Bent, in copying the word, omitted some ligature like ΗΝ, the difficulty is what to make of the word in such a connection. M. Waddington, who has seen the inscription as copied by Mr. Bent, is unable to suggest any suitable explanation, supposing the copy to be correct. Mr. Arthur H. Smith suggests that after πρεσβευ(τή)ν some word like ἀρχιερέα has been omitted by stone-cutter or by copyist. Nothing is known of Marcius Priscus, except from the inscriptions already cited; compare No. 36 *post*.

26.

‘One of two stones close together at Lydae’; found near the Agora. Compare the next document. Paper impression.

	ΓΑΙΟΝΑΝΤΙΟΝΑΥΛΟΝ	Γάϊον Ἀντίον Αὐλον
	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΚΟΥΑΔΡΑΤΟ	Ἰούλιον Κουαδράτο[ν
	ΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕ	τὸν σωτήρα καὶ εὐε[ρ-
	ΤΗΝΚΑΙΤΗΣΗΜΕΤΕ	γέ]την καὶ τῆς ἡμετέ-
5	ΟΛΕΩΣ ἸΚΟ'Ν	ρας πόλεως [κα]ὶ κοιν[ῇ
	ΑΤΙΔΙΑΝΠΑΝΤΩΠΑΛ'	καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πάντων Λυ-
	ΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔ	δατῶν ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ[ῆ]-
	ΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ	μος ε]ὐχαριστίας
	ΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ἔνεκεν.

C. Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus, in whose honour this monument was erected, is well-known as a provincial governor: Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 175) points out that he was legatus pro praetore of Lycia and Pamphylia immediately before becoming consul suffectus in July 93 A.D. (see Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, ad annum); i.e. he left Lycia towards June 92, or at the latest at the end of May 93: but June 92 is by far the most probable date. His legation, M. Waddington reminds me, would probably, according to custom, have lasted three or four years. See the next document, and Liebenam, *Forschungen*, p. 121.

27.

‘From base of a statue at Lydae’; near the Agora. Paper impression.

	. Λ ΕΒΞΞΝΙ	. . . Τρ]εβώνι[ον Πρό-
	ΚΛΟΝΜΕΤΤΙΟΝΙ	κλον Μέττιον [Μό-
	ΔΕΣΤΟΝΤΟΝΣΩ	δεστον τὸν σω[τῆ]-
	ΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ	ρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
5	ΚΑΙΤΗΣΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ	καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας
	ΠΟΛΕ . ΣΚΑΙΚΟΙΝΗ	πόλε[ω]ς καὶ κοινῇ
	ΚΑΙΚΑΙΙΔΙΑΝΠΙΑΝ	καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν π<ι>άν-
	ΤΩΝΛΥΔΑΤΩΝ	των Λυδατῶν
	ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ	ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
10	ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ	εὐχαριστίας
	ΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ἔνεκεν.

In honour of Mettius Modestus, legatus pro praetore of Lycia and Pamphylia.

This monument was found close beside the preceding, No. 26. Both inscriptions are drafted in the same terms, and are in honour of two legati of the province, whose administrations were probably not separated by any long interval. As to Quadratus, his date is pretty certainly known to have lasted from June 89 or 90 A.D. to June 92. In a private communication with me upon the subject, M. Waddington has kindly pointed out that Mettius Modestus, who was already known as having been legate of Lycia (*C.I.G.* 4279, 4280; compare Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 189), cannot have succeeded Quadratus immediately. 'The successor of Quadratus was almost certainly Domitius Apollinaris, mentioned in an inscription of Tlos (*C.I.G.* 4236), who was consul suffectus the 1st of May 97, and consequently had returned from his Lycian legation in the summer of 96; his legation, if it lasted, as was the custom, three or four years, would just fill up the time required after Quadratus. Modestus cannot have succeeded Apollinaris, because we know that he had been exiled by Domitian (Plin. *Ep.* i. 5). He was, of course, recalled by Nerva, and may have been sent out to Lycia in 97, in the room of Domitian's last nominee, but in that case his legation was a short one. For early in Trajan's reign we find the post occupied by Julius Marinus, who was consul suffectus in October 101 or 102, and consequently governed Lycia either from June 97 to June 100, or from June 99 to June 101 (*C.I.L.* ix. 4965 and *C.I.L.* vi. 1492; *C.I.G.* 4237, 4238c). This would leave very little space for Modestus.

Upon the whole, therefore, I should place Modestus immediately after Julius Marinus, so that his legation should begin in June 100 or 101. This would suit perfectly, for there is no other name to propose for these particular years.'

If we accept this conclusion of M. Waddington, we must allow Quadratus and Modestus to have been separated in their government of Lycia by an interval of eight or nine years. Liebenham, however, would place the legation of Modestus in Lycia during the reign of Domitian, and before that of Quadratus (*Forschungen*, pp. 260, 425). Certainly the nearer we can bring their legations together in point of date, the better it will agree with the close conjunction of the two monuments (Nos. 26, 27).

The last four letters of line 1, though broken, are quite certain. We thus recover two more of Mettius Modestus' names, viz. Trebonius Proclus. Mommsen has remarked (*Hermes*, iii. p. 70) on this fashion for accumulating names which prevailed in the Flavian era.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM PATARA.

28.

‘On a large stone lying near the entrance to the theatre at Patara; 12 ft. by 4 ft. 10 in. This we dug up and turned over; the letters are large and well cut, but we had not paper enough to take a squeeze.’ From Mr. Bent’s MS.

- ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝΟΔΗΜΟΣΠΟΛΥΠΕΡΧΟΝΤΑΠΟΛΥΠΕΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΔΗΜΗ
ΕΡΓΟΥ
ΠΑΤΑΡΕΑΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΘΕΩΝΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΝΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ
ΚΑΙ . . . ΟΙΣ
ΑΙΤΟΥΣΥΜΠΑΝΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΝΟΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΝΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΩΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
(1)ΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ . . . ΟΝΚΑΤ.
5 ΛΥΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΑΣΤΡΕΙΣΑΡΧΑΣΑΡΞΑΝΤΑΕΝΕΝΙΕΝΙΑΥΤΩΦΙΛΟΔΟΞ
ΩΣΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣΙΑΝΤΑΠ
ΡΩΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΥΠΟΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΥΠΟΤΟΥ
ΚΟΙΝΟΥΤΩΝΛΥΚΙΩΝΚΑΙΙΟΜΟ
ΦΗΣΑΝΤΑΛΥΚΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΥΠΟΙΠΠΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗ
ΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΝΜΕΤΑΠΕΙ . . . ΠΟΝΤΙΚΑΣ
ΙΣΩΣΠΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΜΕΝΟΝΔΕΚΑΤΗΝΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΝΤΗΝΕΠΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΠΙΤΑΣΧΕ . . ΗΝΙΟ ?
.. ΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΛΛΩΝΕΡΓΩΝΤΩΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΕΙΣΑΚΑΙΕΠΑΓΓΕΙΛΑ
ΜΕΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΣΙΔΙΑΣ ΔΩ.
10 ΤΑΠΑΣΗΑΡΕΤΗΚΑΙΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΙΔΙΑΦΕ
ΡΟΝ

Mr. Bent notes that the latter portion of the lines is somewhat defaced. I give his text as it stands in his copy, but in the cursive I have made some more or less certain corrections.

- Παταρέων ὁ δῆμος Πολυπέρχοντα Πολυπέρχοντος Δημη(τρί)ου
Παταρέα τὸν ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου θεῶν ἐπιφανῶν Γερμανικοῦ καὶ [Δρ]ο(ύ)-
σ[ου] ?
καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου, καὶ προφήτην τοῦ πατρῶου Ἀπόλ-
λωνος, [καὶ
ἱ]ερατεύσαντα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πρυτανεύσαντα καὶ γραμματεύσαντα [μόν]ον
κα[ι]ροῖς
5 (δ)υσὶν καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀρχὰς ἄρξαντα ἐν ἐνὶ ἐνιαυτῷ φιλοδόξως, τειμηθέντα
καὶ εὐεργετήσ<ι>αντα π-

ρώταις καὶ δευτέραις τειμαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
 Λυκίων, καὶ (ν)ομο[γρα-
 φήσαντα Λυκίοις, καὶ ὑποῖππαρχήσαντα, καὶ ἐπισστατήσαντα τ(ῶ)ν μετὰ
 Πει . . . πο(λι)τικ(ῶ)ς [καὶ
 ἰσῶς, πεπολειτε(ν)μένον δὲ κα[ί] τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι Γερμανι-
 κῶ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τ(ῆ)ς (γ)ε[νεθ](λ)ίο[υ] θεοῦ Σεβ-
 αστ[οῦ], καὶ πολλῶν ἔργων τῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἃ καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἐκ
 τῆς ἰδίας [οὐσίας ἔ]δω[κεν ἐπιστ-
 10 ατήσαν]τα, πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνη διαφέροντ[α].

In honour of Polyperchon, a distinguished citizen of Patara, in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. Πολυπέρχων is condemned as a *falsa lectio* by Ellendt on Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 12; but Mr. Bent's copy shows that it existed as a variant, however degenerate. So also *C.I.A.* ii. 723, line 7, and Cauer, *Delectus*, No. 429, line 23.¹

In line 2 I have ventured to suppose a reference to Germanicus and to Drusus the son of Tiberius, who may well have received these combined honours at Patara upon their untimely deaths in A.D. 19 and 23 respectively: compare *C.I.G.* 318, where Böckh quotes from the coins Δροῦσος Καῖσ. Γερμ. Καῖσ. νέοι θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι. For the phrase θεοὶ ἐπιφανεῖς of the house of the Caesars, see *C.I.G.* 4240d, an inscription of Tlos in honour of Tiberius. Perhaps καὶ [Σεβα]σ[τοῦ] would be a better restoration still.

Line 3: προφήτης, i.e. of the oracle of Apollo at Patara. Lines 5, 6: if my restorations are correct, it is recorded that Polyperchon had enjoyed the unique distinction of holding the office of priest, prytanis, and secretary twice over, besides holding all three offices in one year together. Line 5: εὐεργετήσαντα 'had been declared an εὐεργέτης.' Understand by πρώταις καὶ δευτέραις τειμαῖς merely that he had received these honours twice. Line 6: observe that he had been thus honoured by the Lycian League, which was not superseded until A.D. 43. At present the Lycian League was free, as described by Strabo, xiv. p. 664. Accordingly it had a νομογράφος, a ὑποίππαρχος, and commissioners (ἐπιστάται) of various kinds (lines 7, 10). For other officers of the League, see on No. 20 *ante*. Line 8: the suggestion of ἡ γενέθλιος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ comes from *C.I.G.* 3957. For the last line compare Waddington-Le Bas, No. 1290 (from Aperlae) *fin.*: ...φιλοδόξως, πάσῃ ἀρετῇ [καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ vel tale quid διαφ]έροντα.

29.

Base of statue found in pulling down a wall, the inscribed side being built inwards: not copied before. From MS. copy of Mr. Bent.

¹ I am reminded by a friend that Sintenis restores Πολυπέρχων on the authority of the MSS. in two passages of Plutarch (*Dion*,

58; *Demetrius*, 9); also in *Eumenes*, 12 the unsibilated form is a variant.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΤΡΑΙΑΝΩ
 ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΣΩΤΗΡΙ
 5 ΚΑΙΚΤΙΣΤΗ
 ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστῃ
 Ὀλυμπίῳ.

Statue to the Emperor Hadrian.

30.

From base of statue found (with the inscribed face turned inwards) in pulling down wall at Patara : not copied before. From MS. of Mr. Bent.

ΣΑΒΕΙΝΗΙ
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΙ
 ΝΕΑ ΗΡΑΙ

Σαβείνῃ Σεβαστῇ νέᾳ Ἡρᾷ.

In honour of the wife of the Emperor Hadrian. In *C.I.G.* 1073 she is styled νέᾳ Δημήτηρ, and *ibid.* 435 νεωτέρα θεός, but I have not noticed her styled Ἡρᾷ elsewhere.

31.

‘Three large stones from top of mediaeval wall at Patara. Each stone 4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 4 in.; probably not copied before, since they were apart, upside down, and difficult to reach.’ From Mr. Bent’s copy.

(*For Uncial Text see p. 79.*)

Apparently the bases of three statues, the central one in honour of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, that upon the left to his wife Faustina, that upon the right to Lucius Verus, his colleague in the empire : compare *C.I.G.* 4283b (Patara); Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Σεβαστῷ, σωτῆρι.

I have assumed that the commencement of two of the inscriptions was engraved upon the plinth of their respective statues, and was therefore lost : I have frequently observed inscriptions to be imperfect from this or a similar cause.

The Velia Procula of Patara of *A* is known to us from a dedication by her to the Emperor M. Aurelius, and a restoration of the theatre dated A.D. 147 (*C.I.G.* 4283). Her father, Quintus Velius Titianus, is also there named ; his relationship to the Cl. Flavianus Titianus of our inscription is not certain.

C.

ΤΟΝΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑ
ΡΓΕΤΗΝΠΑΝΤΟΣ
ΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΟΥΤΟΥ
Υ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ
ΥΙΑΝΟΣΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]
[Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Βῆρον]
Σεβαστὸν τὸν σωτῆρα
καὶ εὐεργέτην παντὸς
γένους καὶ οἴκου τοῦ
ἐαυτοῦ—Τιβέριος
Κλ. Φ(λ)αυϊανὸς Τιτιανός.

B.

ΝΕΙΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
ΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ
ΟΣΓΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΟΥ
ΥΤΟΥ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ
ΟΥΙΑΝΟΣΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣ
ΚΑΙΕΥΕ
ΓΕΝΟΥ
ΕΑΥΤΟ
ΚΛΦΑΟ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]
[Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον]
Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν
τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
παντὸς γένους καὶ οἴκου
τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ—Τιβέριος
Κλ. Φλαυϊανὸς Τιτιανός.

A.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΜΑΡ
ΗΛΙΟΥΑΝΤΟΝΕΙ
ΒΑΣΤΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ
ΑΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ
ΚΑΙ . ΚΛ-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΚΛΑ
ΑΝΤΩ
ΤΟΝΣ
ΠΑΝΤ
ΤΟΥΕΑ
ΚΛ-ΦΛΑ

Αὐτοκρ.] Καίσαρος Μάρ-
κου Αὐρ[ηλίου Ἀντωνεί-
νου Σε]βαστοῦ γυναικα
Φανοστειν[αν εὐεργέτην
.... καὶ Κλ. Οὐ. Πρόκλα.

32.

‘From base of statue at Patara, dug up by me.’ From Mr. Bent’s MS.

	TIBERION ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ	Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον
	ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΤΑΡ	Ἀνδρόνεικον Παταρ-
	ΕΑΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΛΑΥ	έα, Τιβερίου Κλαυ-
	ΔΙΟΥ ΕΥΔΗΜΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ	δίου Εὐδήμου υἱὸν
5	ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ	τοῦ φιλοπατρίδος,
	ΚΑΘΩΣ ΔΙΕΤΑΞΑΤΟ	καθὼς διετάξατο
	ΟΠΑΤΗΡΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ	ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ
	ΠΡΟΣΘ . ΟΥΑΓΡΟΥΑ	προσό[δ]ου ἀγροῦ Ἀ-
	ΛΙΑΔΟΣ . . ΒΕΡΙΟΣ	λιάδος, [Τι]βέριος
10	ΚΛ ΟΣ . . . ἈΦΡΟ	Κλ[αύδ]ιος [Ἐπ]αφρό-
	ΔΕΙ ΕΥΣ	δει[τος Παταρ]εὺς
	ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ	ἀνέστησεν.

Statue in honour of Tib. Cl. Andronicus, son of Tib. Cl. Endemus, erected by Tib. Cl. Aphrodisius, in accordance with his father’s will, out of the rent of the land called Ἀλιάς.

33.

‘A pedestal dug up at Patara’ by Mr. Bent. From impression.

	ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ	Παταρέων ἡ πόλις ἡ μη-
	ΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ	τρόπολις τοῦ Λυκίων
	ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΑΥΡΗ	ἔθνους Μάρκον Αὐρή(λιον)
	ΙΜΒΡΑΝΤΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑ	Ἰμβραν τρις τοῦ Ἀθηνα-
5	ΨΟΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΑΡΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΡΟ	γόρου Παταρέα καὶ Ῥό-
	ΔΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΑΝΘΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ	διον καὶ Ξάνθιον τὸν
	ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΝΕΙ	εὐγενέστατον ἱερονεί-
	ΚΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΝ ΒΟΥ	κην παράδοξον, βου-
	ΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΚΡΙΣΕΙ	λῆς καὶ δήμου κρίσει.

In honour of a successful athlete (*ἱερoneύκης*), by vote of the boule and ecclesia. He was a native of Patara, but had received the citizenship of Rhodes and of Xanthos; after the usual style of the agonistic inscriptions, these distinctions are duly mentioned, and the favourite epithet *παράδοξος* is added. Examples abound; for one from Lycia, compare *C.I.G.* 4240c. Patara and Xanthus, alone, I believe, among the Lycian cities, style themselves *ἡ μητρόπολις τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους* in the inscriptions (lines 1, 2): for the title see Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 186.

34.

'From base of column found amongst brambles at Patara; probably not copied before.' From Mr. Bent's MS.

5

ΘΕΟΥΣΩΤΗ
ΡΟΣΕΔΡΑΙΟΥ
ΑΣΦΑΛΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙΠΟ
ΛΕΙΔΩ
ΝΟΣΕΔΡΑΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ

Θεοῦ Σωτήρος Ἐδραίου Ἀσφαλοῦς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐδραίου, καὶ Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Dedication or ex-voto in honour of the deities that bring fair weather ("Ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων), and who protect the sea from storm and the land from earthquake. Ἀσφάλειος (here, however, Ἀσφαλῆς) was one of the recognised epithets of Poseidon: Ποσειδῶνι δὲ, παρέξ ἣ ὅποσα ὀνόματα ποιηταῖς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς ἐπῶν κόσμον καὶ ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐπιχώρια ὄντα ἕκαστοι τίθενται, τοσαῖδε ἐς ἅπαντας γεγόνασιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐτῷ, Πελαγαῖος καὶ Ἀσφάλιός τε καὶ Ἴππιος (Pausan. vii. 21, § 3). I suppose Ἐδραῖος must be one of those merely 'local' epithets to which Pausanias here alludes; so much meaning, however, had the epithet at Patara, or at least in the mind of the dedicator of the column, that it is individualised as a separate deity—Θεὸς Σωτήρ Ἐδραῖος Ἀσφαλῆς. The epithet Ἐδραῖος is not known of elsewhere as applied to Poseidon or any other god. Its meaning is illustrated by the New Testament usage of the word (1 Cor. xv. 58, ἔδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι; Col. i. 23, τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἔδραῖοι, καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι, κ.τ.λ.), and it is appropriate to Poseidon, though rather as the quieter of earth than of sea; compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, fin.: Ποσειδῶνα ταῖς ὀγδόαις τιμῶσιν. ἣ γὰρ ὀγδοὰς κύβος ἀπ' ἀρτίου πρῶτος οὖσα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τετραγώνου διπλασία, τὸ μόνιμον καὶ δυσκίνητον οἰκεῖον ἔχει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὃν ἀσφάλειον καὶ γαιήοχον προσονομάζομεν. Poseidon Asphaleios appears on the imperial coins of Rhodes; see *Hist. Num.* p. 542, where Mr. Head refers to the Rhodians landing at Thera, as described by Strabo, i. p. 57: μετὰ δὲ τὴν παῦλαν τοῦ πάθους ἐθάρρησαν πρῶτοι Ῥόδιοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἐπιπροσπλεῦσαι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἀσφαλίῳ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. Although Patara was the home of Apollo, yet the association of Apollo Ἥλιος with Poseidon Asphaleios in our inscription may suggest some Rhodian influence.

‘From tortoise tomb at Patara, far up the valley.’ Impression.

ΤΗΝ ΧΕΛΩΝΗΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ
 ΠΟΛΛΑΙΑΣ ΟΝΟΣΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΠΑΤ
 ΡΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΟΝΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΑΦΗΝ Α
 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΑΝΟΙΞΑ
 5 ΗΘΑΥΑΙΤΙΝΑ ΗΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΑ Ο
 ΛΕΙΝ ΤΩ ΙΕΡΩ ΤΑΤΩ ΦΙΣΚΩ * Ξ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΜΑΡΤ
 ΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΜΒΩΡΥΧΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΟ
 ΛΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΣΑΝΓΕΛΛΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΙΟΥ
 ΤΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΙΜΗΜΑ
 10 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΠΕΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΧΡΗΜΑ
 ΜΕΝΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ
 ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΛΙΚ
 ΝΙΟΥ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΙ
 Ο ΔΗΛΟΥΤΑΙ

Τὴν χελώνην κατεσκεύασεν
 Πόλλα Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἀρχελάου Πατ[α-
 ρίς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὴν μόνῃ ἐἰς αὐτὴν ταφῇ να[ι
 ἕτερον δὲ μηδένα ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀνοίξαι
 5 ἢ θάψαι τινα, ἢ τὸν παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσαντα ὁφεί-
 λειν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ φίσκῳ * ξ καὶ εἶναι ἀμαρτ[ω-
 λὸν καὶ τυμβωρύχον, ἔχοντος παντὸς τοῦ βο[υ-
 λόμενου ἐξουσίαν προσανγγέλλειν τὸν τοιοῦ[τό
 τι ποιήσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ τρίτον τοῦ τειμήμα[τος
 10 αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, περὶ ὧν καὶ διὰ τῆς κεχρημα[τισ-
 μένης ὑπὸ τῆς Πόλλας οἰκονομίας
 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Γαίου Λικ[ι-
 νίου Φρόντωνος τοῦ Φιλείνου, Περειτί[ου
 θ', δηλοῦται.

Line 1 affords the only example of the word *χελώνη* used to designate a funeral monument. Mr. Bent implies that the form of the tomb suited the name, but he does not describe it. It was probably a variation of the waggon-roofed tomb so common in Lycia. *Οἰκονομία* in line 11 must be a ‘deed.’

For the rest, it suffices to refer to the remarks and references given on No. 40 *post*. The numeral is perfectly clear in line 6; compare No. 39.

‘From large bath at Patara, over door into second chamber; probably copied before, but many letters cleared out by me, by removal of cement. Stone 6 ft. long by 2½ ft.’ Mr. Bent’s MS.

This is the inscription edited by Waddington-Le Bas, No. 1265. Mr. Bent's copy agrees generally with that of Le Bas, but the following corrections are of importance. The space between Σεβαστός in line 2 and the words τὸ βαλανεῖον in line 3 is uninscribed, so that no lacuna should be indicated. Lines 5, 6, 7, begin as follows:—

ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΘΡΑΙΣΔΙΑΣΕΞΤΟΥ, κ.τ.λ.

. ΟΥΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ. ΚΙΩΝΣΥΝ. Η. ΗΘΕΝΤΩΝ, κ.τ.λ.

ΙΟΥΕΘΝΟΥΣ* . . . κ.τ.λ.

Accordingly we can now restore the inscription thus:—

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλαουῖανός Οὐεσπασι[ανός | Σεβαστός τὸ βαλανεῖον
κατεσκεύασεν | [ἐκ] θεμελίων σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ ταῖς |
κολυμβήθραις διὰ Σέξτου Μαρκίου Πρεῖσκου πρεσβευτοῦ | [τ]οῦ ἀντιστρατήγου
[ἐ]κ (τ)ῶν συν[τ]η[ρ]ηθέντων χρημάτων κ[οι]νῶν (τ)οῦ ἔθνους * [number of
drachmas] καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Παταρέων πόλεως | συντελειώσαντος καὶ ἀφιερῶ-
σαντος τὰ ἔργα.

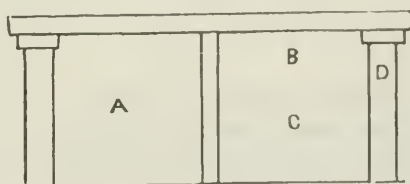
Mr. Bent noticed a similarly constructed bath three-quarters of a mile further up the valley, apparently overlooked by travellers.

37.

'From a tomb at Patara, very probably copied before.' Mr. Bent's MS. This is already published, *C.I.G.* 4292. I note the following points. Line 1: read ΗΡΩΝ. Lines 2, 3: ΔΩΣΙΟΥ is confirmed, and it needed no correction as suggested in *C.I.G.* Addenda, p. 1127, 'videndum ne fuerit Δωσι[θέ]ου. Line 7: the lapidary's blunder, ΟΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΙ, is confirmed. Mr. Bent has also copied *C.I.G.* No. 4293, where the disputed numeral sign is certainly /C in the impression.

38.

'From rock-cut tomb in forest behind Patara.' Good impression taken by Mr. Bent. This is given in *C.I.G.* No. 4291, after Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 180. The shape of the tomb is somewhat like this:—



The left-hand door (A) is broken open. The upper part of the other door (B) is occupied with a rudely-cut bas-relief. Three figures, fully robed in himation, stand facing spectator; the central figure, male, is taller than the other two, of whom the left is certainly, the other probably, a female figure.

The attitude of each is the same: the left hand hangs down at the side, the right hand, muffled in the fold of the himation, is lifted upward. Immediately beneath the relief is the inscription (*C*):—

ΕΥΤΥΧΙΩΝΤΩ	Εὐτυχίων τῷ
ΤΕΚΝΩ ΕΠΑΦΡΟ	τέκνῳ Ἐπαφρο-
ΔΕΙΤΩ ΜΝΕΥΑ	δείτῳ μνε(ί)α-
ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ς ἔνεκεν.

On the upper surface of the adjoining pilaster (*D*) is another rude relief. Two hands are held up, with thumbs just touching, and palms exposed. Immediately beneath I decipher in the impression only $\omega \Delta \text{ΙΚΑΙΙΙ}$.

39.

An excellent impression by Mr. Bent of the funeral inscription published already, *C.I.G.* 4293. It is carefully inscribed, and nearly every letter is plain. The numeral in line 9 is Σ , or Sigma with a flourish (=200), as in No. 35 *ante*, line 6. Otherwise the version in *C.I.G.* is correct.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MYRA.

40.

On a sarcophagus dug up at Myra by Mr. Bent. From an impression.

ΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ΡΟΔΑ
 ΣΥΝΦΕΡΟΥΣΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΣΑ ΕΝ ΜΥΡΟΙΣ
 ΑΥΤ-ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ • ΚΑΙ ΟΙΣ
 ΑΝΖΩΣΑΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΩΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣ
 5 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΚΗΔΕΥΣΗ ΟΦΕΙΛΗΣΕΙ
 ΜΥΡΕΩΝ ΩΔΗΜΩ * ΦΤΗΣΙΣ ΑΝΓΕΛΙ
 ΛΣΟΥΣΗΣ ΠΑΝΙΤΩ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΩ ΕΠΙ
 ΩΤΩ ΗΜΙΣΕΙΩ

28

Τ]ὸ μνημεῖον κατέστησεν Ῥόδα
 Συνφερούσης οἰκοῦσα ἐν Μύροις
 ἐ]αυτῇ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῆς, καὶ οἷς
 ἂν ζῶσα συνχωρήσω· ἐὰν δέ τις
 5 ἕτερον ἐν κηδεύσῃ ὀφειλήσει
 Μυρέων τῷ δήμῳ * φ. τῆς ἰσανγελί-
 ας οὔσης παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ
 τῷ ἡμίσει.

I embrace this opportunity of referring the student of Lycian and other funeral inscriptions to the valuable paper of Professor G. Hirschfeld, 'Ueber die griechischen Grabschriften welche Geldstrafen anordnen,' in *Königsberger Studien*, I. 1887. His main purpose is to show that the custom of threatening fines for infringing the rights of a grave and its occupant was not derived from Roman usage, but was purely Greek, and attained its first and fullest development in Lycia, the classical land of tombs.

Inscriptions, even funeral ones, from Myra are rare. Several new ones, however, are published by Benndorf and Niemann, *Lykien*, i. p. 68, 70. Hirschfeld can only cite two that threaten a fine (p. 102, *ibid.*); the present one makes a third. The owner of the grave Rhoda is a resident alien (line 2); may this account for the use of *ἰσανγγελία* (*εἰσανγγελία*) in the legal phrases which conclude the document? On the Lycian tombs *προσανγγελία* is the usual term in this connection; see *C.I.G.* 4288 (Patara): *τῆς προσανγγελίας οὐσ[ης] παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ*; compare Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1314 (from Myra): *τῆς πράξεως οὐσης παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐ[πὶ] τῷ ἡμίσει*; Hirschfeld, *ibid.* p. 108.

F. L. HICKS.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON CERTAIN MODERN GREEK FOLK-SONGS.

THE historical interest and value of many of the folk-songs of Modern Greece has been often acknowledged, and historians have not disdained to quote them as evidence either of facts or of popular feeling. It is therefore desirable in the case of any ballad supposed to relate some historical event to determine as exactly as possible to what event it really refers.

In Passow's most valuable work,¹ as was inevitable in so large a collection of popular traditional poetry, a few errors seem to have been made in naming, dating and classifying the pieces. Some apparent cases of such error I propose here to examine.

Three ballads numbered by Passow cxciv., cxcv., cxcvi. are headed "Αλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Literally translated they run as follows:—

CXCIV.

'They have taken the city, have taken it, have taken Salonica: they have taken also St. Sophia the great monastery, which has three hundred *semantra*² and sixty-two bells, for every bell a priest and for every priest a deacon. And just when the Holy Things were coming forth and the King of the World,³ a voice came from heaven, from the mouth of angels: "Cease the psalmody, and lower the Holy Things, and send word to the Frankish land that they may come and take them, that they may take the golden Cross and the holy Gospel-Book and the Holy Table, so that they [the Turks] may not defile it." When our Lady heard this the icons shed tears. "Be still, O sovereign Lady, weep not, nor shed tears. Again, after times and seasons, it shall be your own again."'

CXCv.

'God gives the sign, the earth gives the sign, the heavenly things give the sign, St. Sophia also gives the sign, that great monastery, with four hundred *semantra* and sixty-two bells, which has three hundred nuns and a

¹ *Popularia Carmina Græciæ Recentioris*, ed. Arnold Passow, Lipsiæ, 1860.

² Plates of wood or metal struck by a mallet, often used instead of bells in Greek churches.

³ This refers to the ceremony of 'The Great Entrance' in the Liturgy of the Greek Church, when the elements for the Holy Eucharist are carried in procession.

thousand monks. On the left hand chants the king,¹ on the right the patriarch. A voice came to them from God, and from the judgment of an angel: "Priests, put down the scrolls and close the Gospel-Books. They have taken the city, have taken it, have taken Salonica: they have taken St. Sophia, the great monastery: they have taken boys from their teachers, girls from their embroidery work: they have taken mothers with their children, ladies with their husbands."

CXCVI.

'God gives the sign, the earth gives the sign, the heavenly things give the sign, St. Sophia also gives the sign (that great monastery with four hundred *semantra* and sixty-two bells, for every bell a priest and for every priest a deacon), that they should begin the Cherubic Hymn and that the King was about to come forth. A dove came down from the midst of heaven: "Cease the Cherubic Hymn, and let the Holy Things be lowered; priests, take the sacred vessels, and let your light go out, O candles, for it is the Will of God that the city should become Turkish. Only send word to the Frankish land that three ships may come, one to take the Cross and the other the Gospel-Book, the third and best of all to take our Holy Table, lest the dogs should take it and pollute it."

'Our Lady was troubled, and the icons shed tears. "Be still, O sovereign Lady, and ye icons, weep not. Again, after times and seasons, it shall be your own again."

In considering the first two ballads it seems strange, if their theme be the fall of Constantinople, that such prominent mention should be made of *Salonica*.

The explanation I would suggest is that No. cxcv. was really composed on the capture of Thessalonica by the Turks in 1430. The whole tenor of the ballad agrees with this supposition.² That city had also its church of St. Sophia, and it is a poetical and touching idea that the tidings of its desecration by the infidels should be conveyed by a heavenly voice to the congregation in the greater church of the same dedication at Constantinople.

The mention of the Emperor and the Patriarch together taking part in the Divine service is hardly applicable to the state of things at Constantinople at the moment of its fall, but is quite appropriate if the time be twenty years earlier. In 1453 the patriarchate was vacant, and ecclesiastical dissensions severed the Emperor from his people in their religious ceremonies, whereas in 1430 the usual harmony reigned between the Byzantine authorities in Church and State.

On the other hand there is no reason to doubt that the fall of Constantinople is indeed the subject of No. cxcvi.

¹ Here the emperor is clearly meant.

² Its last lines picture in a few words a scene of misery, exactly such as Joannes Anagnostes, himself one of the captives, describes in great

detail at the taking of Thessalonica. Joannes Anagnostes, *De Extremo Thessalonice Excidio* 14, ed. Bonn.

The best known and most popular of these ballads, No. exciv., has probably been produced in later times by a fusion of the other two.

Perhaps the lines—

‘ πῆραν τὴν πόλιν, πῆραν τὴν, πῆραν τὴν Σαλονίκη,
πῆραν καὶ τὴν ἁγία Σοφία, τὸ μέγα μοναστήρι ’—

had taken strong hold of the minds of the people, and the practice of calling the imperial city specially ἡ πόλις, together with the greater renown of the Byzantine St. Sophia, would facilitate the transference of these lines from a lament for Thessalonica to a lament for Constantinople.

Among the ballads classed by Passow as *Carmina Cleptica certi acvi*, No. cxi., ‘Ο Κολέττης, is dated 1810, but it should be among the *Carmina Historica*, with the date of 1831, for Kolettēs is certainly the statesman Coletti who took so prominent a part in the War of Independence and the subsequent vicissitudes of Greece, and as the song represents him saying—

‘ Lads, let there be a Constitution,’

Παιδιά, νὰ γένῃ σύνταγμα—

it evidently refers to his appeal in 1831 to the military chiefs of Northern Greece to aid him in driving the adherents of Capodistrias from power, with the professed object of restoring constitutional government.¹

Among the *Carmina Historica*, No. ccxliii., ‘Ο Πύργος Καστανίας, is dated doubtfully 1822—1826. Its real date, however, is proved to be some fifty years earlier by a note to the memoirs of Theodore Kolokotronēs² edited by G. Tertsetēs, where this song is quoted at full length as referring to the last conflict of the father of Kolokotronēs with the Turks in 1780. Constantine Kolokotronēs, the father, was a military chieftain in the Morea, of a family which boasted that they had never submitted to the Ottomans. He took part in the disastrous revolt stirred up by the Russians in 1769, but, when the Albanians sent by the Porte to put down the rebellion showed themselves enemies to Greeks and Turks alike, he aided the Capitan Pasha in crushing them. In his turn, however, he refused the Pasha’s demand that he should do homage and give one of his children as a hostage. The Pasha thereupon besieged him and his friend Panagiotaras in the tower of Kastanitzza, near Marathonisi (Gytheion), and after a brave defence of twelve days they perished in a desperate attempt to cut their way out.³ The ballad expresses their defiance of the Capitan Pasha with a foreboding of their fall.

The Tower of Kastania.

‘ Withered are the hillsides, withered are the plains, withered is Kastania with its tower, which holds the many Klephits, the men of Kolokotronēs, who go to church [in apparel] laden with silver and gold, and girded with their

¹ See Finlay, *History of Greece* (Oxford 1877), vol. vii. pp. 73—85.

² This work is entitled *Διήγησις Συμβάντων*

τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φυλῆς ἀπὸ τὰ 1770 ἕως τὰ 1836 (Athens 1846). The note is on p. 261.

³ *Διήγησις Συμβάντων*, p. 6.

swords. And they came out, and consulted at the church door, and Constantine said to them: "This joy that we have will bring us woe. Last night I saw in my sleep how my cap was burnt and the tassel of my sword; the cap is my wife, the tassel my children. This joy that we have will bring us woe." Panagiotaras heard him, and burst out laughing: "What sayest thou, gossip Constantine, thou Kolokotronês? Never will the tower of Kastania be taken, neither sooner nor later, nor now is it taken. Only display your standards, and set them on the tower, that the Capitan Pasha and the janissaries may see them."

No. cclv., *Tò Μισολόγγι*, has the date of 1825 assigned to it, as if its subject were the great siege of Missolonghi in that year, but Trikoupês expressly mentions it as commemorating the first siege in 1822. 'Greece,' he says, 'rejoicing in the overthrow of this hostile expedition, celebrated the triumph for a long time by singing the Song of Missolonghi, which an unknown and unlettered minstrel composed. Here are its first verses'¹:—

Those which he proceeds to quote answer very closely to the first five lines of Passow's cclv. :—

'Would that I were a bird to fly aloft, to behold from afar poor Missolonghi, and how the Hellenes fight with Turks, with Pashas. The cannon-balls fall like rain, and the bombs like hail, and the light musketry like sands of the sea.'

Moreover, in the last six lines, not quoted by Trikoupês, which run thus—'Omer Pasha called Marko, and said to him: "Marko, bring out the keys, and all your arms, and come with me to Roumeli that thou mayest be made captain. I will write forthwith to the City that a firman may be brought thee." And Marko answered: "Omer Pasha, what sayest thou? This is not Jannina, this is not Arta"'—it can hardly be doubted that they who speak are Omar Pasha Vrionês and Marko Botzarês, who commanded respectively the besiegers and defenders of Missolonghi in 1822.

FLORENCE MCPHERSON.

¹ Trikoupês, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως* (London 1856), τομ. β', p. 380.

METROLOGICAL NOTES.

III.—HAD THE PEOPLE OF PRE-HISTORIC MYCENAE A WEIGHT STANDARD ?

IN a former paper in this *Journal* (Vol. viii.) it was maintained that the Greeks had a weight standard long before the introduction of coined money from Asia, the unit of which was the same as the Attic-Euboic system (130–135 grains Troy) of historical times, and that in the Homeric poems the gold Talanton and cow represented the same value, the unit of metal being adjusted to the more primitive unit of barter. The evidence then adduced was of a purely literary nature, as it was not in my power to appeal to any actually existing weights. I have since obtained some data of a concrete kind which, I think, lends some support to my former contention.

Dr. Schliemann (*Mycenae and Tiryns*, p. 354) found (in the tomb south of the Agora at Mycenae) ‘four spirals of thick quadrangular, and seven spirals of thick round gold wire, five plain gold rings, and a similar one of silver, of which a selection is represented under No. 529. ‘I remind (adds Dr. Schliemann) the reader that similar spirals and rings of thick gold wire occur in the wall paintings of the Egyptian tombs. They are supposed to have served as presents, or perhaps as a medium of exchange.’ These rings are now at Athens, and my friend Mr. E. A. Gardner of Gonville and Caius College, the Director of the British School at Athens, has kindly procured for me their weights.¹ Before going further I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not assume the rings to be what is called *ring-money*, but I think that I am justified in assuming that they are ornaments probably made on a given weight. It has been the custom in all countries for the person who desires to have an article of jewellery made to give to the goldsmith a certain weight of gold or silver, out of which the latter manufactures the desired ornament. Such is the practice at the present day in India; you give the goldsmith so many gold mohurs or sovereigns, or rupees, as the case may be, he squats down in your verandah, and with a few primitive tools quickly turns out the article you desire, which of course will weigh as many mohurs or sovereigns as you have given him (provided that you have stood by all the time, keeping a sharp look out to prevent his abstracting any of the metal). That in like fashion gold ornaments for ordinary wearing purposes were regularly of known weights in ancient times is shown clearly by the account of the

¹ I wish likewise to express my gratitude to M. Kumanudes for his kindness in giving Mr. Gardner every facility for weighing the rings.

presents given to Rebekah by Abraham's servant, 'a gold earring of half a shekel weight and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight' (Genesis xxiv. 22). To take another example from a very different region, the golden ornaments of the ancient Irish (of which numerous specimens exist in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy) were made according to specified weight. Thus queen Medbh is represented as saying: 'My spear-brooch of gold, which weighs thirty ungas, and thirty half ungas, and thirty crosachs and thirty quarter [crosachs].' O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Irish*, iii. 112. But we need not go beyond Greek soil itself for such illustrations. The well-known story of Archimedes and the weight of the golden crown, which led to the discovery of specific gravity, is sufficient to show that the practice in Greece was such as I describe, and certainly no one will venture to maintain that the people of Mycenæ were inferior in civilization to the ancient Irish. If the latter weighed the gold in their ornaments, surely the former, who so surpassed all that has been left by the ancient Irish in their pottery, sculpture and metal work, may well be assumed to have followed a similar practice.

I shall now proceed to tabulate the weights of the Mycenaean rings.

METAL.	DESCRIPTION.	WEIGHT.	
		GRAMMES.	GRAINS TROY.
Silver	Plain ring	8·8	137
Gold	Spiral	8·5	132
"	"	9·9	153
"	"	10·8	167
"	Plain ring	15·9	248
"	"	16·5	257
"	"	19·0	297
"	"	19·4	303
"	Spiral	20·5	320
"	"	21·5	335
"	Plain ring	22·0	340
"	Spiral	29·3	452
"	"	39·0	612
"	"	39·5	617
"	"	41·5	643
"	"	42·2	654
"	"	42·3	655
"	"	42·8	662

Inspection of the table shows us a group of two rings weighing 132 and 137 grains respectively at the lowest, and a group of four weighing 643, 654,

655, and 662 grains respectively as the highest. It will at once be seen that the latter are the fivefold of the former. This is probably one of the most primitive of multiples, derived as it is from counting by the fingers, and we know that in Greek the word *πεμπάζειν* (lit. to count five, *πέμπε* Aeolic) was used as a general word for *counting*. The fivefold of $132 = 660$, which is startlingly near 662. It is quite possible that the silver ring has gained rather than lost weight by oxydization. The third lowest group of two, 248 and 257, seem to be the double of the first group. From this it would seem as if $132-137$ was the unit on which they are all scaled.

The two rings weighing 612 and 617 grains seem to group themselves along with the four heaviest, but the interval between 617 and 662 is considerable. Again the two rings weighing 153 and 167 ought to go with the lowest group, but the interval between 137 and 167 is considerable, and the same may be said of 297 and 303 in relation to 340. The ring weighing 452 grains occupies a distinct position approximating no other group. It seems to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the unit of $132-137$.

It is perfectly possible that in those weights which are not more or less exact multiples of the unit we have to deal with halves and quarters of the unit, as I have already suggested in the case of the ring of 452 grains. Thus 303 and 297 would represent very closely $2\frac{1}{4}$ times the unit 135 grains; and 617 and $612 = 4\frac{1}{2}$ times the unit; and 167 gives $1\frac{1}{4}$ times the unit. The unit $132-137$ is of course identical with the light Babylonian shekel of 130 grains, and the *talent* of gold in Homer, which I have shown in a former number of this *Journal* to have been of like weight, and which was known as the Attic and Euboic standard in historical Greece. We need not be surprised to find $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of this unit. In Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 751) we find a half-talent (*ἡμιτάλαντον*) of gold. Of course I do not pretend to say that I have absolutely proved the existence of a weight standard at Mycenae, for the data are too few to make a complete induction but I think that they are sufficient to make it very probable that such a standard did exist. Indeed on *a priori* grounds it is natural to expect it, for the existence of rings made on a given unit has been proved for Egypt and Syria. If my view should turn out to be correct, it puts beyond doubt the truth of my former proposition, that the Greeks employed a weight standard similar to the light Babylonian shekel and Euboic stater before they learned from the East the art of coining money.

IV.—HOW WERE THE PRIMITIVE WEIGHT STANDARDS FIXED?

In previous articles I have shown that the oldest Greek unit of weight, the talent of gold in the Homeric Poems, was identical with the cow or value of a cow, that the same identity existed between the cow in Italy and the gold unit (itself the same as the Homeric Talanton) which lies at the base of the Roman system, and that the like relation existed between cow and gold unit in Sicily. I had further advanced the suggestion that we ought to seek

for the origin of the weight standard or standards from which probably all systems in the Old World, modern as well as ancient (save the modern French), have been derived, arguing that as the cow or ox was the most widely diffused common unit of barter, it was natural that when metals came into use as a medium of exchange, the metallic unit would naturally represent the value of the older unit of barter. Ordinary law of supply and demand would fix more or less accurately the amount of gold which one man would be willing to give, and another man be willing to accept for an ox. One point however I did not make clear, and that was how it came to pass that primitive men were able to fix with what practically was a high degree of accuracy the amount of gold which represented the value of an ox. It is, I think, this difficulty which is supposed to surround the process of fixing accurately the metallic unit thus derived which has induced metrologists to make up their minds that weight units could not have been arrived at empirically, and in consequence of this to seek their origin in the scientific astronomy of Babylonia.

We shall now endeavour to ascertain if the empirical method is so difficult, working on the only true scientific method in such inquiries, always back from the known to the unknown.

It is plain that if we could find a people who, whilst familiar with the use of gold, had as yet no system of weight, but had to resort to some other method for estimating the value of their wealth, we should thus get a clear idea of the conditions immediately preceding the invention of weights. From what I have said above, we cannot expect to find any such community in the Old World. The New World on the other hand supplies us with what we desire. When the Spaniards under Cortes conquered the Aztecs of Mexico, that people, although in a high state of civilization, had as yet no system of weights. In consequence of the want of weights the Spaniards experienced some difficulty in the division of the treasure, until they supplied the deficiency with weights and scales of their own manufacture. There was a vast treasure of gold, which metal, found on the surface or gleaned from the beds of rivers, was cast into bars, or in the shape of dust, made part of the regular tribute of the southern provinces of the empire. The traffic was carried on partly by barter, and partly by means of a regulated currency of different values. This consisted of transparent quills of gold dust, of bits of tin cut in the form of T, and of bags of cacao containing a specified number of grains (Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*).

From this we get an insight into the first beginnings of weights. Some natural unit (and by natural I mean some product of nature of which all specimens are of uniform dimension) is taken, such as the quill used by the Aztecs. The average-sized quill of any particular kind of bird presents a natural receptacle of very uniform capacity. These quills of gold dust were estimated at so many bags containing a certain number of grains. The step is not a long one to the day when some one will balance in a simple fashion a quill of gold dust against seeds of cacao, and find how many seeds are equal in weight to the metal. Nature herself supplies in the seeds of plants

weight units of marvellous uniformity. If any one objects to my assumption that the Aztecs were on the very verge of the invention of a weight system, my answer is that another race of America, whose political existence ceased under the same cruel conditions as that of their Northern contemporaries, I mean the Incas of Peru, who were in a stage of civilization almost the same as that of the Aztecs, had already found out the art of weighing before the coming of the Spaniards, although they were inferior to the Mexicans in so far as they had not a well-defined system of hieroglyphic writing, nor of currency such as the latter possessed. Scales made of silver have been discovered in Inca graves. The metal of which they are made shows that they were only employed for weighing precious commodities of small bulk.

That my proposition that nature has supplied natural weight units in seeds is not a mere speculation of one defending a pet thesis I shall now proceed to demonstrate by unquestionable evidence.

Let us turn to the known, and by getting fresh touch with *fact* return again with new vigour to the more speculative parts of the subject. The very name *grain*, which we employ to express our lowest weight unit, would of itself suggest that originally some kind of grain was used in weighing, but as our *grain* is known as the *grain Troy*, and we do not as yet know its origin, it will not do to argue vaguely from etymology. But a little inquiry soon brings us to a time when the grain Troy did not as yet form the basis of English weight, and when a far simpler method of fixing the weight of the King's coinage was employed. It was ordained in 12 Henry VII. c. v. that the bushel is to contain eight gallons of wheat, and every gallon eight pounds of wheat, and every pound twelve ounces of Troy weight, and every ounce twenty sterlings, and every sterling to be of the weight of thirty-two grains of wheat that grew in the midst of the ear of wheat according to the old laws of this land (Ruding, II. 58).¹

Going backwards we find by 8 Edward I. that the penny was to weigh 24 grains, which by weight then appointed were as much as the former 32 grains of wheat. By the *Statutum de Ponderibus* (of uncertain date, but placed by some in 1265) it was ordained that the penny sterling should weigh 32 grains of wheat, round and dry and taken from the midst of the ear (Ruding, I. 360.) Going back still a step further we find that by the laws of Ethelred every penny weighed 32 grains of wheat, and, as the penny of Alfred weighs 24 grains Troy, we need have no hesitation in assuming that it was likewise fixed on the same standard of 32 grains of wheat. Thus from Alfred (871—901) to Henry VII. (1485—1509) we find the penny fixed by this primitive method, and the actual weights of the time, as tested by the balance at the present day, afford proof positive of the practical accuracy of the method.

Now all the mediaeval standards were based upon the gold solidus of Con-

¹ I am indebted for all these facts relating to wheat grains in England to Mr. F. Seebohm the author of the *English Village Community*.

stantine the Great (Marquardt, ii. 30) except that of Ireland, which seems to have been borrowed from Rome before the changes introduced by that monarch. The Irish system runs thus: the unga (*uncia*) is the highest unit and contains 24 *scrapalls* (scrupuli), each *scrapall* contains 3 *pingins* (a name evidently borrowed from the Saxon invader), and each *pinginn* weighed 8 grains of wheat (ocht ngrainne cruithnechta comtrom na pinginne airgid, O'Donovan's Supplement, s.v. pinginn). Here as in England the grain of wheat is the basis of the system, whether introduced from Rome or (as I think more likely) already in use among the Kelts.

But the *solidus* of Constantine (of which 72 went to the Roman pound of gold) was divided into 24 *siliquae* or *κεράτια* (from whence comes *carat*). The *siliqua* or *κεράτιον* was the seed of the *carob* or *St. John's Bread* (*ceratonia Siliqua* L.). Thus the lowest unit in the Roman system, as usually given, is found to be a seed, and the same holds of the Greek system, for the drachm is given as containing 18 *κέρατα* or *κεράτια* (ἡ δὲ δραχμὴ κέρατα ιη'. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν· ἔχει γραμμὰς τρεῖς· τὸ γράμμα ὀβολοῦς β'. ὁ δὲ ὀβολὸς κέρατα γ'. τὸ δὲ κέρατιον ἔχει σιτάρια δ'. Fragm. ap. Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* 248). From this we see that the *κεράτιον* was further reduced to 4 *σιτάρια*, grains of wheat, and from another table of weights given by Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* ii. 128, we learn that the *siliqua* equals 3 grains of barley (*siliqua grana ordei* iii.). Hence it appears that 3 grains of barley = 4 grains of wheat.¹ Thus both Greek and Roman systems finally rest upon grains of corn, as did the English and Irish.

Before passing on from the Greek and Roman systems, I may add that even higher denominations than the *siliqua* were expressed by seeds. The *lupinus* = 2 *siliquae*, and its Greek representative the *θερμός* is given a like value (*Metrol. Script.* 81). In the *Carmen de Ponderibus*, ii. 16, *granu lentis* are made equal to 6 *siliquae*, and a like number of grains of spelt are given a similar value.

We shall next advance towards the East, and take up the Semitic systems. There can be little doubt (says Queipo, I. 360) that the Arab system of weight was based on the grain of wheat. The *habba* was their smallest unit. 4 *habbas* = 1 Karat, the latter of course represents the *κεράτιον*, and the former

¹ We saw above that 24 grains of Troy weight when introduced into England were equal to 32 grains of wheat, or in the proportion of 3 : 4. By the quotations given above we learn that the *siliqua* was equal to 3 grains of barley, and 4 grains of wheat; hence barley grains are to wheat as 3 : 4. From this it follows that the Troy grain is nothing more than the barleycorn, which had been used in preference to the grain of wheat in part of the Roman Empire. Furthermore this relation between barleycorns and wheat can be proved as an actual fact. In September 1887 I placed in a balance 32 grains

of wheat, and 24 grains of barley, taken from ricks of corn grown on the same field, near Cambridge, and repeated the experiment thrice; each time they balanced so evenly that a half-grain weight turned the scale either way. Again it is easy to see that the same proportion exists between wheat grain and Troy grain. A grain of Scotch wheat = .047 gramme, and the Troy grain = .064 gramme. $.017 \times 4 = .188$; $.064 \times 3 = .192$. For all practical purposes therefore 4 wheat grains = 3 Troy grains with an error of .0024, less probably than the difference between individual grains.

the 4 σιτάρια, which are the equivalent of the κεράτιον. In the Hebrew system the *Gerah*, which also probably means a grain of some kind (weighing .070 grammes), is the base.

Going farther Eastward we come to India, and there find a similar basis for the various systems in use among the Hindus. The *retti* (*Abrus precatorius*, Jequirity of pharmacists), the grain of gunja (= hemp, *cannabis*) or Karat, is the smallest unit in two systems, but in that used for weighing precious metals, corresponding to our Troy weight, there is a still smaller grain employed, called *yara*, which weighs .014 grammes, and is one-tenth of the *retti*. Finally in the Chinese system a grain of millet of the panic kind forms the basis.¹

We have now passed from the extreme west of Europe to the furthest east, and everywhere alike have we found the natural units afforded by various grains and seeds employed by various races as means of indicating weight. It is now easy to see that if once in the ordinary way of barter a certain portion of gold, arrived at by a crude process of guess-work probably at first, then possibly measured by some natural measure of capacity, such as the quill of the Aztec, or the egg-shell employed by the ancient Irish (somewhat analogous to the way in which rustics in the present day measure powder and shot by means of the bowl of a clay pipe), was regarded as the equivalent of an ox, or a slave, the next step, that is, to represent it by a certain number of grains of some kind of corn or plant in common use would easily follow. Seeds too were the primitive counters before the rise of arithmetic.²

If the objection is raised that all that I have said can be readily explained by supposing that, after all these various peoples became acquainted with the weight unit obtained scientifically by the Chaldaeans (by taking the weight in water of one-fifth of the cube of the Babylonian royal ell, which itself is supposed to be based upon astronomical observations), they adopted the method of preserving the standard accurately by comparing it with the weight of a certain number of seeds, my reply is that it is hardly likely that all those peoples should have uniformly remained unobservant of the natural means at their disposal till so late a period comparatively, especially when we recollect that those same natural objects are likewise universally employed as the smallest units of linear measure, as for instance our own barleycorn, and the kernels of grain with which the Chinese start their system; secondly that, according to most metrologists, the Chinese system of weights is independent of the Graeco-Asiatic, which prevailed everywhere else, and therefore the method of estimating weights by seeds has in this case certainly been employed before, and independently of the Babylonian scientific system; and thirdly that beyond all doubt we found the Incas of Peru evolving a

¹ I owe this fact to the kindness of Sir Thomas Wade.

² My colleague, Professor Hartog, informs me

that in Java, grain (*padi* or *para*) is not only unit of weight but also of numeration.

weight system for themselves in a region where there cannot be the slightest suspicion of Babylonian influence. If those Incas, who had not even developed a system of currency or a system of hieroglyphics, could devise a weight system, why should we deny to the Aryan and Semitic races the capacity to evolve such a system by some empirical process, analogous to that by which the Peruvians must have arrived at theirs ?

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE
ZEUS TEMPLE AT OLYMPIA,

AND

ALCAMENES THE LEMNIAN.

[PLATE VI.]

HARDLY ever has an artist been more unjustly treated by posterity than has he who adorned the Eastern pediment at Olympia with the story of Oenomaus and Pelops. Archaeologists have censured, and artists parodied his work for faults of composition that it owed probably entirely to their own reconstructions. The standard of Greek art is so high, even in lesser things, that where a work of this importance seems to fall short, we had better doubt of our own method, or at least suspend our judgment rather than rashly condemn. The more so here, where there does not even exist a general accord as to the arrangement which ought to be preferred. It is true that those peculiarities of style which seemed most to blame were not controverted, but as long as it appears that the truth has not yet been found, the fault will most probably lie where it is least sought for. And in fact material indications are not wanting that all was not right. For example, it is a curious fact that, though the composition was too loosely spread, the detached horses should stand outside the teams of three worked from one block, and this notwithstanding that they show unmistakable marks of having stood close to the wall. I was so strongly impressed by this circumstance during a visit at Olympia in May 1888, that I resolved to try by all means a new solution on this principle. But of course I lighted on the same difficulty which had prevented others from accepting this arrangement, as the five central figures, spellbound by the words of Pausanias, did not leave sufficient space to right and left for two horses in succession, and I already half despaired of coming to any conclusion, when Prof. Brunn spoke the magic word that broke the spell.¹ He advocates on purely aesthetic grounds a transposition of the middle-figures, whereby the women come close to Zeus, between him and the heroes, and vindicates our right to reconstruct the

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der königl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*. 7 Juli 1888. 'Ueber Fabelgruppen,' p. 183 ff.

whole on aesthetic principles and test it by the text of Pausanias, instead of building on his words a theory which does not do justice to the work.

The following is an attempt to work out this method, letting the sculptures speak for themselves, and taking the subject as given in these words only²: τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἔμπροσθεν Ηέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἔτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Technical details as to the way the figures have been fastened to the building will have to be considered, and the lines of each separate member will be examined to discover the place it must have taken in the composition. Where there is reason to take account of the situation in which they were found, this consideration will not be omitted.

So generally acknowledged is the affinity of style with the Western pediment, whereof the composition would appear to be now reconstructed beyond all doubt by the last rearrangement of Prof. Treu,³ that it does not seem too bold to make use of what we learn there about the style and method of this art.

In the first place let us observe that the outlines of one figure must follow that of the next so that no more vacant space is left than can be helped, and that the composition must thus be kept compact. Another principle, that of correspondence, has been already so well set forth by Prof. Treu⁴ and Prof. Kekulé,⁵ that it need hardly be once more advocated.

I had no choice but to work with the models on a reduced scale, which have in some respects been slightly altered in the restored parts, according to my indications, under the direction of Mr. Bart van Hove, the sculptor. This has only been done where it could not be avoided. What else remains to be changed will be mentioned in the text, as these corrections can necessarily be no more than an indication of the intention, and ought to be controlled in presence of the originals, or at least the large plaster casts, by competent authority. I have no doubt that a careful inquiry will prove these or similar alterations possible and sufficient.⁶

In the middle stands the figure of Zeus, too high for any other place. Next to him, neither Oenomaus nor Pelops—these names cannot be questioned—will fit, as either of them in the usual arrangement cuts through the composition most awkwardly, the first with his left elbow and the other still worse by his shield, and even if transposed, they must perforce remain at too great a distance, and leave an enormous gap. To be brief, there is no other place where the shield will do no harm by its form and the broad shadow it must have thrown till noon, but on the right, *i.e.* Northern extremity of this group, and similarly the elbow of Oenomaus finds room for extension only on the opposite side. The women therefore must stand between the men and Zeus, as Prof. Brunn⁷ has already deduced from the bad effect the naked legs

² Pausanias, v. 10. 6.

³ *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts*, iii. p. 174.

⁴ *Archäologische Zeitung*, xl. 1882, p. 215ff.

⁵ *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. xxxix. p. 481ff.

⁶ The restored parts have been indicated in the models by a darker colour, but this does not show everywhere in our plate, so that it is misleading.

⁷ *L. l.* p. 183.

of the men produce in that place, and the evident improvement in the composition if we bring the draped female figures close to Zeus' garment. If we ask which of the two must stand to the right, which to the left, I would venture to answer that this question is decided by the figures themselves, as the right arm and hand of Zeus fit exactly into the folds formed by the dress of the woman with her arms on her breast, and that this slender figure composed with the broader Oenomaus exactly counterpoises the group that remains, where the fuller forms of the woman make up for what we should miss in Pelops. In this way too will be obtained an over-lapping of outlines, postulated by Prof. Brunn for these groups. On the other side the uplifted left arm of the other woman fills the open space beneath the right arm of Pelops who rests gently on her shoulder. It is true that in the models, as they stand before me, Pelops is a trifle too short to allow of this arrangement, and I would not venture to have him made higher, but the same effect may be obtained by letting the torso rest somewhat more heavily on the supporting leg, an attitude perfectly accounted for by the weight of the shield on that side. It is obtained in our plate by making the whole figure lean over somewhat to the left, but this of course is but an expedient. That this arrangement is the original one is further shown by a slight indentation on the woman's left shoulder at the exact spot where it would be touched by the elbow of Pelops.

It is clear that the women must assume again the names first given to them, and disputed by Dr. Studniczka,⁸ but after the excellent characterizations of Prof. Flasch,⁹ there cannot be any objection to this. We shall only have to disagree with Prof. Flasch as to the restoration of the left arm of Hippodamia. It cannot hang down, as Prof. Treu¹⁰ observes, on account of the folds underneath the elbow, and we come to the same conclusion if we examine the holes cut for attaching the fore-arm, that point to a heavy weight having to be sustained. Still it seems to me that, as it is restored, the arm is too much uplifted and should be less extended and nearly vertical, as in the figure of Stephanus. Hippodamia must have held a *tunica* here, just as in her statue in the Hippodrome. It is not uninteresting to observe that her image on later vases often shows a general likeness to this figure, particularly in the uplifted left arm.¹¹

That the supporting legs of the men come to the outside of the group is, as Mr. van Hove observed to me, in favour of the proposed arrangement, as they give a better outline and greater stability to the whole. I may add that in a similar way the women by repeating the position of the men direct our eyes to the centre, and help to give more consistency to the composition, which if they change places would fall asunder in two distinct groups with a

⁸ *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1884, p. 281 ff.

⁹ In Baumeister's *Denkmaeler*, v. Olympia, ii. p. 1104 y.

¹⁰ *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* iii. p. 184 n. 2.

¹¹ *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1840, Tav. d' Agg. N°

Monumenti dell' Inst. viii. 1864, Pl. iii; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1853, Pl. liv., where Hippodamia is moreover far more richly dressed than the woman who leads her and who, no doubt, is Sterope.

central figure, but without any combining link. Even as they are, these groups remind one of those of Orestes and Electra, or Orestes and Pylades, and it is not impossible that another restoration of the uplifted arms of the heroes might produce a still closer resemblance.

There thus remains only one somewhat large gap between Zeus and Sterope, and this may be filled up in the way indicated by Prof. Brunn,¹² by an altar, which however in my opinion ought rather to be seen in front, as on the Attic vases, and the Sicilian coins of this period.

If this arrangement be accepted we shall find that the group still lacks the necessary breadth at the base, as compared with the more compact and broader upper half. But this defect is remedied by the figures that must sit before the horses. Now if we look for such forms as will give the desiderated outline, we have no choice but to accept those proposed by Prof. Kekulé,¹³ the kneeling young man to the left, and the kneeling maiden to the right. They correspond exactly in their movement, and the maiden has just the height wanted for a figure beneath the shield. The sitting boy and the mutilated sitting man of Prof. Treu's arrangement would be too low, and we shall find that precisely for this reason they will be wanted elsewhere. Moreover the last mentioned figure would cause a very irregular contour. The same would be the case if we accepted Prof. Curtius' views,¹⁴ who instead of the maiden has the kneeling man, and then this brings an awkward repetition of the same motive, in that both figures kneel to the right. Nor does Prof. Flasch¹⁵ bring us any nearer. The bald seated man might perhaps do well before Pelops, but he is wanted more where he was found, and the proposed pendant, the mutilated sitting man, is less satisfactory near Oenomaus than anywhere else. Though we have not yet come to this point in our inquiry, it may already be observed that the argument, which convinced Prof. Flasch, loses all its force as soon as Oenomaus is removed from that side where he recognizes Myrtilus.

Prof. Kekulé's arrangement however is open to nearly the same objection as that of Prof. Curtius, the repetition in the two kneeling men, and we ought to accept it only with a modification. For us the kneeling boy must of necessity come before the horses, and should be turned inward until his back and his right side are equally seen from the front. His head will then be seen in profile from the most central point that allows of a general survey of the pediment, and his hands will come close to the horses. The kneeling maiden should occupy an exactly similar position, and that such was her position is even more evident, as there is a greater contrast in her case between the finish of the back¹⁶ and that of the part that was not exposed to view, than is the case with the boy, who only shows some rough surface on the left side. What she may be doing is quite uncertain; she might perhaps be

¹² L. I. p. 198.

¹³ L. I. p. 486.

¹⁴ *Die Funde von Olympia*, Ausgabe in einem Bande (Berlin, 1882) p. 11 ff.

¹⁵ L. I. p. 1104 z.

¹⁶ The corrosion of the back mentioned by Mr. Gräf (*Mittheilungen aus Athen*, 1888, p. 402) is in favour of this view.

tying the strings of Pelops' sandals,¹⁷ and by her ministry characterize him to the spectator as a guest of the house.¹⁸

After the principal actors we come to the preparation, the *παρασκευή*, for the race. How this was depicted in early Greek art may be learned from Attic vases. It is not without interest to compare the fragments of the vase painted by Nearchus,¹⁹ where Thetis brings the armour of Hephaestus to Achilles, who, aided by the white-haired Phoenix, is preparing his chariot; but the monument of most interest to us is a fine black-figured hydria (Fig. 1), that in style, and especially in the type of the heads, shows the greatest affinity to the black-figured vases, executed by early painters of red-figured vases, in particular to Epictetus as seen in his pinakes. It has been published by Gerhard,²⁰ and is sufficiently important to be repeated here.



FIG. 1.—BLACK-FIGURED HYDRIA.

Two slightly-built horses *stand* already before the chariot; the charioteer and a groom are busy harnessing them; another groom holds the reins, while a third brings up a somewhat lighter horse, of fuller forms, which *advances* slowly.

¹⁷ A very similar figure has been pointed out by Prof. Kekulé, (l. l. p. 487) in Le Bas, *Monuments figurés*, Pl. 65 = Lucy Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 500, fig. 211.

¹⁸ Homer, *Od.* iv. 49; xiii. 66; xix. 316 ff.

¹⁹ Benndorf, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, Pl.

iv. 3d. Nearer related to this than to the following is a black-figured fragment (*Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, T. viii. sep. 3. 3), where however the preparation seems for a race.

²⁰ *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. cexlix, ccl.

Though we do not find in our pediment so complete a body of attendants, yet the horses, to which our attention must be especially directed, are arranged as on the vase. On each side are three *standing* horses in front of slight proportions, while a single horse of fuller forms *moves* forward at a slow trot, this at least seems to be indicated by what is left of the legs, and this has been well preserved by Mr. Grüttner in his models, though I am not in a position to decide whether he was quite right in letting the horse on the right side move in the natural way, and might not better have followed, as in the other, the mode of archaic art, in which the legs of the same side move simultaneously backward and forward.

As the central group, as we arrange it, takes much less space than do the same figures in other reconstructions, we may place the three horses much nearer to the centre than is usually done, and thereby gain sufficient room for the single horses in their rear, provided that these do not raise their heads so high. I have had this alteration made in the models, as may be seen from our plate, though without wishing to defend the exact curve given to each neck. It even seems to me that the horse on the left ought rather to have stretched its head forward, as there appears to be an indentation on the back of the foremost horse, just where his lip might have touched it, but Mr. van Hove had the head drawn down to correspond to the movement of the hind-legs of the model. The question remains, if this movement necessarily results from what remains, but this question, like so many others, must remain undecided here. What we want to demonstrate is no more than that the horse *can* and *must* stand in this place. Prof. Treu²¹ and those who place the four horses side by side, have but one serious argument, the absolute want of space for any other disposition, and as this is done away, we may fairly enquire what their other considerations are worth. Prof. Treu attaches some importance to the marble support under the belly of the horse that seems to show it to have stood free from the wall, but it is clear that the enormous weight of the marble could not be supported by the legs alone, even though it were firmly attached to the wall by the strongest dowels, and that it was not superfluous here is proved by the presence of a similar support in the case of the other horses, so much better supported by their combined legs. It is true that in their case it is hidden from view by the forelegs, but if painted of the same colour as the back-ground it would hardly offend the eye here and, as we shall see, disappeared probably entirely behind the chariot. On the other hand, placed as Prof. Treu has it, it cannot but produce a very unhappy effect. Prof. Kekulé's²² proposal to let the single horses stand somewhat backward, though coming nearer to the truth, and accounting for a part of the else useless work lavished on the three horses, does not remedy the great objection to this arrangement, viz. the presence of horizontal holes for dowels in the back, made exactly in the same manner as those of the five middle figures and the three horses and of many figures of the western pediment. Two of these holes may be observed on each of the single horses, about three inches (8cm.) square, and six inches (15cm.) deep, and in one

²¹ *Archaeologische Zeitung*, xl. 1882, p. 227.

²² *L.* i p. 489.

place no less than eight inches (20cm.) below the highest point. It looks practically impossible to attach this mass of marble to the wall by dowels that would have to run over the back of the other horses, as Prof. Treu²³ thinks must have been the case. There does not even seem room for such a dowel, which would besides have been of very unusual shape and little or no use in sustaining the weight. If the sculptors had really wanted to place these horses side by side they would have left (or made) flat the part not seen, and fastened to it the free horse. That they have not done this is the all-convincing argument in favour of our view.

Some years ago my father observed to me that the chariots could not have been wanting, but being made of bronze would have been melted down, and Prof. Flasch²⁴ made the same observation.²⁵ Prof. Treu²⁶ asserts, and it is generally believed, that no trace even of the yoke is left, but I observed at Olympia not only that part of the mane of the horses on the left side is cut sharply away at the very place where this yoke ought to rest, but also that there remains a fragment of a thick bronze pin stuck in the marble that can hardly have belonged to anything else besides the yoke itself. I was not so happy with the other side as just this spot is there broken away.

Though the chariot is usually close to the heels of the horses it seems more probable that the distance was somewhat greater here, as often is represented in a race, so that it may well fill up the empty space beneath the single horse and cover its support. This arrangement may easily be made on the left side, but on the right meets some difficulty in the uplifted foreleg of the horse. We have observed already that this ought probably to be altered.

It is indeed an objection to our theory that it will scarcely be possible to place an attendant to lead these horses, but after all it is not impossible to suppose that a well-trained horse could trot along by itself to its companions, and besides these horses are of divine ancestry.

Still however, especially after adding the chariots, one misses something, small maybe, by the side of the foremost horses. Some reins, or a harness hanging down from the yoke, as in the vase-painting, is all that is wanted.

About the last figures on the right little remains to be said. Their place is given by the spot where they were found,²⁷ by the respective height of the figures, which does not allow of any others being placed in

²³ L. l. 228 in the note.

²⁴ L. l. p. 1104 AA.

²⁵ May not the many bronze fragments found with the bald sitting man, mentioned *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1875, p. 176, have belonged to the chariot of that side? The spot would be exactly the right one. The notice runs thus: *Unter der Figur fanden sich zahlreiche Bronzestücke; darunter sind anscheinliche vergoldete Fragmente von einem runden Gegenstande, viel-*

leicht einem Schilde gefunden worden. These last of course would be from one of the votive shields of Mummius.

²⁶ *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1882, p. 234.

²⁷ This argument accepted by Prof. Treu in 1876 and rejected in 1882 formed the basis of the arrangement of Prof. Curtius, l. l. and was combined by Prof. Kekulé, l. l. with the symmetrical correspondence of the figures in Prof. Treu's arrangement.

their stead and, last not least, by the beautiful harmony of the outlines. It is true that they cannot be brought sufficiently close together in the existing models, but the restored right hand of the river-god may be very well brought near to his left arm, somewhat in the way indicated in our plate, and the left arm of the bald sitting man, whereon he leans, must be drawn nearer to the body on account of the position of the remaining fragment. The right hand that touches the chin may perhaps have held the halter of the single horse; ²⁸ at all events on this side nobody else appears to care in the least about the horses.

We are better off in this respect on the other side, where we find a striking resemblance to the painting on the hydria above mentioned, in more than one respect, for not only does the kneeling boy, placed as we place him, fulfil the office of the groom half seen before the horses, but the groom who holds the reins is present too in the person of the kneeling man. If we turn him somewhat to the front, there is no longer any fear of an awkward repetition of movement, and his height is the exact height wanted there and nowhere else.

The river-god occupies the angle, and so no figure remains for the last vacant place but the mutilated man. But there are still more convincing arguments than these to demonstrate that he must have occupied this spot. Prof. Treu ²⁹ observes that this figure has been shortened at the base, as he thinks, to make it fit under the horses' heads, but however the reconstruction be made it always will remain so much lower than those heads, that he must evidently be mistaken in his supposition. And yet the head too, bears testimony to the fact that the figure was too high at first, as it is flattened at the crown in an oblique direction. This points clearly enough to the single spot in the whole pediment where this reduction could be of any use, the last place but one to the left. It is less easy to say how it ought to be restored. The two different Berlin models are both evidently wrong. Certainly Mr. Grüttner was right in placing the right arm before the body, as the muscle of the breast is compressed on that side, but it could never have been where he puts it, as there is at that place a narrow but intact tract of epidermis from the breast to the arm-pit. It must therefore have been higher and further off from the body. Neither can the other arm be uplifted so high as it is in both reconstructions, as well as in that given in the plate, as may be seen from the muscle on the left breast, which is not stretched. As what remains of the drapery seems to exclude a downward position of the arm supporting the body at this side (which would well suit the composition), there is no choice but to restore this arm, at least mentally, as brought forward at the level of the head so that the latter may be seen below it from the ground. This could not be effected here, without making an entirely new model, as those of Berlin have not the same excellence and exactness as

²⁸ This hand is pierced (see *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1876, p. 178) and could hardly have held anything but the halter of the single horse

or the reins of the other horses.

²⁹ *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1882, p. 241.

the others. For a similar reason the position of the head has not been changed, though according to the flattened crown it ought to be turned more backward and look nearly horizontally to the centre of the composition. But to do this it would have been necessary to add on the plaster cast of the original the wanting part of breast and neck, and such an undertaking leads further than we could be expected to go in the preparation of a mere essay. The changes as indicated in our plate, the right arm brought higher to support the body by means of a staff and the left hand on the missing part of the head, are sufficient to prove that it is possible to place this figure here. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that for all these six figures we have accepted in the main Prof. Kekulé's³⁰ proposal.

The duty now remains of testing this arrangement, reached on grounds absolutely independent of the description of Pausanias, by his words:³¹ Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἰτόν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικείμενος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἀτλαντος. Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κάθηται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δὲ εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτους προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου. πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατὰκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἴπποδάμεια καὶ ὅτε ἡνίοχος ἔστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι, δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὐθις ὁ αἰτὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἔστιν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἔφασκεν ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν εἶναι.

In the first place I am happy to be able to bring forth a witness whose impartiality cannot be suspected, as he came to the same result as we in respect to the arrangement of the five principal figures, before the sculptures were known, on the sole authority of Pausanias, Quatremère de Quincy,³² who published a very unpretending sketch of the composition, which we repeat here (Fig. 2).

We may take as known what Prof. Brunn³³ advances to explain the seeming contradiction of the text, but we must lay the more stress on what can be further concluded from the passage. The supposed altar might have induced Pausanias to speak of the *ἄγαλμα* of Zeus, but it is of more importance that in describing Oenomaus ἐν δεξιᾷ, he adds τοῦ Διὸς, which he could never have done if he intended to speak of the *spectator's* right hand. The following words τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, might be ambiguous, as Zeus must be mentioned again, but the earlier words are clear.

To the right and left follow the figures he mistook for charioteers, misled probably by the myth, as it was current in his time, and as Prof. Kekulé³⁴

³⁰ L. l. p. 486.

³¹ v. 10, 6.

³² *Le Jupiter Olympien*, Pl. xi. fig. 1.

³³ L. l. p. 184.

³⁴ L. l. p. 487.

observes, by the dress of the maiden. On the left are the men whom Oenomaus ordered to care for his horses, and in this they are occupied. It is less evident what those on the right are doing, and so it was to Pausanias, as he only guesses they might be Pelops' grooms; ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τοῦ Πέλοπος. If we are not able to put a name to every one of these figures, this at least is not in disaccord with our author.

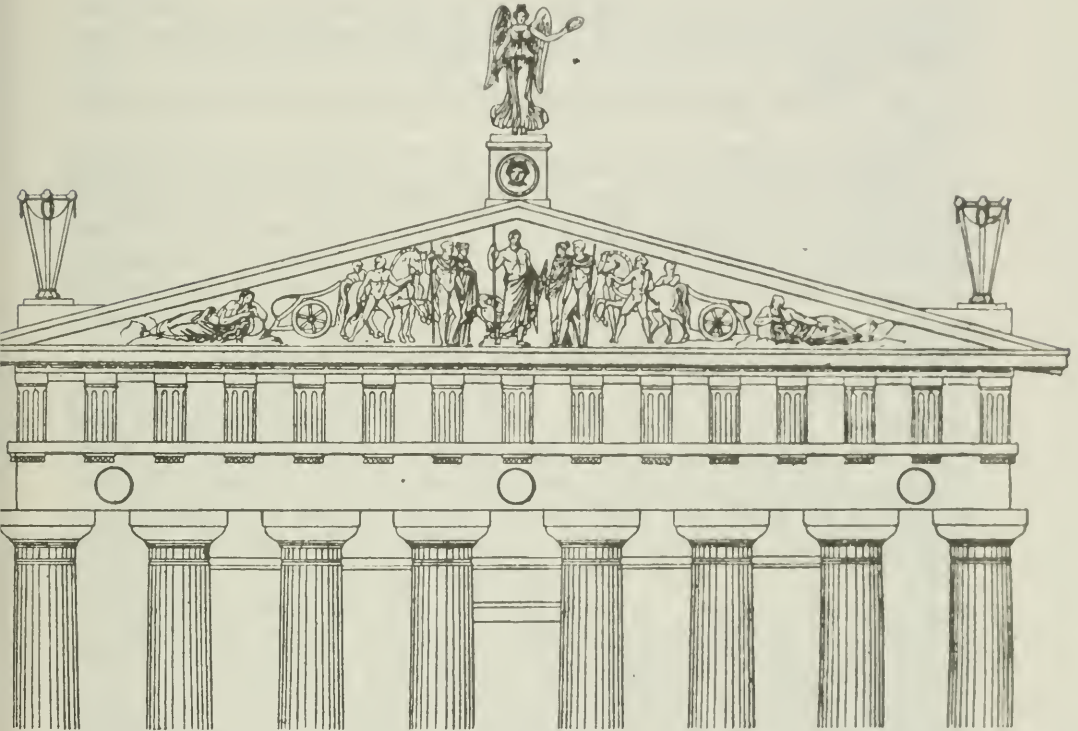


FIG. 2.—RESTORATION BY QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY.

The bald and rather corpulent man, seems characterised as a paedagogus.³⁵ That he must be of some rank, appears from his noble features.³⁶

³⁵ Bald men are not rare on Attic vases, not only where extreme age is represented as in the Tithonus of an Oconocles vase (Luynes, *Vases*, Pl. xxxviii) but in general to indicate advanced years as in Priamus (Gerhard, *Ausclesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. clxxxviii. *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, viii. Pl. xxvii.) and Anchises (Gerhard, l. l. Pl. ccxvi, ccxvii). Linus too on the vase of Pistozenus (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 1871, Tav. d' Agg. F.) is more or less bald, and several bald men occur whom one would rather take to be paedagogi than anything else, such as on a cup at Munich (*Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1885, Pl. 11), or on

another (Heidemann *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Pl. x.), or on an amphora (Gerhard, l. l. Pl. cl) near Lycaon, Antandros, who of all mentioned shows the closest likeness to the type at Olympia.

The small terra-cotta group of the Berlin Museum (*Archaeologische Zeitung*, xl. Pl. 8 = Baumcister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 1320) is too late to be of much use for comparison however close the resemblance.

³⁶ These features do not allow his being characterized as a bad man as Prof. Flasch (l. l. p. 1104 AA) supposes. In fact the corpulence

He should be compared to Mentor or Phoenix, rather than to the paedagogus in Sophocles' *Electra*, as a young prince like Pelops would hardly fail to be thus accompanied, even though the legends do not mention it expressly. His rank of course would no more prevent him from tending the horses, than it does Phoenix in the painting of Nearchus, above mentioned.

Finally there is no objection to calling the left river-god Cladeus, as he was beardless as well as the other, who now must be Alpheus. These attributions are not inconsistent with the geographical situation, as the race was supposed to go toward the sea, and follow the coast, so that the Alpheus must be on the left.

To conclude let us take a general view of the scene and try to find its motive.

On the right hand, *χερὸς ἐκ δορυπαλτοῦ*,³⁷ of Pelops, the princely guest and bashful lover, and his blooming bride, whose hand holds the prize of victory, appears the majestic figure of Zeus, foreboding good luck to them. His angry frown rests on Oenomaus, who broke his laws by preventing the marriage of his own daughter, and slaying her suitors, and now supports his presence with impudent mien and in unbroken pride, whilst Sterope, sunk in painful meditation, foresees the issue that will leave her a widow.

This group, in which all the interest, as in a tragedy of Aeschylus, centres with ethic pathos, is surrounded by the preparations for the fatal race. But the appearance of Zeus does not pass unobserved by all attendants. The paedagogus on the right is struck with awe, and sits motionless, his head resting on his hand; the man last but one at the left, turns sharply with terror or curiosity—which is now no longer observable—and the river-gods, which indicate the locality, astonished, half rise from their beds. As in Rafael's *Mass of Bolsena*, the excitement caused by the supernatural appearance grows as it reaches those that have no part to act in the scene, and by thus bringing them in connexion with it, gives unity to the whole.

That there can be no Myrtilus, as his treason could not be and was not acknowledged at Olympia to have decided the issue of the race, has been clearly shown by Prof. Loeschcke.³⁸ Nor was this theme, fit subject for a tragedy of Euripides, worthy to adorn the temple of the highest of the gods, even if it had not invited, as it were, to treachery and corruption. And that, notwithstanding the artist's care to avoid every ambiguity by omitting the charioteer of Oenomaus, he was still thought to be present in after times, proves nothing but the wide-spread character of the myth, and the want of moral sense in respect to the gods in those days. For a charioteer of Pelops there could have been no occupation but that of simple groom, as, according to the legend, the hero drove himself with Hippodamia by his side.

and baldness bespeak no more than his age and lack of daily exercise, and it seems probable that Prof. Flasch was led to speak of a 'fatal face' (l. l. p. 1104 Z) by the front view, which it was not the artist's intention to show.

³⁷ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 119. Cf. Homer,

B 353 etc.

³⁸ *Dorpat-Program: Die Oestliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia*, 1885, p. 13, with special reference to the chest of Cypselus and the first Olympic ode of Pindar.

Considering the mutilated condition of the work we cannot be expected to obtain a reconstruction free from doubt in details, but the arrangement here proposed is the only one as yet suggested, that accounts for all technical peculiarities; and though I certainly cannot hope to see it accepted at once by all archaeologists, I expect to have all artists on my side on account of the evident artistic gain in the general aspect, and nobody can deny that we have obtained a much closer resemblance to the style of the Western pediment than before.

We could stop here, but the last observation leads us to another inquiry, which I hope our readers will follow, without letting an unfavourable impression of this part of the paper influence their judgment on the former.

The artist of this pediment is unknown, and the name of Paeonius of Mende, given to him by Pausanias, must be due to some error or confusion in his notes or memory, as Paeonius himself, in his inscription, practically excludes all doubt. Even if we could accept the thesis, that the meaning of ἀκροτήρια is ambiguous, which we cannot allow,³⁹ Paeonius' phrase would not admit any doubt, as he uses the word ἐπί, and that at all events is not ambiguous.

Of course Prof. Flasch⁴⁰ is right, that for a victory there must be a competition, and that the Greeks did not use to compete with models, but with finished works. But what of that? He whose work was refused might hope to find some other destination for it, either unchanged or with new attributes, as we know from the example of Agoracritus' Nemesis.

There is not a single reason why the gilded bronze λέβητες should rather pertain to the gold shield or φιάλη of the Lacedaemonians, in whose inscription they are not mentioned, than to the gilded bronze Nike, nor why they should not be due to the hand of Paeonius.

Even those who accept most readily the testimony of Pausanias, acknowledge the identity of style of both pediments, and Prof. Flasch⁴¹ goes so far as to ascribe this to the influence of Phidias; but without denying in the least the affinity between the Olympian and the Parthenon sculptures (which by the by are ascribed to Phidias himself on very controvertible grounds), we need not shut our eyes to the immense distance that lies between. Where so much is uncertain, it may not be out of place to compare what progress has been made by long-lived artists of the first rank and the greatest influence in other periods, where fixed dates help our inquiry. And even a rapid survey of what Donatello produced between his twenty-sixth year, when he made the St Marcus of Orsanmichele, and his eightieth year, whence date the works in St. Lorenzo, or of what Michelangelo produced between his twenty-fifth year with the *Pietà* in St. Peter's, and the Deposition in the Tomb,

³⁹ The argument drawn from Plato, *Critias*, 116D, is very weak; there is no reason to understand ἀκροτήρια there in any but the usual sense (see Prof. Michaëlis, *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1876, p. 169) as the sculptures mentioned in the next sentence do not stand in the pediment but

in the temple itself.

Those who accept the word as pediment would make Paeonius assert *both* pediments to have gained him a victory.

⁴⁰ L. I. p. 1104 HHL.

⁴¹ L. I. 1104 KK.

left unfinished after a life of nearly four score and ten years, will show nothing but a development and perfection of the same tendencies, though few artists have ever more completely than these broken with tradition and created their own style. Points of comparison could only be found if we might compare the works of a mere boy, such as Michelangelo was when he worked the angel for the *arca* at Bologna, with his ripest works; but is it probable that a work like the Olympian sculptures would have been confided to an apprentice? ⁴²

It is however the great Buonarroti himself who may show us the way, as that resemblance which has been remarked between the sculptures of Olympia and the Parthenon may be closely compared to the influence to be traced in his works of the sculptures of Quercia, which he studied in his youth while at Bologna.

Similarly the disciple of Phidias, who executed the pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon, let his name have been Colotes, Agoracritus, Alcamenes, Thrasymedes or Theocosmus, will have been strongly impressed in his youth, while working on the statue of Zeus, by the art of the old master whose work he daily had before his eyes in the Olympian pediments.

This master, to come to the point, was evidently the same for both pediments, and as there is no reason to doubt that Alcamenes, the rival of Phidias, made the Western pediment, we shall have to ascribe the Eastern also to him. After all that has been said by others, we need hardly dwell on the first point. Let us only observe that the execution of both pediments is so uniform that if a fragment of the one were found near the other, it could not have been recognised from the style, but only from the subject, and that to assume one single hand for the execution that induced the same style on the works of two different masters would be the worst solution to be thought of. Those who use to speak of native workmen as executing these sculptures after the models of foreign masters, forget the improbability of the masters not bringing their usual helpers with them, especially to a place like Olympia, where hardly any marble had ever been worked till this time.

To recognise in Alcamenes the designer of these works, would be of course impossible, if we accepted the identification of the two distinctly mentioned Alcamenes as one person, but there is no longer any reason for that, since Prof. Loeschke ⁴³ has shown what errors had been thus committed through following Pausanias.

Prof. Robert ⁴⁴ was the first to conclude that there were in antiquity two different versions current in regard to Alcamenes, but fails to see the obvious

⁴² Prof. Brunn (*Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 13 Januar 1877 'Die Sculpturen von Olympia' p. 12) in comparing the pediment with the victory of Paonius, points to Rafael's *spozalizio*, but forgets that Rafael was no more than twenty-one and had to study in another school before a great work was confided to him at the age of twenty-six. If he had painted the *stanzas* in his youth

in the style of the *spozalizio*, and the *spozalizio* were the work of his last years and in the style of the *Incendio del Borgo*, there would indeed have been some resemblance between his career and that of the supposed Paonius; as it is, there is none, and Paonius remains a *monstrum*.

⁴³ Dorpat-program 1887: *Die westliche Giebelgruppe am Zeustempel zu Olympia*, p. 7.

⁴⁴ *Archaeologische Maerchen*, p. 43.

conclusion to be drawn. Prof. Loeschke on the contrary does not perhaps stretch as far as he might the authority of our texts.

As I have come to the same conclusion independently, and as the Dorpat-program is not perhaps in all hands, I venture to state the case anew. An (L) will indicate the coincidence with Loeschke, (O no. . .) the testimony as Overbeck has it in his *Schriftquellen*.

In a temple near Phaleron, sacked by Mardonius, stood the damaged statue of Hera, from the hand of Alcámenes (L); and Pausanias (O no. 816), instead of doubting whether it could have suffered from the Medes, should rather have inquired in regard to the true date of Alcámenes, as it is clear that nobody would have thought of erecting an image in a roofless temple.⁴⁵

Shortly after the Persian wars, as was clearly shown by Dr. Wolters,⁴⁶ by comparison of a marble head found on the Acropolis of Athens, the Western pediment of Olympia must have been made, which by Pausanias (O no. 825) is ascribed to Alcámenes, the contemporary of Phidias, and only second to him in art (L). What this means appears from Pliny (O no. 811) who as *aemuli* of Phidias mentions Alcámenes, Critias, Nesiotes and Hegias, that is to say all masters of this period, as the date of Critias and Nesiotes is fixed by the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, erected in *Ol.* 75, 4 (477 B.C.), and Hegias is known to be the master of Phidias, and to have worked with Hagelaidas and Onatas. That Phidias himself must have begun his career immediately after the Persian wars is clear, from the many war trophies ascribed to him.⁴⁷ Pliny's date of *Ol.* 83 (448—445), about the year 300 of Rome (454!), must therefore be the date of Phidias' highest renown, and the lowest date of the others if this statement has any worth as regards them (L).

These testimonies are corroborated by the anecdote told by Tzetzes (O no. 810) about the competition between Alcámenes and Phidias, and we learn there that this Alcámenes drew his origin from the islands, so that he may be identified with the Lemnian mentioned by Suidas (O no. 809) (L).

To the same epoch points the Asclepius at Mantinea (O no. 824), as the Hera and Hebe of Praxiteles were made according to Pausanias⁴⁸ in the third generation after Alcámenes, so that, if we take as general date for Praxiteles that given by Pliny, *Ol.* 104, this would be *Ol.* 81 (456—453).

We have no other dates, but the description of the Hephaestus at Athens

⁴⁵ Prof. Petersen (*Mittheilungen aus Rom*, 1889, p. 65 ff.), who wants to find copies of the Hera of Alcámenes in works that show the style of a later period, rejects the story about the burning of the temple by Mardonius, but fails to explain why the roof and doors were not restored if they were only burnt by accident. Prof. Petersen writes privately to me that the temple may have been sacked in after times, but I cannot find his arguments convincing enough to doubt the veracity of the tradition.

⁴⁶ *Mittheilungen aus Athen*, p. 266 and 276.

This head (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. p. 123, fig. 2) might be ascribed to Alcámenes himself with much more confidence than the small bronze head claimed for him by Prof. Loeschke (*Dorpat-program* 1887 p. 8). Not having seen the original I judge from photographs taken and kindly sent me by my friend Dr. Walther Judeich, and now from the excellent publication *Ephemeris Archaeologica*, 1888, Pl. 2.

⁴⁷ Brunn, *Kunstler Geschichte*, p. 161 ff.

⁴⁸ VIII. 9. 1.

(O no. 821, 822) suffices to vindicate this statue for our master, as the words of Cicero, *Athenis laudamus Vulcanum cum, quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo stante atque vestito leviter apparet claudicatio non deformis*,⁴⁹ reveal a fit subject for a contemporary of Pythagoras, who excelled in his rendering of the lame Philoctetes.⁵⁰ Is it mere chance that we thus find the sculptor of the great god of Lemnos to have been a Lemnian? One might adduce as an objection the fact that the bronze Athene of the Lemnians at Athens was made by Phidias, but then this may have been at a time when their compatriot could not work for them. Or was perhaps even this most beautiful of Phidias' works, the Athene, made in competition with Alcamenes (the χαλκουργός) of which Tzetzes (O no. 810) speaks? Though all details given by this prolix author do not fit, this might have been the case.

Though more uncertain, it seems probable that the Dionysus of gold and ivory at Athens (O no. 819, 820) might be his work if this statue is rightly identified by Dr. Imhoof and Prof. Percy Gardner⁵¹ with some Athenian coin types, as appears to be the case.

Finally we may cite the votive offering of a certain Alcamenes on the Athenian Acropolis, mentioned by Pausanias, (O no. 826),⁵² 'Proene having resolved the death of her son, herself and Itys,' which Prof. Brunn⁵³ was right in refusing to acknowledge as a work of the artist, because of the tragic-pathetic interest, as long as he was thought to live towards the end of the fifth century. This work might be ascribed to this earlier master on comparison with a red-figured vase, in the style of the great vase-painters,⁵⁴ or better still with the Panaetius cup,⁵⁵ which though partly painted over reveals the hand of Hieron, both treating the same subject.

To a younger Alcamenes, probably of the same family, (L) point the other testimonies.

Pliny (O no. 808) calls him the Athenian, and affirms that it was certain that he was a disciple of Phidias, a fact probably disputed by those who knew

⁴⁹ Were it not that the authority of the *Codex Glogariensis* is so small that the words *in utroque vestigio*, which it gives instead of *atque vestito*, can hardly be brought in the text as Sillig (*Catal. Artif.* p. 32) edits, we could find in them another indication of early date, as my friend Dr. Winter observes to me.

The word *stante*, as well as *stat* of Valerius Maximus, viii. 11. ext. 3 is not to be understood in contrast to sitting but to moving as was the case in the '*claudicantem*' of Pythagoras.

With regard to the close affinity of style of the polychrome cup with the adorning of (Ae)nesidora by Athena and Hephaestus (Lenormant et de Witte, *Elite céramographique*, iii, Pl. xxxiv) to the Olympian sculptures, to which my attention was directed some time ago by Mr. Murray, I am inclined to ask if we may not best suppose the statue of Alcamenes to have stood like the god in this painting, standing practically on both legs, but the left crippled

foot touching the earth only with the toes. As we have no certain dato for the work of the sculptor, that of the vase painter might possibly be derived therefrom, but I have thought it rash to date it accordingly in the following hypothetical chronological survey as both might be under the influence of an older work.

⁵⁰ Pliny *N. H.* xxxiv. 59. As to the attitude of this statue see the interesting remarks of Prof. Benndorf on the tombstone of Halymnus (*Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, 3 Nov. 1886).

⁵¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, Pl. CC. Athens v. i.—v.

⁵² I. 24. 3.

⁵³ *Kunstler Geschichte*, i. p. 237.

⁵⁴ *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1863, Tav. d' Agg. C. = Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1330, fig. 1484.

⁵⁵ Munich no. 799a; Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, no. 7, p. 145.

about his older namesake, without sufficient knowledge of facts to distinguish the two, and that many of his works were at Athens in the temples (L). This is corroborated by the anecdote of the competition with Agoracritus, told by the same Pliny (O no. 808 Ann.), and those who know what a saying like that about the help of Phidias to Alcamenes in his Aphrodite, *ἐν Κήποις*, and to Agoracritus in his Nemesis is worth in the mouth of a local antiquary or *dilettante* amateur, will not be prevented by it from identifying the Aphrodite of this competition and the renowned Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις*⁵⁶ (L) (O no. 812—815). Another work in an Athenian temple may have been the Ares, mentioned by Pausanias (O no. 818), and that the Hecate (O no. 817) stood on the *πύργος*, near the temple of the wingless victory, makes it probable that this statue was rather due to him than to his predecessor. About the *Pentathlos* there need be no hesitation, as Pliny expressly mentions that it was by the disciple of Phidias (L).

Finally we have the only work which can be closely dated, as everybody knows, the Athene and Heracles at Thebes, a votive offering of Thrasybulus and his companions after *Ol.* 94, 2 (403) (L) (O no. 823).

It is hard to say to which of the two sculptors the characteristics mentioned by Quintilian (O no. 827) and the general statements made now and then as to Alcamenes by others (O no. 828) are better suited. It may be that these authors or their authority did not distinguish between the two masters.

Here follows an attempt at chronology wherein the dates for Alcamenes I. are taken as low and those for Alcamenes II. as high as possible.

<i>Ol.</i>		<i>Ol.</i>	
68 (508—505).	Birth of Alcamenes I.	69 (504—501.)	Birth of Phidias.
74 (484—481).	Hera at Phaleron, by A. I. Marble head on the Acropolis by Alcamenes I.	75.1 (480).	Sack of the Acropolis of Athens.
75 {		2 (479).	Mardonius burns the temple at Phaleron.
(480—457).	Pedimental sculptures at Olym- pia, by Alcamenes I.	4 (477).	Statues of Harmodius and Aristo- giton by Critias and Nesiotes erected.
79 {		75 {	
(464—461).	Birth of Alcamenes II.	(480—457).	Trophies of the Medic wars by Phidias.
80 {		80.4 (457).	Battle of Tanagra.
81 (456—453).	Asclepius at Mantinea by Alcamenes I.	81 {	
82 {		(456—447).	Olympian Zeus, by Phidias.
(452—445).	Works at Athens and death of Alcamenes I.	83.2 {	
83 {		(446—438).	Athene Parthenos, and death of Phidias.
84 {		85.3 {	
(444—438).	Alcamenes II. at the atelier of Phidias.		
85.3 {			
86 {			
(436—405).	Alcamenes II. works at Athens.	94.2 (403).	Thrasybulus recaptures Athens.
93 {			
95 (400—397).	Votive offering of Thrasybulus and his friends by Alca- menes II.		

⁵⁶ To ascribe this to the younger Alcamenes merely on account of a probable identity with the original of the '*Genetrix*:' replicas, as Prof. Loescheke does, l. I. p. 7, leads to a vicious circle,

as this identification rests on no other argument than that the style would be suited to this period. The same may be said about the *Euerinomenos*.

It is not without some misgivings, lest some of the best material may have escaped my notice, that I approach the last point of our inquiry, a comparison with the contemporary art of the vase-paintings. We will compare figure with figure, so far as I have found, in a rapid survey, comparisons striking enough to be of any use, as it would be useless, for example, to cite all figures kneeling down like the maiden and both the men, without any nearer affinity in the action. We may rest contented with the Achilles dressing the wound of Patrocles on the cup of Sosias.⁵⁷ As to the probability of the back being seen, as we supposed, it may be useful to mention even figures not kneeling, *e.g.* the three athletes on a cup with the name of Panaetius,⁵⁸ or the discobolus on another Panaetius cup.⁵⁹ The only kneeling figure seen exactly in the same way from behind is a woman bathing, but treated in a somewhat later style.⁶⁰

If the vases do not afford any striking likeness to the way in which the folds in the maiden's drapery, and in that of the women in the Western pediment are laid, this may be due to the difference of material, or rather technic. No closer parallel can be found than some of the best specimens of the coins of Thasos, with the Satyr and Nymph, already brought into relation with this art by Prof. Brunn.⁶¹ As it is indispensable for this purpose to judge from an original of perfect preservation and excellent execution only,



FIG. 3.—COIN OF THASOS.

we give a drawing here by Carl Leonh. Becker of the specimen in the Duke de Luynes's collection (Fig. 3).⁶² The date of this coin cannot be later than the subjection of Thasos by the Athenians in 465, when it was deprived of its mines.⁶³

⁵⁷ *Antike Denkmäler*, i. Pl. 10.

⁵⁸ Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 144 no. 5 *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1878 Pl. 11. To judge by those parts that have not been repainted it is from the hand of Hieron.

⁵⁹ Klein *Meistersignaturen*, p. 145 no. 2 *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1884 Pl. 16. 2. This too I take to be by Hieron rather than Euphronius.

⁶⁰ Lenormant et de Witte, *Élite céramographique*, iv. Pl. xi.

⁶¹ *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayer. Akademie*, 6 Mai 1876. 'Paionios und die nordgriechische Kunst.' p. 321.

⁶² The same type is published often enough (*Head, Guide*, Pl. xii. 6; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. iii. 28) but the piece given there is too much worn to allow us to discern these details.

⁶³ Thucydides, i. 101. It is true that these mines seem to have been restored to the Thasians in 446, when the contribution to the treasury at Athens was raised from 3 to 30 talents (Koehler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, p. 128, so that these coins might date from this epoch, but considering on the one hand that the Athenian allies did not strike large silver coins and on the other that the form of the incuse of the reverse indicates a

With Zeus and Hippodamia the matter stands much the same, and her bridal gesture is common enough through all ancient art, but no exact analogy has come under my notice. The seeming reminiscences mentioned above are of late date. On the other hand we find the same mode of wearing the hair in short curls, that is common to both women, and a few other works of this style or period, as the 'Hestia' Giustiniani, etc. in the Athene of the polychrome cup in the British Museum already mentioned,⁶¹ and perhaps, though there the hair does not curl, on a *lutrophoros*,⁶⁵ which offers a parallel to our Sterope in the woman resting her head on her hand in grief. A still closer analogue is found in the Briseis of a somewhat earlier vase.⁶¹ As the number of figures that could be compared to Pelops is of course rather large, we only give the one that, though an Amazon, offers the most striking analogy.⁶⁷

More characteristic is the attitude of Oenomaus, whose right hand rests on his hip. This position is found, *e.g.* with the same attitude, except as to the right hand, in an athlete on the outside of the cup with representations of Musaeus and Linus,⁶⁸ and in an Achilles clad in full armour.⁶⁹ Another warrior, clad in armour too, holds in his left the lance, just like Oenomaus,⁷⁰ but though there is a difference in the pose of the uncovered head, there is a closer parallel still in a nameless god or hero assisting at the birth of Erichthonius,⁷¹ his overdress being disposed in the same way as it is at Olympia.

As regards the horses we have named already the three black-figured vases that may be compared with our arrangement. Their style most reminds us of the horses drawn by Euphronius and his contemporaries, but it appears that they had fewer occasions for representing this subject. We can nevertheless cite horses led by the halter and with stretched neck,⁷² as we suspect was the case at the left side at Olympia.

In the lying and reclining figures let us observe in the first place the mantle that covers their legs, and is found similarly placed on vases of Euthymides,⁷³ or in his style.⁷⁴ The same examples may be compared for the fashion of sitting beside others which could easily be added,⁷⁵ but it is of more importance to find analogues to the quaintly distorted figure of the mutilated man. Let us mention the Ares on a cup by Euxitheus and Oltus,⁷⁶ and better still, the man who is shown the swallow on a Leagrus vase,⁷⁷ though both are seated on chairs they are nevertheless distorted.

higher date, we had better suppose the Thasian mint to have produced only small currency till the issue with novel types that is generally dated from 411.

⁶⁴ See note 49.

⁶⁵ *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, viii. Pl. v.

⁶⁶ Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pl. cc.

⁶⁷ Gerhard, l. l. Pl. ccxxi, ccxxii.

⁶⁸ *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, 1856 Pl. xx.

⁶⁹ Gerhard, l. l. Pl. clxxxiv. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Pl. vi.

⁷⁰ *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, 1878 Pl. liv.

⁷¹ Lenormant et de Witte, *Elite céramogra-*

phique, i. Pl. lxxxiv.

⁷² *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1880, Pl. 15; 1885, Pl. 11. *Jahrbuch*, 1889, p. 29.

⁷³ Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, no. 4 p. 195; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1873 Pl. 9.

⁷⁴ Cup with ω παίδων καλλίστη, *Mittheilungen aus Athen*, 1884 Pl. 1.

⁷⁵ *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1885 Pl. 17.

⁷⁶ *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, 1875 Pl. xxiii, xxiv.

⁷⁷ Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 133 no. 18, *Monumenti dell' Instituto*, 1845 Pl. xvi.

To sum up; we find that all the vases mentioned belonged to a short period, that of the last group of great vase-painters, Euphronius (in his later works), Hieron, Euthymides, that is to say to the very time of the Persian invasion. They exhibit work of the same period as Olympia rather than of the same style, though even this latter might perhaps be asserted with respect to the polychrome cups, such as that already mentioned, bearing as subject the adorning of (Ae)nesidora, or such as those of Euphronius,⁷⁸ notwithstanding that these have more resemblance to the Western pediment. And a glance at the material brought forward for comparison with this latter work by Prof. Curtius,⁷⁹ will show this to be of somewhat later date, so that if we put the question which of the two pediments were earlier, we should be inclined to name the Eastern.

From considerations which I cannot personally control, but which I take to be trustworthy, Prof. Curtius and Mr. Grüttner came to the same conclusion.⁸⁰

If we bear this in mind, it perhaps does not appear too hazardous to understand the words of Pindar in the first Olympic ode, which celebrates a victory won by Hieron in 472, as an allusion to the sculptures in the Eastern pediment, when after a precise mention of the tomb and altar of Pelops, he continues, *v.* 94:

τὸ δὲ κλέος
τῆ λóθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις
Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυντὰς πòδῶν ἐρίζεται
ἀκμαί τ' ἰσχύος θρασύπονοι.

J. SIX.

AMSTERDAM, April 1889.

⁷⁸ Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, p. 142 no. 9, Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Pl. 14, and the newly published fragments from the Athenian acropolis, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*,

ix. Pl. vi.

⁷⁹ *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1833 p. 350. Pl. 17.

⁸⁰ *l. l.* p. 357.

A VASE OF POLYGNOTAN STYLE: *M. d. I.*, XI., 38.

THE krater which is the subject of this paper is preserved in the Louvre. It has been well engraved in the *Monumenti*¹ of the Institute, and discussed by Helbig in the *Bulletino* (1881, p. 276), by Robert in the *Annali* (1882, p. 273), and by Winter in his *Jüngere Attische Vasen* (p. 45). My object in resuming the study of it is twofold. Firstly, the vase is so remarkable for beauty and distinction of style as to have scarcely an equal, and it will be a good thing to bring it in any way to the notice of English artists and archaeologists. And secondly, in spite of Professor Robert's able paper, it appears to me that it is susceptible of a more complete explanation than it has yet received.

It was discovered at Orvieto² in 1880, in a large tomb consisting of two chambers. In the same tomb were found several other vases, ranging in date from the early part of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century. Our vase was in that of the two chambers in which were for the most part later vases; but Professor Helbig states that the contents of the two chambers were broken, and so much intermingled that it was difficult to say that the vases lay in distinct groups. It seems therefore that the circumstances of the finding do not compel us to assign a particular date to our vase. Professor Robert would give it to the first quarter of the fourth century. But since the recent excavations at Athens have taught us that even Hiero and Brygos worked in the first half of the fifth century, it would not now be possible to fix for it so late a date as B.C. 400. Indeed, since both Furtwängler³ and Murray⁴ assign vases of far less severe style to the latter part of the fifth century, our vase should probably be assigned to the middle of that century. The drawing is throughout full of severity, and in the attitudes there is something of archaic stiffness. The warrior leaning on a spear on the left of the principal scene is at least as stiff in type as the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo,⁵ and shows nothing even of Polycleitan rhythm. In the case of some of the warriors we have long locks of hair falling on the shoulders, a thing not found in Greek representations of mortals after the middle of the fifth century. The heads of Apollo and Artemis in the smaller scene have all the character of the pre-Pheidian

¹ xi. 38—40. Our woodcut is based on a reduction of this lithograph.

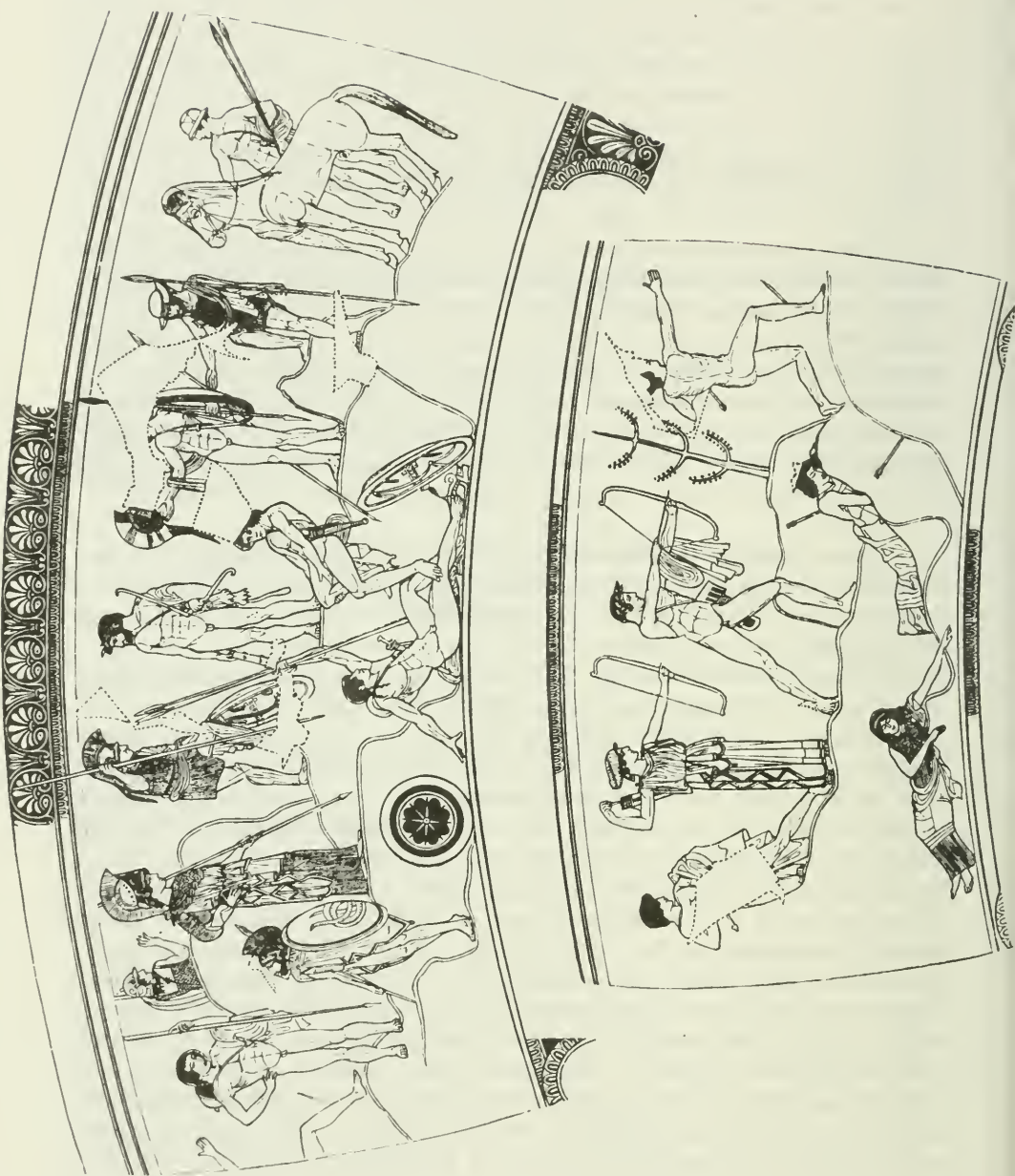
² Helbig in *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881, p. 276.

³ *Sabouroff Collection*. Text accompanying

pl. lv.

⁴ *Journ. Hell. Studies*, viii. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. pl. iv.



art. It is true that if we assign our vase to so early a time we must put it in a class by itself: other vases with any attempt at perspective are of later date. But in any case our vase stands quite by itself, and if it be really early will only become more interesting, because we shall have to trace in it the influence not of contemporary vase-painters but of the more advanced fresco-painters, and particularly of Polygnotus of Thasos, whose work at Athens is supposed to have begun in B.C. 471. As to the *place* of origin of our vase, there can scarcely be a doubt; it is of fine Attic work.

It has not escaped either Robert or Winter that the composition of our vase is in the style of the great painter Polygnotus. But it seems to me possible to go further than this. A careful comparison of the vase with the descriptions given by Pausanias of the paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi seems to entitle us on the one hand to use the vase with some confidence in order to improve our knowledge of Polygnotus, and on the other hand to explain on Polygnotan analogies many of the details of the design which have hitherto been regarded as inexplicable. If in either of these attempts we have any measure of success there must be gain. For all the attempts as yet made to restore the designs of the Lesche can only be described by the word deplorable.¹

We ought properly to consider the works of Polygnotus under three aspects: first as regards composition, secondly as regards drawing, and thirdly as regards colouring. But any discussion of the last-mentioned point must necessarily be almost useless. For frescoes of that age have not come down to us, and the paintings of sepulchral stelae² and of polychrome vases³ have suffered so terribly from time and decay that they serve in this special point of colour rather to mislead than to instruct us. But in the other matters of composition and drawing extant Greek vases can afford us some notion of the style of Polygnotus, and none in a higher degree than the vase under discussion.

If one reads in Pausanias⁴ his careful description of the paintings of the Lesche, one is at first confused by the way in which he returns to figures described some time before. In the scene of the Capture of Ilium Helen, says Pausanias, is represented as seated. He then mentions several wounded Trojans, and states that in the picture they were above Helen. To her he then returns, and says that next her was Aethra standing with Demophon the son of Theseus. Next Pausanias mentions Andromache, Nestor and others and then (ch. 26, *ad init.*) starts once more from Aethra and gives us a list of Trojan women who stood above her. After a time he comes back to Nestor and describes Neoptolemus as beside him. Such is his method throughout.

¹ They will be found collected in the plates of the new issue of the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter*.

² See the dissertations of Loescheke and Milchhöfer in the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, vols. iv. and v.

³ Especially the fine Attic lekythi with white ground.

⁴ x. 25—31. Whether Pausanias' description be first-hand or second-hand is not of importance in this connexion. In fact, the nearer one brings the origin of his descriptions to the time of Polygnotus, the more one will be inclined to trust them.

And hence it is abundantly clear that in Polygnotus' painting the figures were ranged in rows, apparently three in number. True perspective was of course unknown to the Greeks of that time; the figures in the upper tiers would be neither smaller in size nor less clear than those in the lower. If however these rows or tiers were arranged, as some have fancied, in even lines, a most unpleasing composition would result; while by interlacing them up and down and carefully adapting figures to spaces a most pleasing result could be attained. The vase now before us is an admirable specimen of arrangement according to the Polygnotan system of perspective, and will show us better than any verbal discussion, how it was possible to make groups above and below one another without any harshness of arrangement. The lines of the scene¹ move irregularly across the field, and the actors stand at various levels according to the exigences of the composition and the space. If we assume a similar system of arrangement in the great frescoes at Delphi, we shall at once find order and method in the irregular flow of Pausanias' descriptions.

Let us next turn to the subjects depicted on the vase before us. The smaller of the two scenes can be at a glance identified. In a mountainous scene appear Apollo and Artemis, he carrying a chlamys on his left arm, she clad in a Doric chiton, shooting down the unfortunate children of Niobe. The woods which cover the mountain are introduced in abbreviated form by the sketch of a pine tree, a representation quite in the manner of Polygnotus, with whom in his pictures at Delphi a tree stands for the grove of Persephone, and pebbles indicate the sea.² One young man flies to left and one to right, both pierced by the shafts of the offended deities, one youth and a maiden lie slain in the foreground. Benndorf brings the body of this youth, partly hidden by the rocks, into relation with the phrase in which Pausanias describes Polygnotus' figure of Tityus ἀμυδρὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ὀλόκληρον εἶδωλον;³ and supposes that this phrase may be applied to a figure thus only partly visible; but it seems very doubtful whether it can bear such a meaning; it seems rather to imply the dimness than the incompleteness of the figure mentioned.

The scene of the obverse of the vase has also been identified with general acceptance. The only two personages who can be at first sight made out are Athena and Herakles, and these two are not standing together but separated by a warrior who occupies an even more dignified position than that of Herakles, and is evidently the leader of the whole party. His relations towards Herakles are friendly, not hostile. Every one will agree with Robert that he cannot be Cygnus or any other foe of Herakles, but must be no other than Jason, whose leadership in the Argonautic expedition was accepted even by Herakles. If this be the case we have clearly a representation of one of the adventures of the Argonautic heroes. And following this clue, Robert has without difficulty identified one or two other figures. The elderly bearded

¹ These lines are probably blue on the vase, as in the fragment published in this *Journal*, ix. 2.

² Paus. x. 30, 6; 25, 10.

³ Ibid. 29, 3. See Benndorf in *Eph. Arch.* 1887, 128.

man standing in front of the horse, and clad in petasus, chiton and chlamys is clearly Tiphys the pilot; he appears to be using the privilege of age in addressing the assembled heroes. To the right of the whole group is a youth wearing a pileus and leading a horse, while to the extreme left is a parallel figure also wearing a pileus (which has slipped down on his neck) and leaning on a spear. These two heroes are clearly the great twin brethren, the horse-taming Castor, and Polydeuces the boxer.

The other figures Robert does not attempt to identify. And considering the slight degree to which they are severally characterized, such identification must be a risky procedure. In attempting to go a little further I do so with the confidence that even if the theories which we can form are not final, they will at least arouse interest in a charming picture, and compel some students of Greek vases to examine it in detail.

Why however, it may be thought, should the designs of this vase be brought into connexion rather with the paintings of Polygnotus than with those of Micon? In two points comparison with the works of this later painter is suggested. First by the subject; Micon is known¹ to have depicted in the temple of the Dioscuri at Athens an adventure of the Argonautae. And secondly by the way in which a hero on the left of the vase-picture is disappearing behind a hill, whereby our thoughts are naturally carried to that Butes depicted by Micon² who was hidden by a hill, all but his helmet and one eye. But it is certain that our vase is in no way directly copied from the painting of Micon, which appears to have represented the return of the Argonautae, and in which Acastus and his horses were prominent. And although it is likely that the style of Micon was in most points similar to that of Polygnotus, we are so slightly acquainted with his works that it is safer to refer the style of our vase to the greater and more celebrated artist.

Let us however first endeavour to determine the locality of the scene depicted, and the particular event which is going forward. Robert considers the subject to be the assembling of the heroes previous to their departure from Iolcus. But it seems possible to reach a more satisfactory identification.

In the first place the scene is obviously laid in a mountainous region. The artist has indicated height rising behind height; and the lines of the ground are broken and irregular, to indicate a wild and rocky country. That the ship *Argo* is not, as in most pictures of the Argonauts, visible, seems to show that the sea and the shore are distant. But amid what mountains are the Argonauts wandering: those of Greece or those of Asia? The answer seems to result from a consideration of the reverse-picture.

At first sight there seems to be no connexion whatever between the two sides of the vase. What can the destruction of Niobe and her unhappy children have to do with the triumphant expedition of the united heroes of early Greece? There is no connexion of cause, and there cannot well be a correspondence of time, though both events lie back in the dim heroic ages of

¹ Paus. I. 18, 1.

Hesych. Cf. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, ii. 23.

² Whence the proverb, *θῦτρον ἢ Βούτης*.

Greece. Nor is there even such a fanciful or poetical connexion of idea, as Brunn, for instance, finds in some of the kylixes of the early red-figured style. And yet the two scenes are not only contiguous but almost connected, one of the Niobidae almost touching the figure supposed to stand for Polydectes. So skilful an artist as he who painted our vase would scarcely have been guilty of almost combining two scenes which were wholly unconnected. One connexion, and one alone is possible, that of locality. The slaying of the Niobidae must be introduced only in order to identify the place where the Argonauts are assembled. This view is confirmed by the exact correspondence of the landscape lines on the two representations: in fact these lines are continuous from one scene to the other, so that it seems impossible that the artist can have intended to represent different localities.

I have given in the ninth volume of this *Journal* some account of the manner in which the Greeks in their art ordinarily indicate locality. The two usual methods are that sort of artistic shorthand wherein a part stands for the whole, as an altar for a temple or a tree for a grove, and the various kinds of personification. Sometimes a typical scene in which persons have a part identifies a place, as is the case in a vase¹ representing a visit of Orestes to Delphi, where the oracular shrine is indicated not as usual by the omphalos, but by a priestess seated on the sacred tripod. If I am right, the artist of our vase has taken a more elaborate and more unusual method of indicating place, but it is a method by no means out of harmony with the spirit and the customs of Greek art.

The locality of the destruction of the Niobidae is variously assigned by ancient writers. Some following the tradition received by Apollodorus regarded the scene of it as Thebes. But the well-known Homeric passage (*Il.* xxiv. 602) clearly indicates the true scene to which the story was attached to be the rocky district of Mount Sipylus near Smyrna. In the myth Niobe is called the sister of the Phrygian Pelops. But those who have followed Mr. Ramsay's researches in Phrygia will scarcely doubt that Niobe is only a Greek and poetic rendering of the great nature-deity of Phrygia, Kybele, whose worship was spread over the Mysian Olympus with its various off-shoots, the Mater Dindymene, who was the goddess of the mountain regions and waste-places of north-west Asia Minor.

It would seem then that by the choice of the Niobidae for the decoration of the reverse of our vase, the artist wished to indicate that the adventure of the Argonautae took place in the neighbourhood of Dindymus or Sipylus. If we turn to the narrative of the Argonautic expedition as recorded by Apollonius Rhodius, who of course follows in the main old traditions, we shall find one occasion, and one only, on which the Argonautae ascended the mountains of the Mysian Olympus range.

Of all the districts of Asia Minor none was so closely connected with Argonautic legend as that of Cyzicus. Apollonius tells us² how Jason and his comrades landed close to the peninsula where in after days stood the city

¹ Rochette, *Mén. Inéd.* pl. 37.

² *Argonautica*, i. 940—1020.

of Cyzicus, and were hospitably entertained by the Doliones and their king Cyzicus, and how they ascended the mountain to look at the course their ship must take. They re-embarked and sailed on, but were driven back to the same spot by a storm, and landing at night were attacked by the inhabitants who supposed them to be pirates. King Cyzicus fell in the battle by the hand of Jason. Daylight showed the true state of affairs; and the Argonauts made such reparation as lay in their power by giving a stately burial to Cyzicus. Being detained on shore by storms they next ascended Dindymus in order to offer sacrifices in a temple of Mater Dindymene, and so no doubt to remove the blood-guilt unwittingly incurred.

It is probable that one or other of these ascents of the lofty mountains in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus is depicted on our vase. The double ascent, as it stands in the text of Apollonius, is curious, and we may perhaps suppose that it points to some confusion in the myth. But it is at least fairly certain that the local traditions of Cyzicus recorded a wandering of the Argonauts among their mountains.¹ And these local traditions would become familiar to Athenian artists in consequence of the brisk trade kept up by the Athenians with the shores of the Euxine.

Let us next try if it be not possible to proceed further than Helbig and Robert in the direction of identifying the several figures of the group. We have already observed that the two Dioscuri stand, balancing one another, at the two sides of the picture. Such an arrangement is not unusual on Greek vases of many kinds. Poseidon and his son Eumolpus are similarly introduced in the well-known vase at Hiero² on which is depicted the sending forth of Triptolemus, and it is a scheme decidedly affected by Polygnotus, in his pictures of the *Taking of Troy* and in the *Vision of Hades*. 'Characteristic of individuals,' writes Brunn in his description of these works 'is often the position they occupy either as associated or as contrasted.' Nestor, the oldest of the Greeks, is making preparations for the homeward journey, while Neoptolemus the youngest is still slaying. Thus too the enemies of Odysseus are all gathered together in one place. The vase then following in this matter the Polygnotan methods, let us try if it does so in other respects. If we may trust Pausanias, one of the most marked features of the style of Polygnotus is the way in which he tells the fates of the persons he depicts by some gentle touch, full of an allusion which could not be to the observer visible at a glance, but which it required study to detect. Thus in his *Vision of Hades* at Delphi Phaedra is introduced³ as sitting in a swing, in allusion to the death of hanging which she inflicted on herself. Eriphyle places her fingers on her neck,⁴ and the observer is intended to see in the attitude a reference to the famous necklace which was her ruin. We can add a still more striking allusion of the same kind. According to the story Theseus and

¹ The influence of Argonautic traditions is to be found in the types of several electrum staters of Cyzicus; cf. the paper of W. Greenwell in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887, pp. 12, 96, 99, 112, 124. For the worship of Dindymene

at Cyzicus see the same paper, pp. 9, 77, &c.

² Klein, *Vasen mit Meistersig.* p. 171; *M. d. I.* ix. 43.

³ Paus. x. 29, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 7.

Peirithous were bound to a rock in Hades, and sometimes on late vases which give us scenes in Hades¹ Peirithous is represented as thus bound, but more often he and Theseus appear merely as seated, 'sedet aeternumque sedebit Infelix Theseus.' In the painting of Polygnotus the two heroes appear as sitting together,² without doubt as an anticipation of the fate in store for them. Is it then too bold to see in the two figures seated together at the bottom of our picture, with their two shields lying beside them, Theseus and Peirithous, seated of course not as being in Hades, but in allusion to their destiny to sit there for all time—or at least until the visit to Hades of their friend Herakles? That the foot of Peirithous should rest on the knee of Theseus is but a fashion, usual in Polygnotus' works, of indicating them to be near friends. Thus in the *Vision of Hades* we read of Callisto τοὺς πόδας ἐν τοῖς Νομίας γόνασιν ἔχει κειμένους,³ and of Chloris that she is ἀνακεκλιμένη ἐπὶ τῆς Θυίας γόνασιν. It is perhaps worthy of note that whereas most of the Argonautic heroes on our vase have short hair, two wear the long locks which bespeak the old Ionian σεμνότης: these two are those whom I have called Jason and Theseus; and if we had to select from the list of the Argonauts two worthy of being thus distinguished, these are the two names we should be disposed to choose. This is so far as it goes, a confirmation of our views.

On the left of the scene, close to Polydeuces, are two warriors fully armed. One is wandering away over the mountain, and only the upper part of him is visible. He is young, with long locks flowing over his shoulders; the gesture of his right hand seems to express surprise. The other is lower down, a bearded warrior, who at first sight seems to be talking to Polydeuces; but a more correct view of his attitude would be that he is looking up at his disappearing comrade, and following him. Can these be identified? Not, it must be confessed, with certainty; but I am much disposed to see in them Hylas who wandered away from his comrades on this coast, and was dragged into the water by the spring-nymphs, and Polyphemus the comrade who witnessed his disappearance and reported it to his intimate friend Herakles.⁴ Two obvious objections may be made to the attribution, but neither of them is fatal. First, it will be said that the scene of Hylas' disappearance was not Mount Dindymus but the coast near Cius, in the Euxine: this is true, but vase-painters are not wont carefully to distinguish times and occasions, least of all would a painter in the style of Polygnotus be bound by them; he would rather try to give a characteristic rendering of his heroes without much thought for the unities. Secondly, it may seem that Hylas should be represented as an effeminate boy, not as an armed warrior. And no doubt in Pompeian paintings⁵ he is depicted in such guise; but such renderings are scarcely in the style of the severe art which dominates our vase. Hylas was an Argonautic hero, and in origin probably not more effeminate than

¹ These vases are collected in the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter*, series E.; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, pl.

² Paus. x. 29, 8.

³ *Ibid.* 31, 10.

⁴ *Argonautica*, i. 1207, sqq.

⁵ Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, Nos. 1260, 1261. In one of these pictures, however, Hylas carries two spears.

Patroclus, the favourite of Achilles, and as a warrior second only to his friend.

One figure only remains, that of the hero standing behind Herakles, and holding out in one hand a helmet, in the other, spear and shield. It is little better than guess-work to try to assign a name to him: perhaps Telamon, as the special friend of Herakles, has the best claim to be placed near him.

It may by some be thought that this somewhat fanciful identification of figures by help of the allusions contained in attitude or attribute is a step in the direction of danger, as tending to lead us back to the methods of vase-interpretation formerly in use but now out of date. And we may at once agree that it would be not only dangerous but disastrous to archaeology if the great majority of vase-paintings were treated in this fashion. As a general rule vase-paintings must be dealt with not individually but in groups. As Gerhard used to say 'he who has seen one has seen none; he who has seen a thousand has seen one.' But there are vase-paintings and vase-paintings. The great majority are poor, and dominated by convention and by artistic traditions. But here and there is one which is original in conception and careful in execution; and which must be judged by the canons not of decorative but of original and poetic art. And until the description of the Polygnotan paintings in Pausanias is proved to be delusive, nay, until the Parthenon frieze is blotted out of existence, it will remain a certainty that great works of art of the Periclean age were composed with careful regard to the whole history and nature of each personage portrayed, and with a meaning only to be made out by careful and painstaking consideration. Such a work, according to my contention, we have in the vase which is the subject of this paper.

PERCY GARDNER.

EARLY GREEK VASES AND AFRICAN COLONIES.

UNDER the above title are included a few remarks upon certain classes of early Greek vases which have been, rightly or wrongly, associated with Naucratis or other Greek colonies in the north-west of Africa. If some parts of the discussions which follow are somewhat controversial in tone, I can only plead the nature of the subject in excuse.

A familiarity with the vase-fragments from Naucratis such as could only be gained by handling them and examining them repeatedly has induced me to distinguish with some confidence classes of vases that were made at Naucratis from those that were not: and I therefore wish to correct or confirm certain views that have been expressed upon this question before they pass into hand-books as accepted facts.

I. *The Polledrara Vase.* Micali, *Mon. Ined.* Pl. IV.

It is a strange misunderstanding that has led to the attribution of this vase to Naucratis; but the attribution has gained so much acceptance, and has been repeated by so excellent authorities,¹ that it seems likely to become generally regarded as an established fact unless a timely protest be entered against it. Such a protest I now wish to make, and to support it by a short examination of the grounds that have led to the connexion of this vase with Naucratis, and of the facts that seem to me conclusive against this connexion.

The first suggestion is due to Mr. Cecil Smith, who writes as follows of the pottery discovered by Mr. Petrie in the first season at Naucratis, 1884—5 (*Nauk.* I. p. 49): 'There is, however, one class of undoubtedly early ware which I am particularly interested to find at Naucratis: in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. vi. p. 188 and note 2, I mentioned a series of vases from Rhodes of which the clay is black all through, with particles of some shiny mica-like substance in its composition; these are covered with a metallic brownish-grey glaze, and are painted with decorations in scarlet or purple and a colour which has usually faded, but which seems to have been white: thirteen of these were included in the recent Biliotti sale of antiquities from Rhodes, and are briefly described in my catalogue of that collection, Nos. 2—8. I there ventured to call them the 'Polledrara' style, because the great Polledrara

¹ *E.g.* Dümmler, *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Inst. Vasenkunde*, p. 1957 (v. R.).
 Rom, 1888, p. 165; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, art.

hydria in the British Museum (Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pl. iv.) may be considered as the most important type of that style; on it we have represented in polychrome colours, and in an evidently Egyptian dress, the Greek myth of Theseus and the Minotaur; the usual patterns on the other vases of this style are the lotus and Maeander; and when we remark the tendency everywhere prevalent at Naucratis to polychrome decoration, and the Egyptian character of the 'Polledrara' ornament, I think we have fair ground for assigning this fabric to a Naucratic origin. From the Diary of Excavations in Rhodes I gather that this ware is usually there found with early objects of Phoenician workmanship; judging from this and from the archaic character of the other objects from the Polledrara tomb, I should say that this is the earliest of the fabrics represented at Naucratis.'

Such is Mr. Cecil Smith's argument; but it seems that those who have followed him in attributing the 'Polledrara' ware to Naucratis have been chiefly influenced by the polychrome decoration on a black ground which is found on the inside of Naucratic vases (as in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, pl. LXXIX.). We have then three points to consider: (1) the ware, (2) the colours used, and (3) the subject and style of the representations.

(1) The ware, which is black throughout, and not only on the surface, need cause no surprise when it is found in Etruria. The Etruscan ware, black throughout, is well enough known with decorations and figures in relief; and there is no essential difference in its nature because the decoration is applied in painting. We need not then necessarily suppose the vase found at Polledrara to be an importation from the East because the ware is black. On the other hand the nature of the ware does not preclude an Eastern origin, though I think it does preclude a manufacture at Naucratis.

The number of the black fragments found by Mr. Petrie in 1884—5, and described in the above paragraph by Mr. Cecil Smith, was very small; the similar vases found in Rhodes seem to be comparatively numerous. Now of vases we know to have been made in great quantities at Naucratis extremely few have been found in Rhodes.¹ If therefore a class of pottery found in considerable numbers in Rhodes is found only in a few fragments at Naucratis, we may fairly conclude that this class was not made at Naucratis, but either in Rhodes itself or more probably in some place that had more traffic with Rhodes than with Naucratis. Such seems to me the natural conclusion from the discoveries of 1884—5, which were before Mr. Smith when he wrote. In 1885—6 I obtained new evidence, which seems to tell us what the place was whence the export to Naucratis, and perhaps also to Rhodes, must have been made. In *Naucratis* II. p. 47 I mentioned several fragments and some almost complete vases or jugs of this black ware dedicated to Aphrodite; some of these bore inscriptions, all in the same alphabet and dialect, apparently Aeolic, and certainly not that of Naucratis itself: in two or three cases

¹ I know only of two in the Louvre, perhaps one in the British Museum, and one at Berlin. Perhaps others exist; but they cannot be many. Fragments of a Naucratic vase have

also been found by Dr. Gräb among the pottery on the Acropolis at Athens; otherwise I do not know of exported examples.

the dedicator actually describes himself as a Mytilenaeon.¹ Since all these black fragments are clearly incised by people from the same place, and that place is fixed by some of the dedications as Mytilene, we can hardly be wrong in believing that the ware itself must be of Mytilenaeon manufacture; otherwise it is hard to explain why these Lesbians should have dedicated this ware and no other, and why none but Lesbians dedicated this ware. Herodotus expressly states that Mytilene was the only Aeolian state that took part in the colonisation of Naucratis. Assuming then that these black fragments from the temenos of Aphrodite are of Lesbian origin, we must next consider the other black fragments from Naucratis and the vases from Rhodes in the new light we have gained from later discoveries.

It must in the first place be recorded that few if any traces of colour were to be found upon the fragments dedicated by Lesbians to Aphrodite; while those found in 1884—5 had decorations in white and red, like the similar vases from Rhodes. But the presence or absence of colouring in purely decorative designs is an accident, possibly merely due to conditions of preservation, which is of small importance compared with the identity of the very peculiar black ware, unparalleled, to my knowledge, in the East in this period. I think then that we are justified in regarding all the black fragments from Naucratis, and probably also the vases from Rhodes of similar fabric, as the products of a single Eastern factory, and in applying to all alike the evidence we have found to help the attribution of one set of them to its true origin.

Without the new evidence of 1885—6, we were led to the conclusion that this black ware 'was not made at Naucratis, but either in Rhodes itself or more probably in some place that had more traffic with Rhodes than with Naucratis.' Our new evidence leads us just one step farther, and tells us what that place was. Of the traffic between Mytilene and Naucratis we know both from the statement of Herodotus already referred to and from the stories about Sappho and Rhodopis: Rhodes is a natural stopping-place between the two, and so Lesbian vases need cause us no surprise if they are found both in Rhodes and in Naucratis. In the recent excavations on the Acropolis at Athens a few small vases of the 'askion' shape have been found without colour, but showing a black ware practically identical though of somewhat coarser fabric; the clay when broken is black throughout: to these vases my attention has been called by Dr. Brückner. I see no reason why these should not also have been imported from Lesbos: no such black ware is known as Attic; and the rivalry between Athens and Mytilene on the Asiatic coast may probably imply some traffic between the two.

We have now the facts pretty clearly before us as to the discovery of this peculiar black ware in the Levant; and we see that if the great Polledrara hydria really were an importation from the East, we should have to assign it not to Naucratis but to Mytilene, judging merely from the nature of the ware of which it is made. Taking this as the result of the first section

¹ *Naucratis II.* Pl. xxi. 786—793, p. 65.

of our investigation, let us now proceed to the second section, and consider the colours used.

(2) If we confined our investigation on this point of polychromy to the colours we find on the black ware, it would be a comparatively simple matter: the decorative designs we find on the Lesbian ware are in white and red only, the latter varying from scarlet to purple. But it is clear that those who have been induced by the remarkable polychromy of the Polledrara hydria to connect it with Naucratis, have had in view not merely the purely decorative designs in red and white that we find upon the black ware, but also the polychromatic figure-painting of the real Naucratis vases. We must therefore include in our present comparison those vases, made at Naucratis itself, of which specimens are reproduced in colour on Plate LXXIX. of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887; and in black and white only in the Plates of *Naucratis*, part II. The polychromy of these vases has a character of its own; and it is of a different nature on the inside and on the outside. On the inside it is invariably on a black ground; hence the comparison with the painted black ware is obvious. The designs are purely decorative, mostly lotus and palmetto, and are always in red and white; thus they certainly show a distinct resemblance to the black Lesbian fragments, and it is very probable that an influence is to be inferred either of Mytilene upon Naucratis or of Naucratis upon Mytilene, an influence probable from the relations we know to have existed between the two. But the blue, brown, red and white figure-painting of the Polledrara hydria is quite another matter, and I fail to see any resemblance in style or appearance. The figure-painting which we find occasionally on the outside of Naucratis vases is on a white or cream-coloured ground in brown, white and red; but blue is never used; and it is the appearance of blue that is the most remarkable feature of the Polledrara hydria. Here again, then, no real analogy can be found.

I must mention here some other fragments found at Naucratis which show painting in white and possibly other colours on a black ground, the ground being a black glaze applied over ordinary red pottery, and not the natural colour of the ware. Only two or three fragments were found (my type J, *Nauk.* II. p. 47), and there is not the slightest reason for supposing them to have been made on the spot. The subjects seem to be in some cases animal forms, the technique most closely resembles that of some similar vases that have been found on the Acropolis. This pottery however, but for the application of white and other colours on a black ground, does not show any connection with the style either of Naucratis or of Lesbos or of Polledrara.

So far then as concerns the colours used, the evidence for connexion between Polledrara and Naucratis is no more conclusive than that from the nature of the ware: in particular we note the absence of blue at Naucratis, and its presence on the Polledrara vase; and the appearance and manner of application seems totally different.

(3) We must next proceed to the style and nature of the representations; and this consideration must finally decide the question, especially when the technical evidence is so inconclusive. Here too we have two divisions to

discuss, the decorative treatment and forms, and the figures, human and other. I do not believe that in either of these it will be found possible to find any essential characteristic upon the Polledrara hydria which occurs also upon the pottery we know to have been made at Naucratis.

The purely decorative forms on the Polledrara hydria consist of lines in red, white, and blue, rays in red, maeander and lotus in red, white, and blue.

But the maeander when it appears is only in isolated members, not in a continuous band; and these isolated members are in red and blue alternating, or in white and blue alternating—an arrangement absolutely unknown at Naucratis. The lotus band has only buds, no alternating flowers or palmettos, such as we find invariably on Naucratic pottery, and it has dots above and below, also unknown at Naucratis. But it is in the use of the colours here that the contrast is greatest: while in the Naucratis ware the decorative effect is carefully calculated, the white and red on the black ground having distinct organic parts assigned to them in the composition, on the Polledrara vase we find an indiscriminate use of red, white, and blue which gives a confused and ill-assorted appearance to the whole—the connecting stems are white, the buds white and blue alternately, and the dots above are red, those below blue. The lotus is also scattered indiscriminately about the field—a thing we never see at Naucratis, where the ground is filled with the conventional rosettes, swastikas, &c. of the 'oriental' style, but no distinctly floral form is ever met with. On the other hand, flowers in the field are common enough in some early vases, those for instance of Melos and Phalerum, and the lotus especially in the Cacre vases quoted by Dr. Dümmler, and the imitations made in Etruria.

Another peculiarity of the Polledrara ware, the grotesque faces on each side of the handles, is unlike anything at Naucratis, where harmony of colour and design was clearly thought more of than any such quaint devices.

But it is in the figure scenes above all that the essential difference of the Polledrara vase shows itself. At Naucratis we have no mythical scenes, no chariot groups, no horses, hardly any human figures: we have simply in their most elaborate decorative forms the beasts and fantastic creatures, sphinxes, gryphons, &c., in which the 'oriental' style of vase-painting delights. Now on the Polledrara hydria we have these subjects only incidently introduced, as on all early vases: the main subjects are horses and chariots, and men and women—the same subjects that occur on the later Dipylon vases and on that large class of early Greek vases that does not draw its subjects from the fantastic oriental types, but from life and mythology. This distinction is, to my mind, essential and final; and we may accordingly assert without any hesitation that the Polledrara hydria was not made at Naucratis, and shows no affinity with Naucratic fabric, colouring, decoration, or subjects. For the black ware there is no need to go outside Etruria; and for the figures and decorations represented upon it we have to seek elsewhere an analogy.

II. *Vases from Caere.*

In an article published in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute at Rome for 1888, Dr. Dümmler discusses, in commenting on some fragments of a vase from Cyme in Asia Minor, a whole class of vases found at Caere which show similar characteristics. He then proceeds farther to infer that these vases found at Caere are imported from Asia Minor, and to mention a class of vases made in imitation of them by local vase-painters in Etruria. It is not my wish at present to enter upon the difficult discussion of the distinction between the Italian imitations and the Greek models from which they are copied, nor even to consider in general the origin and affinities of those models; Dr. Dümmler has made out a strong case for their connexion with certain Ionic vases, with which they have many peculiarities in common. His suggestion also, that the channel by which this influence reached Etruria is to be sought in the flight of the Phocaeans, and their foundation of the colonies of Velia and Massilia, also appears highly probable. The first and best known of this series of vases, which Dr. Dümmler regards as an importation from the East, is the famous hydria from Caere with Heracles and Busiris. On this and other vases are noted traces of a familiarity with Egypt which seems to prove an intercourse between that country and the Greek town where the vases were made, and by all these considerations Dr. Dümmler is led to propound two alternative hypotheses,¹ as follows:—

‘(1) The Caere vases come from Phocaea; thus will be explained alike the Rhodian elements, and the familiarity with Egypt through participation in the colonisation of Naucratis. In that case the fragments from Cyme will show a local variety of the style, and the Italian group quoted will show the decadence of this same style, which may probably have been transported by means of the Phocaeans at Elea.

‘(2) The fragments from Cyme are an importation from Phocaea. In that case the hydriae from Caere will represent an impetus of the same style in the colony of Naucratis; we must hold the same view of the Italian vases as in the former case.’

Against the first of these hypotheses I have no definite objections to raise, though it does not appear in all respects convincing: it is against the second that I wish to enter a protest. In our excavations at Naucratis we have found an extremely large number of vase fragments, both of pottery made at Naucratis and of imported ware, and among these were no specimens at all of vases like the hydriae of Caere. It may be objected that the vases we found almost all belong to an earlier period, or at least to an earlier stage in the history of vase-painting. But in this earlier stage we saw no trace whatever of any tendency towards the style and character of representations

¹ *Art. cit.* p. 179.

which we see on the vases from Caere. And moreover we had very strong negative evidence against the manufacture of any class of local vases at Naucratis after the end of the sixth century: the Persian invasion of Egypt in 525 B.C. seems to have been a fatal blow to the prosperity of the town; and after the destruction of its temples, which is almost certainly to be assigned to this time, it is hardly possible that other and quite different styles of vase-painting can have arisen; no examples were found of any distinct local class belonging to the period after the Persian invasion; and hence it is highly improbable that any existed—much more that a remarkable class exported in such numbers to Italy was manufactured at this time in Naucratis. But Dr. Dümmler's suggestion, thrown out only as one of two alternatives, and not supported by any definite evidence, would probably not be insisted on even by himself in the face of the facts just adduced, and I have no desire to carry this controversial argument any farther; my only desire is that if any archaeologists wish to pursue the subject farther, and to argue from his results, they should at least set aside this his second alternative as in the highest degree improbable.

Another affinity, however, is worth mentioning. The grotesque dancing satyrs of the Caere vases have as little in common with Naucratis as with several other classes of early vases. The type of dance which we see for instance on Pl. xi. of *Naucratis*, II. is no more like those on vases from Cyme or Caere than are similar representations on vases of Corinth, Cyrene, &c. But I think a closer resemblance to this Asia Minor type of satyr may perhaps be seen on the vases found by Mr. Petrie at Daphnae, in Egypt, and reproduced in the plates of his volume on Tanis II., Nebesheh, and Defenneh. If we are searching for the origin of the Egyptian subjects and characteristics sometimes met with on the Caere hydriae, it seems that the Asiatic Greeks who held, as mercenaries, the military post of Daphnae, must be regarded as supplying a more probable channel of influence than the colonists of Naucratis. I would not go so far as to suggest that the Caere hydriae were made at Daphnae: but the affinity between the two styles is, I think, close enough to justify the assumption of some connexion and influence. It is remarkable that the two Greek centres of the Delta, Daphnae and Naucratis, seem to have so little in common in the style of their vases. At Daphnae the potters seem to have been more given to reproducing Egyptian forms and subjects; thus even from this point of view it offers a more likely channel than Naucratis for the influence we see in the Caere vases; and when the affinity in the treatment of Asiatic Greek subjects is also considered, the evidence becomes extremely strong for the connexion. For intercourse between Daphnae and Phocaea, or whatever place the Caere vases were made at, I do not know of any positive evidence, apart from that of the vases. But I think the probability is strong enough to be worth suggesting: else the Egyptian influence on the Caere hydriae is by no means easy to explain.

III. *Cyrenaic Vases.*

As regards the Cyrenaic vases, I wish to make an important addition to my statement on p. 51 of *Naukratis*, vol. ii. I there pointed out the essential difference between the Cyrenaic pottery and that which we know to have been made at Naucratis; and I also stated that I believed there was no evidence for assigning the fabrication of the Cyrenaic pottery to Naucratis; while the evidence for the attribution to Cyrene was increased by later discoveries. I regret that I was not aware, in time for insertion in my book, of another fact which seems to finally decide the question. So long as the only positive evidence for the connexion of this pottery with Cyrene was the cylix with Arcesilas and his silphium, the subject might be regarded as an accident. But another distinctly Cyrenaic subject would decide the matter; and such a subject has been both ingeniously and, I think, rightly identified by Dr. Studnicska¹ in the inner design of the cylix found by Mr. Petrie, and reproduced in *Naukratis*, i. pl. viii. and ix. Dr. Studnicska shows that we have in the middle not a tree, but a female standing figure with long hair, holding in her hand the silphium and a branch of the apple-tree of the Hesperides—both symbols known on coins of Cyrene. This figure is doubtless the nymph Cyrene herself; and so we have another and even more certain proof that the vases belong to her town. I believe Dr. Studnicska intends to publish both this and other arguments in his forthcoming work on Cyrene, a work awaited with great interest by scholars. Meanwhile I only desire to rectify an omission, and to acknowledge at once the correctness of an interpretation which I only passed over before because it had not, unfortunately, come under my notice.

ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER.

¹ Meeting of the Arch. Gesellschaft in Berlin, 24 Dec. 1887, p. 1646.
2 Nov. 1887. Cf. *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschrift*,

ON THE *ELECTRA* AND *ANTIGONE* OF SOPHOCLES.THE *ELECTRA* OF SOPHOCLES.

THE *Electra* of Sophocles betrays by the plainest indications that it is not a composition complete and rounded within itself, but only a fragment having the qualified completeness which fits it to contribute towards a larger symmetry. The action embraced falls short, it is very true but little, of full conclusion; Clytemnestra and her accomplice Aegisthus fall by the avenging sword of Orestes, and no such hints are admitted of the future troubles of the avenger, as in the treatment of the same subject by Aeschylus prepare for the concluding drama, the *Eumenides*. The moral dilemma, however, is neither wrought out to its complete statement nor to its most impressive solution. I find indeed in the play an illustration of a well-defined heroic nature and the eventualities of circumstance colliding with exalted character on the most critical emergencies; still we rise from the scene with sympathies in agitation—with minds eager upon interesting inquiries not pacified by adequate response.

The *Electra* is the second of the preserved plays of Sophocles—the *Antigone* being another—which bears the name of a heroine for its title; there is this further and more intimate analogy between the two plays, that both the heroines are called on, or believe themselves so, to interfere between rulers of the state and their political victims in the interest of domestic piety, and in doing so exercise an influence and acquire an importance that elevate them to the dignity of the tragic stage. And yet it would appear that this supreme dignity can scarcely under any circumstances be fully asserted for a feminine protagonist. Such appears to have been the feeling of Shakespeare, who reserves the leading position for women in comedy, but in comedy alone. Even in tragedies where the source of primary excitement is love, in *Roméo and Juliet*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the men even as lovers are first in interest as first in order; in tragedies where love of any form is more subordinate or absent, even Lady Macbeth, and still more the wife of Brutus, pale before their husbands, Margaret of Anjou before Gloster, and Lady Constance, after occupying the scene so engrossingly, is lost from it, and the action still moves forward with an interest unpausing—burns with fire unquenched.

It would seem indeed peculiarly alien to the associations of the Athenians, who secluded their women with such strictness even within private life, that

they should recognise an interest in the representation of female protagonists holding head against the rulers of the state; this anomaly may be paralleled by another: we may find equal difficulty in explaining how the democracy of Athens should be susceptible of such lively sympathy with the fortunes and incidents of tyrannies which in this day of Greece were less matters of distant observation than of obscure tradition. It may be that the charm of contrast, the piquancy of comparison, explains the seeming contradiction. Stories of extravagant violence are never more popular than in periods of pacified society, as the wild and the adventurous turn with relief to tales of soothing if not enervated sentiment. The sting of a personal tyranny however had still left its smart at Athens, which maintained a feverish apprehension, all the livelier because in some quarters the hopes of its possible revival still lived on. Then if the voices of women were rarely or never heard in political discussion, it is not necessary to cite illustrations from Aristophanes of a principle of human society in general, which makes it certain how the Athenian must have constantly taken his seat in the Pnyx not unbiassed by the hopes and interests of an agitated not to say turbulent home.

Still politics, politics especially at every most desperate crisis, are the sphere of man, of man when most specifically masculine, and to men most exclusively will every subject of the highest political tension be addressed. From either point of view, of audience or of poet, there would be difficulty in justifying an attempt to throw the full weight of tragic action of the highest political or of the most touching personal interest, on a woman. The problem is modified of course when political interests fall very decidedly into the background, but with them will then fall also the dignity of the tragedy. Whatever may be the fact with some of the finest tragedies of Euripides, it is not in Sophocles, not in the *Electra*, that we shall find the rule of subordination reversed. Such considerations, apart from any other evidence, might alone make us decline to accept the *Antigone*, historically sequent as it appears, for a concluding and culminating drama of a Theban trilogy preceded by Oedipus the King and Oedipus at Colonos. Our present concern, however, is with the *Electra*.

We find the daughter of the captor of Troy, the generalissimo of confederate Greece, leading miserable hours in the palace of her murdered father, and oppressed degradingly and in fear by an adulterous and murderess mother and her usurper paramour. At the catastrophe of Agamemnon she had been old enough to save by alert presence of mind the life of the child Orestes, and has never since cared to conceal that she looks forward to his return to inflict vengeance and assume the heritage of his father. Her persistent lamentations, reproaches and anticipations, which are threats by necessary implication, have caused her to be ill-treated in every possible way, not merely kept unmarried, a hardship on which she insists not unfrequently, but beaten, reviled, threatened, deprived of all but commonest food, and constrained to be clad in weeds unbecoming her condition; still she perseveres, unbent, undaunted: she leans still on hopes sustained by communications from the exiled Orestes promising the expected rescue, which is still and again delayed. Her sister Chryso-

themis bows to the storm, and except that she is as certainly excluded from marriage—which by continuing the line would produce vindicators of Agamemnon—she enjoys exemption from the persecution directed on her sister, is royally clad, and to appearance rather easily content to persuade herself that between her duty to a parent and to rulers of the state and her exemption as a woman from manly responsibilities, she may make the best of the evil days, still not materially so evil as to be quite unendurable, and to leave retribution to the gods.

The play opens with a dialogue between Orestes and his Pedagogue, to whom he was committed by Electra, who, having rescued him before, has now been his guide to Mycenæ; and to him a degree of initiative is conceded throughout the adventure which prevents our becoming pre-occupied with Orestes to the disparagement of the attention we are called on to bestow on his sister. Then Electra and a Chorus of noble maidens (v. 129) open the story of her woes, her hopes, her afflictions, and the question of the prudence and the duty of her clamorous denunciations. The delay of Orestes (v. 306) has wrought her to a pitch of excitement in which it has become as impossible for her to restrain her feelings as, under the difficulties of her position, to execute piety as she would conceive it towards her father (v. 323). But for the hope of the arrival of Orestes, she would be unable longer to continue in life.

In such a temper she replies in the next scene to Chrysothemis, who enters in the becoming costume of a princess and prepared to carry libations to the tomb of Agamemnon, so deputed by her mother out of alarm at a dream. Persuaded at last by Electra, and relying on a promise that the secret shall be kept, she leaves the scene engaged to falsify her mission by spilling elsewhere the offerings committed to her and substituting others on her own and her sister's account—girdles and locks of their hair,—with added prayers to the dead for the speedy appearance of Orestes.

The next scene, between Electra and Clytemnestra, displays the murderess of a husband in all her ferocity, and the dialogue in its progress destroys all her pretences of justification. The Pedagogue then enters, with feigned details of the death of Orestes, and reduces Electra to despair, while his mother is filled with a joy which she scarcely cares to conceal: so the original hatefulness recognised in her nature receives its direst aggravation, and she is carried utterly remote from the sympathies of the spectator.

Electra at first collapses in despair, and when Chrysothemis returns rejoicing in an inference of the approach of Orestes, she dashes her hopes with the announcement of his death and, rising to the resolution of attempting the violent deed of vengeance without him, proposes to her sister to aid. Her sister recoils, and at last retires unpersuaded and dissuading: they are women, she represents again, not men: she will keep silence, but will take no active part in an enterprise so alien to the powers and duties of their sex.

The next scene is an interview of the disguised and unrecognised Orestes with his sister: he first draws from her a passionate expression of grief by delivering the urn containing his pretended ashes and then, it seems,

contrary to his first plan but overcome by her distress, he seeks to break to her his revelation, which, manage as he may, cannot but be sudden the moment it is complete. The consequence is an abrupt revulsion of her feelings to frantic joy: it is in vain that he endeavours to control her; again and again she breaks forth in loud and imprudent exclamations, and when the Pedagogue re-enters from the palace, we are not surprised to learn that all his management had been required to prevent the discovery being suspected within, if not overheard. The recognition of the Pedagogue as the servant to whom Electra had confided the boy Orestes follows and consumes more valuable time, and again the Pedagogue is foremost in inciting to promptitude. At last they all enter the house to find Clytemnestra in the known absence of Aegisthus, and presently are heard her exclamations and appeals, and the voice of Electra as loudly urging her brother to strike again and with effect.

Retribution is scarcely so far consummated when Aegisthus arrives in joy at the reception of vague news that Orestes is dead. He is first received by Electra, who has now recovered self-possession, and yet still talks in a degree with such enigmatical significance that an acuter mind might have taken alarm. He commands the palace doors to be thrown wide, expecting to behold the body of Orestes: he sees a covered corpse, is induced by Orestes himself to lift the mantle, recognises his slain wife, and then instantly knows his own impending fate.

Few words are employed by Orestes to reveal himself, but more are being interchanged when the tendency to prolong or defer action which seems to mark him all through—in his late arrival as well as in the process of his enterprise when at last at the full heat—calls forth the expostulation of his sister, and Aegisthus is driven ignominiously into the palace to be slain where he slew Agamemnon; such had been the command of the oracle, which comes in to help the effect of the final scene without an actual death upon the stage, just as the oracular command that the vengeance should be executed not by open force but by plot and stratagem assists in relieving the process of the agent from an imputation of a want of courage.

The uncovering of the body of Clytemnestra was probably managed without an actual display of it to the spectators; it is a parallel to the uncovering of the corpse of Ajax, where the description of the still spouting veins supersedes an actual exhibition, and to the management of the self-exhibition by Hercules of the horrid ravage of the envenomed shirt.

The tragedy then might seem written to exemplify what are the forces and the limits of feminine energy when tried to the uttermost. The adulterous queen leans upon her paramour, weak and base as he is represented and, it would seem, far less endowed with nerve for wickedness than herself. It is to him that she looks to restrain Electra, who finds control lightened in his absence; and she is bold in the confidence less of bolder than of simply masculine protection and support. Resemblance is here manifest to Lady Macbeth, who precedes indeed her faltering husband on the way to his crime, but even under the sustaining stimulus of wine recoils from the act,

and afterwards is only capable of supported or spasmodic wickedness and in sleep betrays the dreadful secret, even as Clytemnestra, who justifies herself waking, yet obeys the suggestion of a dream to send offerings to her murdered husband's tomb—an admission of inexcusable guilt. Electra, uncompromising in her horror at the deeds of her mother, as well as indignant at the cruelty which she still does not spare still further to exasperate, is supported by her communications with Orestes and her hope of his return.

The poet has elected to suppress all through any opening of the subject of the horror of matricide; the sense of this is never intimated as influencing in any way the progress of the plan of punishment nor as arising afterwards to haunt the executor of it. Even Chrysothemis never urges this point as a motive for withholding from the plans of retribution. The guilt of the adulterous and murderous royalties is admitted, and no suspicion is suggested that the children of the murderess should be excluded from the number who may be bound to administer justice: the oracle of Apollo is not, as in Aeschylus, called in to overcome mistrust by authority and by dire threats in case divine command is neglected. Clytemnestra rests her justification solely on the sacrifice by her husband of their daughter Iphigencia, but does so in a way that proves how little she was really influenced by it. Her further designs against the life of Orestes and her scarcely dissembled joy at his supposed death, together with the general baseness of her paramour Aegisthus, as helped by her to be occupant of the throne of the great leader of confederate Greece, make up a charge before which all considerations seem to fade out of sight but the one great duty of inflicting signal and condign punishment. Brother and both sisters are so far perfectly in accord, but the less resolute Chrysothemis feels as little vocation for protest as for active violence. Bad as their condition is, protest will but make it worse: she is content to receive what alleviations she may by tranquil submission, and leaves revenge to the arm of men and to the turn of the hour which the gods are wont to care for in the good time that pleases them. Electra is not so patient; even when younger she had vigour enough to secure the safety of her brother from her mother's murderous design, and now, in constant hope of his return, she has spared no occasion of denunciation and threat, accepting all the consequences of blows and disgraces and danger. Orestes, remote and dallying as he may be, is her hope and her strength; but the hope fails, and what strength can be left her when she hears of his catastrophe? After a crisis in which she entertains the thought of suicide, she declares her resolution to execute the vengeance herself, and when her sister declines to be assistant will proceed alone. Her capacity for the undertaking is not put to proof, but may be judged from what we have seen—that Orestes, by revealing himself to her, brings on an access of uncontrollable excitement, a reaction of joy, that nearly wrecks his enterprise. The longed for masculine aid is now at hand, and at once she has recovered and is confident not now with the boldness of despair, but of undoubting and almost unreasoning reliance. We seem to have a converse illustration here of the Greek prudential maxim that Homer propounds when he makes Ulysses, under the advice of

Agamemnon indeed, withhold his confidence from Penelope before the execution of his vengeance, and when his disguise is penetrated by his nurse Euryclea, bind her to secrecy—devoted as she is and must be—with no words of kindness, but by the direst and severest threats. The wife of Marcus Brutus, in Shakespeare, all Roman as she is and daughter of a Cato, betrays the imprudence of her husband's confidence which she had so heroically challenged, by a significant uneasiness that goes near to betray his design, an incident quite in harmony with the self-destruction afterwards in hysterical crisis of the Portia of history.

Sustained then as the interest of the tragedy is, and touching as must have been the spectacle of the distress and difficulties and despair of the heiress of the great heroic family of Greece, it is impossible to suppress in the first instance a latent feeling that the symphony it embodies is never modulated out of a prevailing minor key. This must be so when the subject is conceived rather as the rescue of Electra than the punishment of tyranny, usurpation and traitorous murder; the mighty and—but for mightiest treatment—the revolting topic of the justifiableness of matricide under conceivable circumstances, which is so boldly treated by Aeschylus, being throughout left aside and carefully kept down and out of view. Shakespeare himself, who has not recoiled from the tragic exhibition of filial ingratitude, has never treated this theme in its largest relations, though in comedy he has not hesitated more than once to intimate that there is a point of conscience at which the authority of parents is rightly disallowed, and filial feeling itself may be justly obliterated. Thus much we gather from the stories of Ann Page and Jessica, though the nature of the pretty Jewess is too limited to do more than exemplify a characteristic fact, scarcely to sanction a principle.

It seems, therefore, at first not easy to suppose but that even such a tragedy must have been comparatively tame; that an Athenian fresh from the Pnyx and warm from political agitations in which he himself was a living actor must have risen from it with a hunger unappeased, with a sense, after a pause, that there were sympathies in his nature of wider range than could be affected by distress of princesses, however dignified by their natures and by tradition. On looking closer and deeper, however, we shall find these sympathies not quite unattended to: it was not consistent with the spirit of the time that they should be—Greek tragedy had ever the dignity not of a tragedy simply, but the dignity and the interest also of the national historical play. However remote in history or in mythology the subject might lie, it was still ever recognised as attached by a series of unbroken links to the current history, to the very existing tribes and even families of the day. Hence the mere illustration of a private passion, though it should have been complemented with all the marvellous local colouring that makes *Othello* Venetian and *Hamlet* German, would not in itself suffice to furnish the subject of the scene without some more or less direct bearing upon Greek character and Greek political interests and history. The same drama that should have been as ethical as *Hamlet* would be required to be as national as *Henry the Fifth*, or at least as *Cymbeline* or *King Lear*. The subject of the *Electra* in

itself fulfils these conditions perfectly: it is historical and national enough in the Hellenic sense, and still further the moral dilemma of which it treats is implicated with political contingencies which were of most exciting recurrence in those days and have even lost no interest in our own. A government based on murder and surprise is existing only for its own luxurious waste (1290) and mismanagement and cruelty; and those who suffer have the option of acquiescing in disgrace and by tranquillity making the best they may of bad times, and thriving even—but not thriving much without incurring guilt or suspicion of complicity;—or, on the other hand, with some regard for dignity and less for safety, persisting in protests that induce aggravations of oppression, in correspondence with exiles, and even in plots for recovery of independence by internal unaided rebellion and assassination of the tyrants. In the circumstances of Greece, tyrannicide had a peculiar aspect. The Greek tyrant usually represented only himself, his family perhaps, and an armed guard that had been his instruments for gaining a position, with no more general support, the party that had given him his guard being no less betrayed than the rest. For such a tyrant, ruling as a man with a weapon overawes a crowd of unarmed, there was as little place for condonation as for excuse. He stands in the world as a simple nuisance and a robber. His title is a fraudulent and forcible surprise, and this alone; quite as good a title it seems will belong to one of his own stamp who shall oust him by like means. But how much better will be the title of those who shall employ his own means against him, but as the representatives of a nation, or of that section of the nation which has really the true claim and capacity to govern? ‘The cutpurse of the empire and the rule—he stole the diadem and put it in his pocket,’ and had no more right to complain of an unsuccessful than of a successful attempt to pick his pocket of it again. The case seldom occurs now, perhaps has seldom ever occurred in all this simplicity—the purest military despot can usually pretend to represent some civil party—but the poet is authorised either to simplify or complicate contingencies as suits his purpose, his purpose being grand and worthy. The case in the drama is sufficiently defined, though the interests and dignities of a royal family have to stand for types of the interests of dominions which it was admitted they legitimately governed. Against such a rule as that of Aegisthus the right and the duty of revolution—and justifiable revolution involves ever a possibility of blameless failure—are clear and certain; and it must be said that excusable or even right as the sentiments of the comparatively prosperous Chrysothemis may be, the sympathies ultimately cling to Electra, who in her sordid apparel and wretched life gives no sign under all her oppression of either a bending or a broken spirit, risks all aggravation of her lot, and even in her passion neglects the policy of not so alarming the tyrants as to keep them ever on their guard. It is little enough, it may be said, that she contributes to the success of conspiracy and revolution at last; but as it was in virtue of the spirit that animates her that she saved the life of the avenger in the first instance, her appeals and encouragements to him have never been wanting since; and it is in her sufferings, the sufferings of a population sub-

jugated and yet not subdued, that the exile finds his quickening stimulus and in the relief of them his best reward (1427). History, old and young, enables us to translate all this readily into the terms that read legibly as political commentary, and need is not to follow further forth its bearing upon the views and feelings which enter into all the questions of the expediency of discontent, and its bearing, whether due to feelings of expedience or mere impatience, on ultimately prosperous revolution.

Here we have to remark that, whatever may be the persistency and desperate vivacity of the oppressed who are still not strong enough to initiate their own rescue, a subject in which their degradations and difficulties are the predominant theme must in its nature be of secondary dignity. Hence it is well that the representatives should be feminine,—a woman in whom a certain reduction of the dignity that pertains to vigorous action is more tolerable than in man. But we still await the satisfaction of a fuller sympathy, as in the interest of what the poet clearly elected to make the leading subject, Orestes is kept out of the position of protagonist. Here we have occasion at once to recognise how much is lost by the disjunction and still more by the loss of plays that were combined as trilogies. It would be futile to speculate as to what subjects must have been associated with the *Electra* of Sophocles. As we have seen, there is every reason for excluding a sequel in the immediate historical connection, and if a certain dependence of this kind is to be assumed it may have been by mythic or historic branch at unknown distance, and either to right or left. Then we have only to compare the *Electras* of the three tragedians to be aware how little guide a title or an incident affords to treatment or moral.

The course of development of the Greek tragedy from its original germ was certainly most vigorous and healthy, but still it was a consequence of the details inherent in its beginning, that a single action proved unequal at last to the development of ideas in the scope that the expanding intelligence of the audience and genius of the poets demanded. The invention of the trilogy—of sets of subjects, each complete in itself and yet each in the highest sense incomplete when disjoined from the others—vanquished the difficulty of conciliating the limited stage and numbers of actors and perhaps traditional management of the Chorus, with the inclusion of a range of topics and persons and associations that left no sentiment unappealed to, no interest unsatisfied.

It is too easily intelligible how grammarians took but little account of the ethical nexus that linked actions not otherwise necessarily, and on this wise not to them obviously, in sequence; so it is that the *Electra* comes down to us as a fragment; but not on this account must we do injustice to the poet by inferring his conclusions from a work that is designedly and for a further purpose incomplete.

THE *ANTIGONE* OF SOPHOCLES.

The parallelism of the *Antigone* to the *Electra* is much the same that subsists between *Hercules at Trachiniae* and the *Ajax*. The most salient agreement in the case of the two heroines is of course the contrast of an excited and exalted female character with a sister of less daring disposition. But both *Antigone* and *Electra* are under an oppression which is at once political and domestic, and as the dilemma of the *Electra* elicits all the considerations that pertain to the resistance to usurpation, that of the *Antigone* turns upon the right of private citizens to contravene the wrong enactments of a magistrate of undisputed title—a difficulty in either case of conflicting obligations, and in either case connected with the relations of rulers to aggressive exiles.

It is rash no doubt to venture beyond conjecture into an opinion that these two tragedies also—thus also parallel—supply another example of what may be called an antistrophic introduction of a trilogy; yet this venture I am inclined to make, for neither in one play nor the other do I find a conclusive enunciation or intimation of the true ethical import, and for both indeed, conjoin them as we may, a last word still remains wanting.

The *Electra* finishes with the dictum of Orestes that the condign punishment of all who set themselves above the laws is the sword, slaying—then not so rife would be audacity. This maxim may be said to be acted on firmly, ruthlessly, by Creon in the *Antigone*, with what success in result let the wretched catastrophe of the vigorous enforcer of the laws declare. From this catastrophe and from that of the victim of his severity the aged men who form the Chorus have again a moral of their own to draw,—prudential good sense (this beyond comparison is the great condition of happiness) said this, with a reflected glance at the headstrong *Antigone*;—then as in the second place, it is impressed as incumbent not to provoke the gods, as in the maltreatment of the corpse of Polynices—and lastly grand speeches like those of Creon provoke inflictions which have brought home the value of good sense after prolonged experience. We are no more to impute to the poet this mere prudential morality as his ultimate moral and inculcation, than the speech of the messenger to Creon shortly before—that prayers would not help, inasmuch as there is no escape for mortals from predestinate misfortune. Both doctrines are the comments of minds of an order below that of heroic interlocutors, and intended to give emphasis by very common-placeness of enunciation to more dignified feelings already awakened and appealed to if not expressed as presently forthcoming.

Antigone is more stately in character as well as in the touchingness of her fate than *Electra*, and her story is read at least with most advantage, if it was not originally witnessed immediately after the Argive play. This would no doubt be in violation of historic sequence—a difficulty only to be removed by supposing that to the view of the Greeks it did not exist.—There is indeed such an absolute independence of the fables that the

incongruity is reduced to the lowest. What may or might have been the third play who shall undertake to say?—Not I. There is of course in the speech of Teiresias an intimation of consequences of an agitation among foreign cities; this I presume alludes to the war of Theseus against Thebes, which is the subject of the *Suppliants* of Euripides; but whether Sophocles wrote a tragedy on this action we as little know as we can satisfy ourselves how he would have treated it so as to close the subject and supply approximate solution of the moral dilemmas of the preceding plays. Nothing can be inferred from the scanty citations from his *Theseus* and his *Epigoni*.

In consequence of the action of the *Antigone* being in such immediate sequence to that of the *Oedipus at Colonus* there is always a temptation to infer that it is the third of a trilogy of which *Oedipus King* is the first. But the *Colonus* has characteristics in the local and political allusions to the actual state of Athens and the general tone, that seem to mark it decisively as a concluding drama. The *Antigone* on the other hand has the signs already noted of a suspended theme; dignified as it may be it is still dependent on the more restricted associations of feminine piety; and by falling in interest rather than rising at the end—for the mere retribution on the wretched Creon is of very secondary importance—it fails of the grandeur of a consummated climax, however valuably resting the mind and preparing the sympathies for a new movement of answerable magnitude to the opening. The concluding drama, whatever its theme, could not but have had, we must suppose, a hero and not a heroine for its leading character, and one whose passions and fortunes would be well before the spectator to the end.

The comparative flatness at the conclusion of such plays as the *Antigone* and the *Ajax* corresponds with what we observe at the end of many of the *Odes* of Pindar; in both poets I doubt not that it is a sign of a composition incomplete by lack of a lost or unrecognised sequel.

The Chorus of aged men who describe themselves (160) as summoned by Creon on public business, and are referred to by Antigone as wealthy and addressed by Teiresias (v. 987) as ἄνακτες Θηβῶν, is low and restricted in thought and feeling throughout, beyond the common level even of Choruses. They propound the conjecture that the covering of the exposed body of Polynices has happened by some divine interference, and bring on themselves a short and contemptuous reproof; it may also be noted here that the guard is represented with an almost grotesqueness of simplicity that seems to mark him as a barbarian—a Scythian—rather than as merely a Greek of low degree.

The submissiveness of the Senatorial Chorus throughout enhances the expression of the tyranny of Creon, and of his depression and degradation at last when he endures to be advised if not lectured by them. The emphasis on the contingencies of tyranny is in favour of the next play having turned on an Athenian subject, as the interference of Theseus, ruler of a free people. I could imagine that the expedition of Theseus against Thebes was made to illustrate the ethics of the justifiable interference of a neighbouring state to help an oppressed neighbour to shake off a tyranny, and of the justifiableness

of exiles without and malcontents within availing themselves under circumstances of aid that put them in the ostensible position of traitors.

There is great power in the engrossment of the mind of Antigone so entirely with her pious duty and resolute anticipation of its penalty, that only late and by direct suggestion does she refer to the love of Haemon—while lamenting generally her destiny to forfeit the hopes of wife and mother—a love which is yet strong enough on his part to cause him to die with her. Antigone goes to death with the sentence of the Chorus upon her, that she owes her fate to her headstrong passion; and not till frightened by the soothsayer do they think of revising the sentence,—a cold-blooded crew. They only listen to the dispute of Creon and his son, to first approve the dictum of Creon, and after Haemon's reply to approve that; in very imbecility they approve both: much is to be said on both sides.

It is part of the meanmindedness of Creon that he is always ready to suspect a sordid motive (v. 222); he suspects from the first that some one may be induced by a bribe to bury Polynices (295), and again taxes the guard with corruption and Teiresias also in the coarsest manner. At last the poet seems to so tone the exhibition of his despair as to suggest his paltriness of spirit in not being equal like his son or wife to self-destruction. His humiliation is at last complete, and yet still is this but poor satisfaction for those who have sympathised with Antigone.

The Chorus (v. 370 &c.) recognises in the burial of Polynices a feat of cleverness, not a deed of principle; man has unlimited cleverness, but to apply it to infraction of municipal laws puts one out of the pale of society.

v. 471. Chorus has no other remark on the noble defence of Antigone than that she takes after the savage temper of her father and lacks the intelligence to yield in difficulties—thus an imputed deficiency in that worldly wisdom which afterwards is said to be in effect the primary condition of happiness. So, v. 603, the fortunes of the house of Labdacidae are mown down by 'failure of rational intelligence—by an Erinny's of the intellect'; (v. 624) again misery is traced to the proverbial origin—by a god causing wrong to be esteemed right, deranging the faculty of judgment as to expediency, in one destined to destruction. The anger of Haemon is a proof of the power of love in the same way, a madness that leads even the high-minded into trouble.

v. 800. Momentary compassion draws tears from the Chorus, though checked and self-condemned (v. 801) as involving complicity with infraction of a promulgated law. Still again the Chorus even (v. 817) tells the victim that she dies in glory and praise, but again slides off characteristically in the next line to meaner comfort, and in two following speeches relapses again into the unqualified assertion of supremacy of enactment. Their alarm at the denouncement of Teiresias is only not more abject than that of Cleon, because they are less directly threatened, and prudence speaks to them, not remorse.

Teiresias intervenes in the *Antigone* with much the same fortune and result as in *Oedipus Tyrannus*; he is deferentially complimented before he

announces an unwelcome oracle, insulted afterwards, and then retorts with something of professional pique and malignity by a more dreadful denunciation on the disobedient, which is only attended to too late. There is much here that reminds of the Hebrew prophets in relation to the kings, the anger of the king of Juda against the prophet who always prophesies ill to him, and the consequences of oracles disregarded. We might be led into such conjectures as that the prophetic function was really transferred from Syria to Bocotia in whatever historical facts lie at the root of the story of a Phœnician colony, and even see in the bird-watching of Teiresias a hint that the Hebrew prophet came to be said to be fed by ravens from no different suggestion. But prophet and king, like Church and State, are influenced and act by natural laws transcending mere tradition; there is quite as much of the Hebrew prophet in the Calchas of the *Iliad* as in the *Teiresias* of Sophocles.

There is a certain harshness and hardness no doubt in the character of Antigone by which we are a little reminded of the uncompromising virtue of Cordelia; but the exact temper is more likely to be misconceived in the Greek heroine, because the sister who is exposed to some of her severe speeches is far indeed from possessing—much less displaying—the shameless qualities of Regan or Goneril. Ismene flinches from an affectionate enterprise, or even duty; but this duty is one that calls for an heroic nature, and some tender indulgence may be claimed by feminine natures that are aware of no heroic impulse. Still there remains the fact that, when Ismene is appealed to, she does not merely fail in courage to join in the sacred exploit, but she fails to evince any adequate sense of its sacredness, of its incumbency. She is not merely decided not to take part in it, but she is fully reconciled to it being pretermitted altogether. The speeches by tone rather than in direct words, indicate this spirit sufficiently, but they are only just sufficient to do so. It is the art of the Greek dramatist, as of Shakespeare, to indicate outlines thus delicately, to blend a light into a light, but still to leave for the finer sense no uncertainty that different lights are blending, to forfeit none of its fine pleasure in tracing the delicacy of the delineation.

Of course the delicacy will be thrown away for many, and for these at the same time the distinction that it marks is lost, and serious indeed is the ensuing detriment to the poet's ideal. Even Boeckh fails to appreciate the contrast between the sisters—is blind to the definition of the moral colours. Yet the definition is again and still more emphatically repeated, when Ismene offers to share the responsibility of the committed transgression, and is severely enough repelled. The tone and terms of the repulse, as we might be bound to assume, are due to the knowledge by Antigone of the shallowness of the self-devotion now professed so late. The tone and terms of the rejoinders of Ismene justify all her rebuff. The offer is made, no doubt, but without passion, and in place of the ardent sisterly devotedness that could not, would not, be refused a partnership in suffering, there is a descent upon ratiocination—discourse of reasons.

So it is that in the *Prometheus Vincit* the fettered Titan divines how

little of sympathy, and how much of curiosity, there is in the visit of his brother Oceanus, though it is only the undignified retirement of the visitor that justifies to the spectator the sneers inflicted.

Sophocles would not be in harmony with Shakespeare's genius if he also did not intimate that the strongest feminine nature is put to an unfair test by such a responsibility as Antigone winds herself up to accept. In her last speech, heroic as it is, there is just the suggestion of a mistrust that what she has ventured for the sake of a brother requires to be justified by some after-thought, even if a far-fetched excuse, which makes a brother's case exceptional. There may be weakness also in her last pathetic words; but it is such weakness as has been evinced by many a man well worthy to be recorded as a martyr, who has found himself forsaken and exposed through his zeal for piety to the direst sufferings that could be merited by the impious, and has been disposed in his agony to echo her ejaculation:—

τί χρὴ με τὴν δύστηνον εἰς θεοὺς ἔτι
βλέπειν ; τί ν' αὐδᾶν ξυμμάχων ; ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ
τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦς' ἐκτησάμην.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

A STUDY OF PHRYGIAN ART. (PART II.)

It may be permitted me to return for a moment to the question, touched on in my first paper, as to the age of the Lion-Gate at Mycenae. The distinction which I drew between the age of the gateway and that of the tombs within the sacred precinct seems to me to be too much neglected, and its significance to be misunderstood. There is a whole class of legends whose object is to make out for the conquerors of the Peloponnesus a legitimate right to its possession. For example, the Aetolians who conquered Elis gave themselves a mythical justification by the tale that an ancestor of their chiefs had been expelled from Elis, and that they were returning to claim his inheritance when the crime for which he had been expelled had been expiated by generations of banishment. Similarly the Spartans found that they could make their cause a just one only by bringing to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the ancient and rightful king. When after a long search they found them, they brought them home, and no doubt instituted a cultus at the grave.¹ After they had thus legitimised themselves by continuing the worship of the ancient chiefs of the land, they were strong to conquer the Tegeans. The worship of Helena and her sacred tree are also well known at Sparta. I believe that there existed at Mycenae a similar worship of the ancient chiefs of the land. The Dorian conquerors continued the family cultus of the chiefs whom they dispossessed. Probably there was both in Mycenae and in Sparta an interval during which the worship was discontinued by the Dorian conquerors, and then the ancient cultus was restored. We shall hardly be wrong if we attribute this zeal of the Dorians to prove themselves rightful heirs of the Achaean chiefs to the growing influence of Homer. It was incumbent on the Dorians to show respect to Homeric traditions, and to prove themselves the lawful possessors of the Homeric poems. Argos, the leading Dorian state, probably began this practice, and Sparta imitated it. The myth at last became a fixed belief, and the Spartan king Cleomenes, at the end of the sixth century, could say, 'I am no Dorian, but Achaean.'²

While the Lion-Gate seems to me to belong to the period of the Dorian kings of Argos, perhaps 800-750, the tombs are pre-Dorian. As to the

¹ While I accept from Herodotus the fact of Dorian recognition of Orestes, I do not believe that his account is anything more than a popular legend to explain an existing cultus, or that the date about 560 which he assigns can be taken as historical. The ignorance of the forg-

ing of iron implies an earlier origin even for the legend.

² To quote these words as a proof that Cleomenes was really of a non-Dorian family, as has been done, seems to me a misunderstanding of the nature of Greek legend.

interval which is to be placed between the making of the tombs and the building of the gate, I can venture no opinion, though I entertain a dislike to go back with Furtwängler and Löschke to the sixteenth century. Excavation will doubtless show whether the distinction of age which I make between the tombs and the gate is right or wrong. If, contrary to my opinion, they must be referred to the same period, I should be glad if evidence accumulates to carry back our knowledge of Greece to a remote date, though at present I feel that more evidence is required. My principle has been to give what seemed to me the latest date, and in every case any modification of my views will probably be to give greater antiquity to the monuments alluded to in these papers.

Since the first part of this paper was published, part of MM. Perrot and Chipiez's account of Phrygian Art has appeared. I shall be obliged occasionally to dissent from some of the views which they have advanced, and to criticize some of the drawings which they have given; but I hope that the expression of dissent on isolated points may not tend to obscure the large amount of agreement in our views as to the date, character, and origin of Phrygian art; and that my criticisms of some drawings¹ may not hide my admiration of the care with which the two authors have from very insufficient and scattered materials gathered their account of the Phrygian monuments. I shall also have to state in some cases that M. Perrot has not correctly understood my opinions and statements privately communicated to him; the misunderstanding should be attributed partly, I have no doubt, to my own obscurity of expression, and partly to the difficulty of communication, when each speaks more fluently and understands more readily a different language from the other.² I also have to acknowledge several cases in which I have been taught a better opinion by M. Perrot's exposition. M. Perrot more than once refers to my having refrained from publishing any complete account of the Phrygian monuments. I hoped in 1884 to make, in company with Mr. A. H. Smith, a complete study of the subject; but his health first delayed and finally stopped the joint work. My other journeys have been made in far too economical fashion to permit the careful study I had hoped to make with the skilled aid of Mr. A. H. Smith. The present imperfect study would have been published before this time if every one were as convinced as I am of the historical importance of the subject. Considerations of expense have forced me to omit about half of the illustrations I once intended to give here:

¹ Their fig. 117 is in some respects more successful than my fig. 9; but there are two faults in it. (1) It is the right warrior, not the left, which is complete: my fig. 7 represents the relief from the opposite view, viz. from the interior. (2) The rows indicating the hair of the Gorgon-like figure are not visible in a front view, but only in a side view. They are indicated on the edge of the relief: the head is indicated as a flat surface and the edges are cut sharp and square down to the back-

ground. I have omitted to mention this detail in my description. I could detect no attempt to indicate eyes. But the large drawing gives a far better idea of the relief than my tiny figure 9.

² Fig. 128 (cp. p. 105, n. 1) is due to Mr. Blunt, not to me, while fig. 90, which is attributed to Mr. Blunt, is due to me, and differs from the drawing by Mr. Blunt, which is among the papers of the Society.

of the rest, those which are already completed will appear elsewhere, while those which are unfinished will probably remain so.

One can hardly appreciate without experience how difficult it is to attain accuracy in regard to these Phrygian monuments. Their great size, and the difficulty or impossibility of getting near enough to make measurements or examine carefully; the regularity of character on a general view combined with frequent irregularity in detail on closer view, and the individuality of type so different from any other ancient art, lead the observer frequently into error. I might mention several curious instances of such errors, which have happened to myself or to others; but I shall give only one, which happens to aid my purpose. MM. Perrot and Chipiez publish (fig. 48) a drawing of the Tomb of Midas, made by M. Tomaszkievich after a good photograph by Mr. Blunt. This drawing is in some respects inaccurate, for it is very difficult to find a draughtsman who has patience enough to imitate the almost infinite complexity of the Phrygian pattern. M. Perrot, who on p. 86 mentions that the arrangement of the meander pattern in Texier's drawing on the right and left of the false door is inaccurate, does not observe that in the drawing which he himself publishes there is some inaccuracy in this respect.¹ He however publishes, in order to show, in correction of Texier, the real character of the false door and of the pattern round it, another drawing (fig. 49) by M. Guillaume, the draughtsman who accompanied him on his expedition through Phrygia and Galatia in 1861. This drawing, which had been published in M. Perrot's *Voyage Archéologique*, p. 112, represents on a larger scale than fig. 48 the false doorway in the lower part of the monument together with the meander pattern round it. This second drawing contradicts not merely Texier but also the preceding fig. 48 with regard to the arrangement of the meander pattern. Fig. 49 is in this respect right; but it is certainly confusing to the reader that a drawing made from a photograph should be contradicted by a drawing made by eye, and that the contradiction should not be commented on. But M. Guillaume's drawing contradicts fig. 48 in another respect, viz. in regard to the thickness of the raised pattern compared with the sunk spaces. Fig. 48 in this respect agrees with Texier, and is correct, while the drawing which is given expressly to illustrate a small part of the monument on a larger scale is wrong. Yet the text gives no hint of divergence in this respect, and the reader is left to the free choice between the two, or rather is encouraged to follow M. Guillaume's drawing in all respects.² This is so remarkable that no one will believe it possible. But those who doubt my statement can verify it by comparing Perrot's figs. 48 and 49 with each other and with the excellent photograph of Mr. Blunt.³

The peculiar characteristic of the meander pattern on the Midas-Tomb

¹ The inaccuracy is very slight on the right side, but more serious on the left side.

² So puzzling are these patterns that, although the error relates to a point which has particularly interested me, I had looked cursorily many times at the drawing without observing the

error. One can never be sure of having understood the pattern without drawing it with one's own hand.

³ Mr. Blunt intimated in the *Journal* his readiness to supply copies of this photograph at a very small price.

is that it is founded on a unit of measurement, which as near as I could estimate is $10\frac{1}{3}$ inches. Every line, both horizontal and vertical, throughout the maeander pattern coincides with one of the lines of a pattern of squares of this size. The accompanying sketch, fig. 14, in which drawings by Texier, Tomaszkievich, Blunt, and Sir C. Wilson all agree, and which can be verified from Mr. Blunt's photograph, shows the character by completing a small part of the fundamental pattern in dotted lines.

The same character may be observed in numerous other monuments, yet M. Perrot nowhere explicitly mentions it. It must however be reckoned one of the most distinctive features of Phrygian work. For example, there is an unmistakable resemblance between the pattern of the king's robes on the Ibriz monument and the pattern of the Midas-Tomb, as I have frequently pointed out. But the Ibriz monument fails in this characteristic, and this difference alone, not to mention locality, would stamp it as non-Phrygian. It shows a pattern wrought by thinner lines on a surface.¹ Sir Charles Wilson called my attention to this character, while I was laboriously drawing the minute pattern of the Ibriz robes and making it too like the Midas pattern.

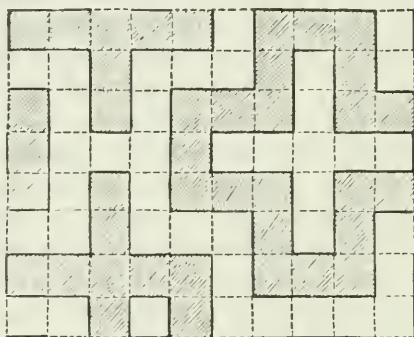


FIG. 14.

M. Guillaume's drawing disguises this character. He makes the raised spaces thinner than the sunk spaces. The difference may to some seem slight, and my criticism may seem hypercriticism; but it is on the observance of these slight differences that scientific archaeology depends, and my point is that this character is distinctive of a class of Phrygian ornament and decisive as to its origin. This class of ornament is not imitated after a pattern worked on a surface or background, like a carpet pattern; there is in it both analogy to and difference from carpet work (Perrot, p. 193).

I have alluded to this character before,² and hoped that my brief allusion would be understood by those who study Phrygian art, but, as is clear from

¹ The incised parts are thinner than the raised parts at Ibriz; M. Guillaume shows the raised parts thinner than the incised parts on the

Midas-Tomb.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, pp. 26-7, and note on p. 26.

the necessity laid on me of writing the preceding paragraphs, I sacrificed perspicuity in seeking after brevity. Consequently it is now necessary to explain myself more clearly and fully. In the explanation I hope to show the origin of the Phrygian pattern.

The Phrygian ornament then in its simplest form is a chessboard pattern of squares alternately sunk and in relief. This pattern is used to ornament the sides and roof of a small chamber cut in the rock underneath the city wall, a little way to the south of Gate D (see plan, fig. 11: the exact situation is not marked, but it can easily be found by an explorer). In the next stage the simple chessboard pattern is made more complicated by suppressing some of the divisions, and making several squares continuously either sunk or raised. A very simple example is the tomb called Maltash, *J.H.S.* 1881, Plate XXI. A (Perrot, fig. 60). An example rather more complicated is the Midas-Tomb. Fig. 14, in which the dotted lines show the fundamental pattern, makes the character of the ornament clear.

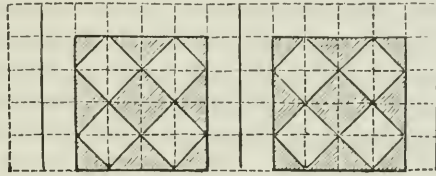


FIG. 15.

A further complication is introduced by placing smaller squares obliquely inside the squares of the fundamental pattern. This appears in the border that surrounds the maeander pattern of the Tomb of Midas, in the Tomb of Arezastis (fig. 13, Perrot fig. 58), in the tomb shown by Perrot fig. 59, and in the tomb near Bakshish.¹ The border of the Midas-Tomb is an unsuccessful attempt to construct a pattern of this kind. The fault of this attempt is that the square enclosed between the four lozenges must either be larger than the lozenges if it keeps to the fundamental lines of the pattern, or if it is the exact size of the lozenges it must desert the fundamental lines.² Each of these alternatives produces an awkward effect, and this type is not repeated anywhere else.

A more successful attempt to combine the lozenge and the square is shown (with the fundamental squares dotted) in fig. 15. It is used on the three monuments just mentioned.

This development in art seems to be decisive as to the chronology of

¹ Perrot fig. 61, 62.

² It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the lines of the fundamental pattern are arranged obliquely instead of horizontally and vertically. In that way also it will show that if the four lozenges coincide with the lines of

the fundamental pattern, the squares between the four lozenges have not their angles on the fundamental lines. The fundamental lines are, of course, purely imaginary, and I speak of them only in order to bring out as clearly as possible the actual character of the Phrygian pattern.

these tombs. The tomb called Maltash is in the neighbourhood of the Lion-Tombs. All the other monuments of that neighbourhood seem to me to be of a more archaic type than the Midas-Tomb. But so long as I could find no definite standard to determine whether Maltash or Yazili Kaya (*i.e.* the Midas-Tomb) were the older, I did not feel ready to face the question of chronology. But now that the Maltash is shown to belong to an earlier stage of development, it seems justifiable to assert that the acropolis and the monuments at the Lion-Tombs belong to an older period than the Midas-Tomb and the vast majority of the monuments connected with it.

The Midas-Tomb again is older than the Tomb of Arezastis. It is improbable that artists who had elaborated the ornamentation of fig. 15 should go back to the type of the border of the Midas-Tomb. When they had elaborated the type of fig. 15, they used it on a number of monuments. Moreover a new ornament, the rosette, is introduced on the Tomb of Arezastis, and finally even a glance at the inscriptions is sufficient to convince us of the greater antiquity of the Midas-Tomb. The forms of epsilon and sigma are clearly more ancient on the latter.

At the same time there cannot be a great difference in time between these two monuments. The artists were clearly striving after variety in the use of their pattern, and could not halt long on the progress to fig. 15. Moreover the children of Akenanolas erect both monuments.

The monument published by Perrot, plate 59, is later, but only a little later than the Tomb of Arezastis. The resemblance in the ornamentation both of the rectangular surface and of the pediment is so complete that the two monuments are stamped as of one and the same period. But this uninscribed monument is more complicated: it introduces in addition to the rosette one more new type of ornament, *viz.* a zone of a lotus and palmette pattern. The artists are constantly struggling onwards towards new forms. Moreover, if the illustrations at my disposal are correct, the ornament inside the pediment, which in the monument of Arezastis is significant, is given in an abbreviated meaningless and conventional style on the uninscribed monument. In the former we see in each half of the pediment a double door shut and barred; for Phrygian religion, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ regarded the door as one of the necessary parts of a tomb. In the latter we could not understand what the objects represented within the pediment were, unless we had the Tomb of Arezastis to explain their meaning.

A decided and important step in this development is marked by the next monument of this class, the tomb at Bakshish. As I do not find M. Perrot's illustrations sufficiently accurate, and as I have been obliged to suppress the illustrations which have been prepared, I must refer to another place for the continuation of this exposition. I may however say briefly that I must retract my former theory, that this kind of ornament is imitated from carpet-work. The ornamented robes at Ibriz show what is the result of

¹ Part I. p. 371; *J. H. S.* 1884, p. 254ff. M. 102) that there is a door on this monument. Perrot somewhat strangely has not noticed (p.

imitating in stone coloured or embroidered work; the result is a thinner pattern on a broad surface. The drawing of M. Guillaume might allow us to consider the ornament of the Midas-Tomb as of the same character, but the preceding paragraphs have shown marked difference between the two styles amid their general resemblance.

The whole class of Phrygian pattern appears to me to be the imitation in stone of some kind of tile-work, *e.g.* the covering of a flat surface like the wall of a room with a pattern of tiles or of square plaques of ivory or bronze. That there should be a decided analogy between the pattern aimed at in this kind of ornament and the patterns of carpets is natural, but the difference is also natural. Hence I explain the combined analogy and difference between the Ibriz and the Midas monuments. The raised spaces on the Midas-Tomb represent tiles of one colour, and the sunk spaces tiles of another colour. The pattern is produced by placing several tiles of one colour side by side. In the simplest form of the Phrygian pattern, single tiles alternate. The Ibriz monument imitates cloth in which similar patterns are made by bands or threads of one colour on a surface of a different colour. We now see how the border round the Midas-Tomb produces a different effect from the other extant examples. It cannot be produced by square tiles, whereas all the other examples of the Phrygian pattern can be produced by placing side by side either square tiles of two different colours, or square tiles and halves of square tiles.

It is possible also to work backwards from the monuments of this class. The arrangement of the low, simple and bare pediment within the chamber of the Broken Lion-Tomb (part I. p. 358, fig. 5) is distinctly of the same type as that of the Maltash pediment; but the latter introduces a little ornament on the shaft of the supporting column.¹ The Maltash as a whole is in form like one side of the chamber, covered with ornament instead of being left plain as in fig. 5: it is therefore a development and later than the Broken Lion-Tomb. The latter in its turn is obviously later than the other still perfect Lion-Tomb, with its simpler forms, and its perfectly plain chamber.

The monuments of the class of Maltash, &c., are obviously imitated after one of the end walls of a chamber such as is shown in figs. 2 and 5, with the addition of a central acroterion as a crowning member. The Phrygian must have adopted from Assyria the use of tiles to adorn the walls of rooms. At an early time they constructed such monuments as the Lion-Tombs and Perrot's fig. 75, and avoided sacrilege by placing the entrance high in a perpendicular rock. Then the idea occurred to their artists to make the front of the tombs like the side of a chamber, and to conceal the actual grave behind or beneath it. After making several large monuments of this class, they struck out a new style in the monument at Bakshish, and at this stage in their development came the Cimmerian invasion.

The tomb at Bakshish appears to me to belong to the old Phrygian

¹ The two pediments are even more alike than can be gathered from pl. xxi A. The supporting column of the pediment in each is of the same

type, with a rectangular capital and base, the base smaller than the capital.

kingdom, which perished about 675. It marks a new departure in style, and is separated by an interval from the group of monuments, those of Midas, Arezastis, and the uninscribed one. These three are of the same period: monuments of such size however cannot be strictly contemporary, but must represent successive efforts, dating according to my theory about the latter part of the eighth century. Placing the earlier monuments of the series at a certain interval from each other, we certainly reach back into the ninth century for the date of the Lion-Tomb, fig. 10, p. 368.

I find myself still obliged to adhere to the same chronological order which I stated in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 28. The monuments showing sculptures in relief of human and animal figures are older than those which are covered with geometrical patterns, while the latter again are older than a very large group of a markedly architectural type. The last class, as I then said, appear to me to belong to the revival of the Phrygian kingdom under Lydian domination, after the expulsion of the Cimmerians. About the year 600 and earlier, we find that the Assyrian and the Median power, which reached (one before the other) as far as the Halys, come into contact, not with the Phrygian, but with the Lydian kingdom. By the treaty of 585 B.C. the Halys was recognized as the boundary between Lydians and Medes. During the reign of Croesus the Phrygian king of whom Herodotus speaks was a vassal king. When the Persians seized the Median power, Croesus crossed the Halys to attack them. During this period and the Persian domination which followed, Phrygian art was not wholly inactive, but was nerveless and degenerate in character, and passed under the influence of foreign models¹ more and more completely as time went on. The monuments of this period are very numerous, but far smaller in size than the greater monuments of the old time.

This later period, which I have styled the architectural period because the tombs take the form of temples or perhaps of houses, comes to an end at the Gaulish invasion about 260 B.C. At that time there must have taken place the complete devastation and desolation which Strabo attests as having before his time replaced the ancient civilization of Gordius and Midas. No record attests that the Gauls desolated Phrygia, but such record is not necessary to tell us what must have taken place when the hordes of Gauls were sweeping across this district to take possession of the plains of Galatia. It is certain that the country in which the Gauls finally settled down begins almost at the eastern base of the mountains in which the Phrygian monuments are, for the territory of the Troenades, who are obviously Gauls from their name, lay not far from these mountains.

In part I. p. 381 the expectation was expressed that M. Perrot would place before the eyes of scholars the first trustworthy representation of the Midas-Tomb. I regret very much that M. Tomaszkievich's drawing fails in

¹ Formerly I thought that Greek art exercised great influence in this period, but I have been taught better by Professor G. Hirschfeld. I see

much Persian influence (differing in this from Hirschfeld) and a little Greek, the latter very late.

accuracy in several respects, and though it is on the whole the best that has been published, yet several corrections have to be made in it. One of them has already been mentioned—the misrepresentation of the arrangement of the meander pattern on the left of the false door. The number and arrangement of the diamonds in and over the pediment is incorrect, as is clear from the photograph. He has also placed the little cave or chamber on the left a little too near the sculptured face, and too high; this error is apparently due to his misunderstanding one of the shadows. He has given the inscriptions on the right and over the monument very incorrectly, and it might have been expected that he should with the help of the photograph have represented the breaks and the lower surroundings of the monument better. In his note on p. 86 M. Perrot remarks that there are only two inexactitudes in Texier's drawing, but a comparison between Texier and fig. 48 shows that there are numerous other slight variations, in regard to all of which the reader is left in doubt which authority is to be followed. In some cases fig. 48 is right, while in others Texier is right. One really serious error is that Texier has completed the pediment and represented it without any central support. All other Phrygian pediments of this early time have a central support, and, while the fracture of the rock prevents certainty, yet in all probability the Midas-Tomb had a similar vertical member beneath the acroterion.¹ Another very important difference between Texier and fig. 48 is in respect of the central acroterion. Texier gives it as composed of two sets of concentric circles. The reader is struck by the style of this acroterion. He turns to fig. 48, and finds that M. Tomaszkievich gives it as two spirals, resembling a sort of Ionic capital.² Some warning should in the text be given of such a serious divergence. The point is rather difficult to determine in the mutilated state of the central part of the pediment; but Sir C. Wilson and Mr. Blunt both agree with Texier, and my memory is clear as to discussing the point with them on the spot and agreeing in this opinion. Texier, indeed, completes the acroterion in a way that is probably incorrect, for the central part of it is now broken away. But the remaining parts are sufficient to show that all the curves are parts of concentric circles. The photographs of the monument by Blunt and Hogarth seem on a first glance to make the curves spiral, but this is due to the shadows, which have deceived M. Tomaszkievich. Sir C. Wilson also points out to me that every curve in every acroterion of this class of monuments is part of a true circle.

Each of the points which have just been mentioned may seem slight and the enumeration of them may be tedious, but it is on correctness in such points that an appreciation of the style depends. Much time would be saved, and far greater clearness would be gained, if a really correct drawing were published. It is remarkable that no representation of this monument which does not contain numerous faults of detail has yet been published, and that

¹ I have not access to Texier's large work and have to content myself with the drawing published in his small work, *Asie Mineure*.

² He gives the right spiral distinctly, while the left which is uncertain must be understood to resemble the right.

I should still have to plead that the Midas-Tomb is important enough in the history of art to justify the expense of an accurate drawing.

The first part of this paper broke off while discussing the character of the Midas-Monument. I consider it to have been sepulchral. M. Perrot has now stated his opinion clearly: it was a monument erected by the Phrygian princes to a legendary ancestor, whose name they had taken and whom they worshipped as a god, a sort of mythical representative of the actual dynasty. I still continue to think the sepulchral character is more probable.

I may be allowed to guard against the imputation that I simply took up the most obvious view,¹ and now continue to maintain it against a new suggestion. Both views were in my mind, balanced against each other, from the first day I saw the monument onwards. Sir Charles Wilson, when I visited the Midas-Monument in his company in June 1881, at once inferred from the want of a grave that the purpose was religious, not sepulchral. I allowed the question to hang undecided in my mind for a long time. Even now, if I saw any argument for M. Perrot's view, except the single one that lies in the non-discovery of a carefully and successfully concealed grave, I should be quite ready to accept his opinion.

M. Perrot appears to me to draw far too broad a line between religion and sepulture. The Greek distinction between the Olympian gods and the gods of the world of death is in his mind, and hence he says on p. 158 (obviously arguing against my views stated in this *Journal*, especially in 1884, p. 242 ff.), that no indication either in the ancient texts or in the monuments justifies the belief that Cybele ever held the place of sovereign of the lower world and protectress of the dead. The remark and the distinction would have been unintelligible to a Phrygian. The goddess, the embodiment of the creative and recreative power of nature, is the mother of all life, from whom we come, and to whom we go. Every important text and monument seem to me to necessitate this view, but the subject is too wide for me to enter on in this place.²

M. Perrot quotes (p. 102, n. 1) a passage from Hesychius, which certainly seems to tell in his favour, as he gives the text. I do not know from what source he takes the quotation, but according to M. Schmidt's edition of Hesychius he gives it in a form both inaccurate and incomplete.³ It should be as follows: *Μίδα θεός· οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ὠμνον τὴν Μίδα θεόν, ἣν τινες μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἐκτετιμῆσθαι λέγουσιν*. I understand this to mean that the subjects of Midas revered and made oath by the

¹ La première hypothèse qui se présente à l'esprit, p. 89. I should rather say that the most obvious reflexion, which rises in everyone's mind on first seeing the monument, is that it cannot be a tomb, as there is no apparent place for a grave.

² The Phrygian mysteries, as to whose rites we are well informed, are a presentation in gross symbolism (according to the primitive social circumstances and the elementary ideas of

nature which existed at the time) of this religious idea. The ideas entertained by the Greeks about Cybele are in the main Greek and not Phrygian, and should have no weight attached to them.

³ On p. 102, n. 1, he gives it *Μίδα θεός. Οἱ ὑπὸ Μίδα βασιλευθέντες ἐσέβοντο καὶ ὠμνον τὸν (sic!) Μίδα θεόν*. On p. 14 he infers from this misquotation that 'Midas se confondait avec un de ces dieux dont le culte resta populaire,' &c.

goddess of Midas, who some say was honoured as his mother. The allusion is to the idea, on which I have had to insist so frequently, that, according to the Phrygo-Lyidian belief, their chiefs were the sons of the goddess. The chief or king has a goddess-mother, and goes back to his mother when he dies. The extract from Hesychius should have been quoted in my part I. p. 369, as a proof of the view there stated.

This idea was adopted along with the religion of Cybele by the conquering tribe who penetrated from the northwest into Phrygia about B.C. 900. The inscriptions seem to prove that this tribe had the custom of reckoning descent through the male line. If my interpretation is correct, we have Ates Arkiaevais son of Akenanolas, Arezastis wife of Akenanolas, Phorkyn Tegatoz son of Akenanolas, Baba Memevais son of Proitas. But the social condition of the country after the conquest was, according to my view, a mixture of the habits of the conquering caste with the old religion of the country. Some therefore say that the goddess of Midas was honoured as his mother. In Lydia this idea was, as Gelzer has shown, held in the form that the husband of the heiress was king, and the husband of the heiress's daughter succeeded; but this cannot have been the case in Phrygia, if we may judge from the statement of descent through the father and also from the recorded fact that the last king Midas married the Cymaeian princess Demodike. The tomb of Arezastis however with its inscriptions seems to attest that great honour was paid to the mother in Phrygia, and according to one tale Midas was the son of the prophetess-wife of Gordius, whose divine power of prophecy probably points to her being ultimately the goddess herself, the mother of Midas.

I will not however conceal an analogy, not observed by M. Perrot, which may perhaps be held to tell in his favour. An inscription of Anaboura, a town on the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier, where however the native language was the same as in Phrygia, belonging to the first century after Christ, mentions a donation to the state by Obrimianos and Mousaios, sons of Julius. They end by emphatically declaring their descent from Manes Ourammos. In publishing the inscription in 1883, I said: 'It is uncertain whether Manes Ourammos is a god, or a heroic semi-divine progenitor, or a real person. Perhaps the last supposition is most probable.' My view was, and is, that Manes Ourammos was one of the last chiefs of this part of Pisidia, before it fell under the domination of the Romans, and that his descendants boast of their descent, just as in another Phrygian family their inscriptions record that they are descendants of kings and tetrarchs.¹ But those who prefer to this explanation the other which I mentioned only to reject, that Manes Ourammos was a heroic mythical ancestor, worshipped by the family, will find in this inscription an argument in favour of M. Perrot's opinion.

M. Perrot holds the monument to have been erected to Midas the King,

¹ ὄντες ἀπόγονοι Μάνου Οὐραμμόου compare βασιλέων καὶ τετράρχων ἀπόγονοι C.I.G. 4033, 4034 &c. I published the inscription of Anaboura in *Mittheilungen* Athen, 1883, p. 71.

It has since been published by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett in his 'Preliminary Report,' p. 14, without observing the previous publication.

by real kings who bore his name. But the inscription says that Ates erected the monument to Midas;¹ none of the persons mentioned on this or the other monuments bear the name Midas except the mythical ancestor. The monuments therefore afford no proof, on M. Perrot's explanation, that there ever was really a Phrygian king named Midas. The only inference which they would permit is that Midas is a heroic ancestor of the type of Heracles or Pelops, worshipped by the Phrygian chiefs in their family religion.

On the other hand I contend that there is traditional evidence of the death of a king Midas, in a great catastrophe widely affecting Asia Minor, now admittedly a historical catastrophe as attested by contemporary epigraphic evidence, though formerly doubted. This event, the Cimmerian invasion, affected the Greeks almost as much as the Phrygians. The coincidence aided the historical memory. The king in question was closely connected by marriage with the Greeks of the coast, and the early references made by the Greeks to his dynasty show that it was considered by them as peculiarly impressive, and so great as to be almost more than human. The coincidence with Greek history, and the striking contrast of greatness and sudden ruin, made the historical tradition accurate and trustworthy in this case.

The facts then are these, as I conceive them. Trustworthy tradition tells us that there was a dynasty of Phrygian kings in the Sangarios valley, some of whom were named Midas. Among a series of monuments in the Sangarios valley, whose character shows that they were made by a people of considerable civilization and wealth, one bears the inscription 'Ates Arkiaevais placed to Midas the King.' This monument, as M. Perrot fully acknowledges by placing it among the sepulchral monuments, has all the external appearance of a grave. Every point in it occurs in other monuments whose sepulchral character is obvious to the eye owing to the violent disclosure of concealed graves. In this and two other cases no grave has been discovered, but that is, as I believe, only because the grave has in these cases been more skilfully or more successfully concealed. The variety in external appearance among the monuments is far from justifying the assumption that the internal arrangement (*i.e.* the situation of the concealed grave) was in every case the same.

The facts as thus stated point to the view that the Midas-Monument is the tomb of one of the historical kings of that name. This view is the simple and natural conclusion from the striking agreement between the traditional and the monumental evidence.

The view stated by M. Perrot loses all the support given by the tradition. He tries in vain to accommodate himself to the tradition by saying that the Phrygian kings bore the name of their mythical ancestor Midas. If they bore the name, why is it that the inscriptions mention several of them by other names, but none by the name Midas? At the best there is a want of agree-

¹ It deserves note that all the persons mentioned on the monument have a double name, and that the double name is characteristic of Phrygia

in the later inscriptions written in the Greek language—Ates Arkiaevais, Midas Lavaltas the King, Baba Menevais.

ment between the inscription and the tradition according to his theory, and we could only lament that the agreement is not closer. If his theory were the most natural and simple one, we might resign ourselves to the loss of such a historical coincidence. But his theory seems to me decidedly the more artificial and improbable, and therefore I argue so strongly that tradition is exactly confirmed by the monument of Midas.

The theory of M. Perrot would be shown to be less artificial than it seems to me, if he had brought forward examples of the use of cenotaphs in the family religion. Is this a probable style of shrine at which to worship the deified hero of the family, a front like that of a grave, without any altar or any apparent means of worship? He himself, in spite of his explanation, gives the Midas-Monument not among *l'Architecture Religieuse*, but among *l'Architecture Funéraire*. If it be of the character which he maintains, then it strictly belongs to the chapter on religion, and in that case the violence which severs it from every monument that can throw light on it would be apparent.

The very same reasoning that applies to the Midas-Monument would also apply, and is actually applied by M. Perrot, to the monument of Arezastis. But on the latter the inscription shows that Frekyn, son of Akenanolas, erected the monument to his own mother, wife of Akenanolas. Even one who would have admitted a single mythical and eponymous hero may shrink from also admitting a heroine of similar character, mother of the constructor of the monument. A third monument (Perrot, fig. 59), which has the same general character as the Midas-Monument, and which has no grave as yet discovered, wants and always has wanted an inscription, so that we must go on to admit a third commemorative monument,¹ whose author does not think it worth while to mention the name of the legendary ancestor whom he commemorates. A sepulchral monument without an inscription is a natural thing; it is a mark of honour to the dead man. But a commemorative monument without any accompaniment and without any dead person, without any shrine or altar, and with no indication of means of worship, without even the possibility of worship except from a distance, seems an anomaly. M. Perrot himself fully admits the difficulty caused by the want of an inscription. He also practically admits (p. 102) that on his theory one would look for some means or place of worship in connection with these monuments. In the case of the Midas-Monument he finds in a shallow grotto at the left a place for 'receiving the offerings brought to this god and the lamps lighted in his honour.' He ought then to find some analogous arrangements for religious purposes beside the other two monuments, and I am convinced that any person who actually surveys the situation of the monuments (especially that of fig. 58) will appreciate the utter want of anything to suggest religious use. The niches and benches which M. Perrot mentions on p. 105 have not impressed themselves on my memory, and he gives no authority for them. He has not seen them himself, and apparently infers them from the drawings. M. Perrot (p. 105) says: sur

¹ Monument commémoratif, p. 102.

les blocks de rochers qui servent comme de soubassement à la surface travaillé. Mr. Hogarth's memory agrees with mine.

It is true that beside the 'Niobe' at Magnesia, which, like most other recent visitors, I have always maintained to be a cultus-statue of the goddess Cybele, there is the same difficulty of getting close to the image, and the same want of space for assembling to worship near it. But there seems no religious difficulty to prevent more distant worship of the colossal image. In the image there is a deity placed before the eye of the worshipper, but I find nothing to suggest religion in such an ornamental front as these monuments show.

Another argument to prove that the Midas-Monument was a real tomb, was postponed in part I. p. 381. At the left side of the monument is a small three-sided chamber of peculiar shape, with an inscription running round the three sides. It is written from left to right, and begins on the left-hand side. It has been copied several times, and was last published by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1883. According to all the published copies it begins with *as*, after which the end of a word is marked. In 1884, examining the inscription with greater care, I observed that before *a* there were traces of

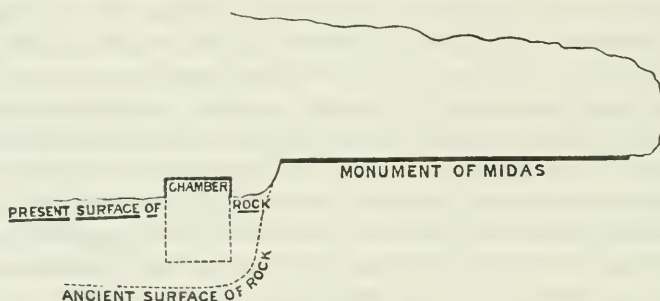


FIG. 16.

another letter, viz. epsilon. The right side of this letter remains, but the middle and the left side have been broken off. Now these letters are about twenty inches in height and four inches in breadth. The remains of the letter are less than an inch broad, and the rest is broken away. Yet the side of the chamber is now sharply at right angles to the surface of the rock. Where then has the rest of the letter stood? Examining more closely, I came confidently to the opinion that the present surface of the rock is the result of recent cleavage, that formerly the rock projected much further forward, and that the chamber was at that time larger than it is at present, and was of course in all probability concealed inside the rock and entered only by a hidden entrance. Exactly the same thing has happened here as happened at the Broken Lion-Tomb. An angle of rock has fallen almost entirely away with perpendicular cleavage,¹ and there remains only the inner end of the chamber. The rest of the chamber was in one or more fragments of the rock which fell away, and which are now either concealed beneath the accumulated

¹ I have on p. 376 mentioned the tendency of this rock to split in vertical surfaces.

soil, or more probably have disintegrated and help to form the accumulation. In the accompanying Fig. 16, drawn not to scale but by eye, I have shown the present ground plan of the monument and the chamber, and have restored in dotted lines the original appearance of the chamber and surrounding rock. The dimensions of the restored chamber are of course quite uncertain and are merely shown to bring the process clearly before the reader. I think it necessary to do this as, though I mentioned this discovery¹ to M. Perrot and thought I had explained it, he in a note p. 102 speaks of '*cette grotte, qui complétée et fermée par des blocs de pierre, aurait été autrefois plus spacieuse.*' He adds the criticism that '*le roc n'a pas gardé la moindre trace qui rende cette conjecture vraisemblable.*' I was not prepared to be so entirely misapprehended. The absurdity of concealing a tomb by building it in an artificial chamber adjoining the rock is patent. My whole point is that the Phrygians were obviously in the habit at an early time of concealing the grave, that in some cases the concealed grave has been found, but that in a few cases the grave has been so well concealed that it has not yet been found. The monuments of Midas and Arezastis are of this class. I believe them to be sepulchral monuments, and propose the theory that the sculptured monument was merely a gigantic stele beside the concealed grave, and that the actual grave of Midas was in the chamber cut in the rock on the left side of the monument. This chamber has now been so much mutilated by the collapse of part of the rock that its original size, form, and arrangement are quite uncertain. The entrance was probably closed by a carefully fitting stone, as is to be presumed from the fact that this method of closing the entrance to a concealed grave was practised in several other Phrygian tombs.

The collapse of the rock and of the supposed grave-chamber deprives us of all opportunity of verifying or disproving the view which is here offered. In 1884 we had an excavation made in the end of the chamber that still remains. About six feet below the present surface of the soil we reached the floor of the chamber. The floor is now rough and irregular (owing to the disintegration to which this stone is liable, especially under the earth), and little evidence could be recovered as to its original arrangement. The present state is not consistent with the view that there was a sepulchral bed at the west end (*i. e.* the remaining end) of the chamber, but may be said almost to favour (or at least not to disprove) the view that there was a sunk grave in the floor of the chamber at this end.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez publish (p. 99, fig. 58) a drawing of the monument, which is represented in my part I. p. 380, fig. 13. The differences are very considerable. M. Perrot says, p. 102, n. 3, '*nous avons contrôlé et rectifié dans quelques détails la planche de Texier au moyen d'une photographie que*

¹ This discovery is no matter of conjecture. I think that any one who examines the rock will come to the conclusion there is no other way of accounting for the loss of the epsilon, except through actual cleavage of the rock. Mere mouldering of the surface does not account for

the loss. I intended to reexamine the place in 1887 along with Mr. Hogarth and get his testimony, but the Circassians, who have recently built a village beside the Midas Tomb, have constructed a store-room in front of the chamber.

nous a communiquée M. Fougères et du croquis de M. Ramsay.' In spite of the photographic support claimed for this drawing, I claim to be right on all points of difference.¹ In 1886 Mr. Hogarth and I examined the monument very carefully with a large outline sketch in our hands. We observed and noted on the sketch that the left side of the pediment was never completed (just as it is given in this *Journal*). M. Perrot gives it as complete. We observed also that on the right side of the pediment the three ornaments at the foot were never completed; and I have made the same observation in my note-book of 1881, comparing the unfinished window of Aladdin's palace. M. Perrot gives them as uniform with the rest. The end of the inscription runs across the lowest ornaments on the right-hand side. M. Perrot puts it below the ornaments. He has adopted my reading of the inscription, but gives it as arranged by Texier.² Texier is wrong: I compared him with the stone, and Hogarth compared my copy with the stone. The ornamentation within the pediment is given by M. Perrot according to my sketch: it cannot be taken from the photograph, because it is to a considerable extent restored, and can be understood only with much difficulty and after very careful examination with a good glass. But one slight difference may be observed between the two illustrations. Small double doors, imitated after wooden doors studded with metal nails and barred, are represented in the pediment. The number of nails in the lower row differs in the two sides of the pediment, six on the left side, four on the right side. M. Perrot gives six in both cases. I noted the difference with special care on the monument. In the ornament along the upper side of the pediment, both Hogarth and I counted twenty lozenges³ on the left side, but M. Perrot gives only seventeen, and they do not give the central acroterion so accurately as the *Journal* shows it. Sir C. Wilson considers that my representation is not entirely accurate. He says that every curve in the acroterion is part of a true circle, and that the circles, arcs of which form the acroterion, are drawn from three centres, viz. the central points of the three small complete circles. This observation, which I believe to be probably true, but which escaped me when examining the monument, adds greatly to the intelligibility of the acroterion. The acroterion of Perrot, fig. 59, has a similar, but more complicated, character.⁴

¹ I know what almost insurmountable difficulties there are to prevent a good photograph being obtained, on account of the position and surroundings of the monument.

² Only three letters extend beyond the ornament in the line below the pediment. Texier made his letters too broad in proportion to their height (all Phrygian letters are tall and thin) and thus makes eight extend beyond the ornament. He could not get the inscription from the photograph, for, as I explain on p. 382, some of the letters are restored. The third, fourth and fifth words are so mutilated that they long baffled all copyists, including myself in 1881 and Sterrett and myself in 1883. In 1884 I

made them out with a good glass, and Hogarth entirely agreed with my copy in 1887. I have restored the letters completely, but there remain only the tops of the ten middle letters.

³ These lozenges are, I think, true squares whose diagonals are at right angles to the sides of the pediment. This is probably true in all monuments of this class, though the point is difficult to determine on a distant view.

⁴ A swallow's nest perched between the two horns of the acroterion is represented and exaggerated in M. Perrot's drawing, and in the sketch by Mr. Blunt, which I showed to M. Perrot and which is attributed to me.

The representation given in fig. 13 approximates to the truth, but does not actually hit it in this respect. It gives, however, the general arrangement of the different elements correctly, while M. Perrot's drawing arranges them quite wrongly, though it gives more truly the concentric impression.¹

As to the situation of the monument, MM. Perrot and Chipiez are very good in the upper part, but unsuccessful in the lower part. I had intended to devote two plates to this monument, one giving the ornament as restored, the other a side view to show the surroundings, for it is not possible to show the situation of the monument and all the details in one plate. But, as it was found that I was illustrating too lavishly, I had to suppress the second plate. The monument is situated in a sort of niche, so that the plan is this:—

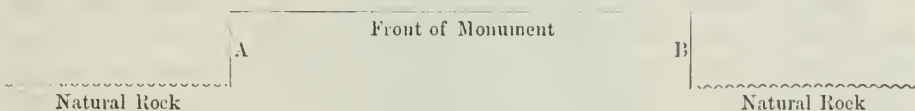


FIG. 17.

A and B are the two rough-hewn sides of the niche. They begin close to the edge of the sculptured surface. Part of the inscription² is engraved on side B, but is represented by MM. Perrot and Chipiez on the natural rock outside the niche. The ground beneath the monument is represented in M. Perrot's illustration as much more level than it really is, and the sculpture is really much further away from any possible position of the spectator. Hence it is very difficult to obtain any measurements, as I mentioned on p. 382, and the uncut rock overhead projects so much beyond the plane of the sculpture that measurements cannot be made by dropping a line from above.

The uppermost inscription is given correctly by MM. Perrot and Chipiez. It is engraved on the natural rock above the niche. The upper line however should not be so regularly parallel to the lower line as they give it, but forms a wider curve, much more distant from the lower line at the word *aftaz* than it is at the beginning and end.

The analogy between this monument and the one which is represented by MM. Perrot and Chipiez on p. 103, pl. 59,³ becomes far more striking when the former is studied in the correct drawing.

The imitation of woodwork, probably, as M. Perrot recognized, covered with bronze and studded with nails or bolts, is strongly marked in these and

¹ M. Perrot and I agree as to the number of squares in the horizontal band of ornament below the inscription. Sir C. Wilson thinks we have one too many, and I think he is right; yet it is hard to believe that M. Perrot, with a photograph before him (which I have not seen), could be wrong on such a point.

² The words *acz* and *atanizen*, *kurzanezon*, *ta*. When I suppressed the second drawing which I originally intended to give, I added these words

at the side of the first, thus making it inaccurate; but I wished to give the inscription complete. From the point of view of fig. 13 these symbols at the side cannot be seen.

³ The 'croquis de M. Ramsay' used to correct Texier is really Mr. Blunt's drawing. Mr. Blunt was successful with this and with the Midas-Tomb: he is not represented in the *Journal* by his best work.

in several other Phrygian monuments. This imitation sometimes shows an utter disregard of the nature of the material. In the little doors within the pediment, as shown in fig. 13, p. 380, the bars which hold the *valvae* shut by being passed through holes in two prominent bolts are quite free and separate from the surface of the *valvae*. In the soft friable stone this construction cannot last, and therefore the bars are now very much decayed, and it requires some study to discern the original intention.

The monument shown by M. Perrot on fig. 59 is really more accessible than that on fig. 58. One can get close up to it, and with a little trouble nearly touch the lower part of the ornamentation. He however shows 58 as more accessible than 59.¹ This monument (fig. 59) ought to be shown on my plan, fig. 11, p. 375, between the gates C and E, but has been omitted.

Riding northward along the winding valley, from the Midas-Tomb past the Tomb of Arezastis (Fig. 13), we reach a wider part of the valley where three water-courses meet and flow away to the east.² Opposite us towards the left is the Doric-Tomb, published by Perrot, Fig. 91 after Texier, and about 150 yards towards the N.N.E. from it is another tomb, on the front of which is the relief represented in Fig. 18. This relief is on the eastern face of an isolated rock, about twenty-five feet in height. In the upper part of the rock is a sepulchral chamber, with a small door looking eastwards at the top of a vertical face of rock which is cut sharp down nearly to the ground. The character of this sepulchre is therefore exactly that of the one at Yapuldak, which was published in this *Journal*, 1882, Pl. XXVIII. (Perrot, Fig. 75), and which will be further described in the course of this paper (Fig. 27). In both cases I think that the sepulchre was constructed by working from the small door. As this door is now high up in a vertical face of rock, it must either have been reached by a scaffolding, or else the rock has been cut down vertically after the sepulchre was hollowed out. The workman made the door, and then gradually cut the chamber out of the rock. On the outside they carved a relief beside or below the door, and this completes the monument. In later time the sepulchral chamber in each monument has been broken into from behind, and traces of Christian handiwork and graffiti are found in both. The resemblance of this monument to that of Yapuldak leaves no doubt that they belong to the same period.

This method of constructing a grave was very common in Phrygia at an early period, and I have seen numerous examples of it in other parts of Asia Minor. There are many tombs of the same kind, except that they have no sculpture on the outside, beside the Lion-Tombs; and the sepulchral chambers of the latter must have been made in this way. It is rarer around the Midas city, and we may conclude that it is the older Phrygian style. After the grave was finished, and the scaffolding removed, the chamber was inaccessible except by a ladder, or by a rope hung from the top of the rock. This at first was

¹ These points are of course of no practical importance, as they do not affect the ornamentation. I merely mention them for the sake of completeness.

² See the map, which M. Perrot has given fig. 47. The monument which is here given as fig. 18 is near the one which is there numbered 3.

apparently deemed sufficient protection, but afterwards the custom of concealing the sepulchre behind or near the sculptured front came into vogue.

The sculpture shown in Fig. 18 is very much worn, and was originally in very low relief. A channel has been formed by the rain from above through

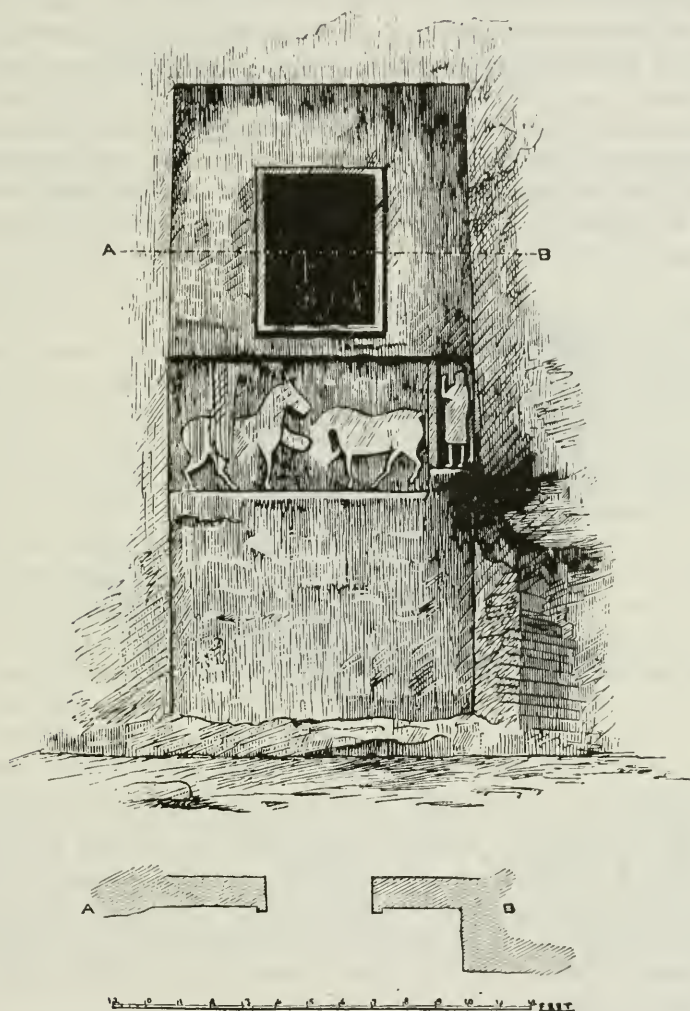


FIG. 18.

the middle of the horse on the left, and the surface is overgrown with a hard species of moss, so that the outline is hardly distinguishable. After repeated examination I made the accompanying drawing,³ which represents as well as

³ Redrawn as usual, without the slightest alteration in character, by Mr. McCann.

I can the subject. The subject seems to be a fight between two horses. Between their heads are unintelligible traces, which now seem like mere raised lines. At first I took the animal on the right for a bull and understood the raised lines to be his horns; but the position of the lines is not suitable, and I came to the final conclusion that both animals are horses. In a small panel to the right there is carved a human figure, represented with the same shapeless features, the same curve of the back, and the same dress and attitude, as several of the figures of the dromos, about whose antiquity M. Perrot is sceptical, and to which I shall allude again in a subsequent paragraph.

On the plan of the Midas-city (Fig 11) there is marked at the extreme eastern point a 'Relief M' ¹ The very rude figures on the outside of this monument (Fig. 19) should be compared with the similar figures on the ram, drawn by Mr. Blunt, Pl. XX. They show helpless incapacity to render either

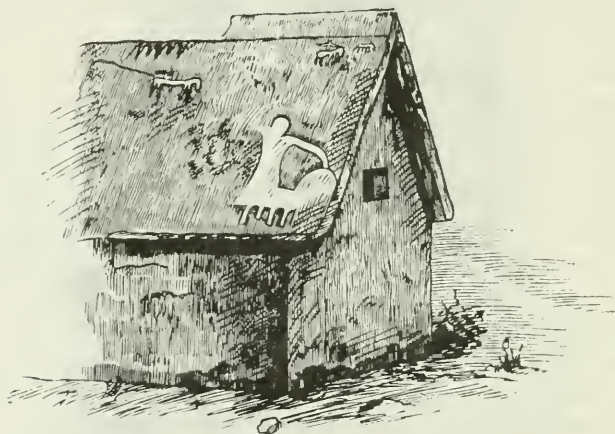


FIG. 19.

human or animal form. The tomb on the outside of which they are engraved is of the same general type, as that at Bakshish (Perrot, Figs. 61—3), about which I intend to speak at greater length elsewhere when I have the opportunity of publishing a better representation. It projects from the rocky plateau, being cut so that it is engaged at the back but free on all other sides. The monument is more lofty and narrow than Fig. 19 would suggest. The photographs of it failed.

Another point on which I regret to differ in opinion from M. Perrot is in regard to the age of the sculptures along the dromos at Gate D. In the plan of the Midas-city, Fig. 11, a long dromos is shown approaching this gate. The dromos is flanked on each side by fortifications,² and its character shows

¹ The words 'Tomb with relief of hunt' refer to the same monument, and I wished them to be erased from the proof of the map.

² In the large drawing from which Fig. 11 is reduced, the various remains of fortification were shown in different colours. One who

decided analogy to the dromos which leads up to the Lion-Gate at Mycenae. The plan of the entrance is given on a larger scale in Fig. 12.¹

Two approaches probably led to this dromos up the steep slope beneath the rocky plateau. One of these approaches is nearly in the line of the dromos, keeping close below the city wall for some considerable distance. The other winds up to join the first at the lower end of the dromos. The sculptures in dispute are carved along the rock beneath the city wall flanking the dromos on the right hand as one approaches the gate: they are at the points marked D, C, B, A, on the large plan (Fig. 12). They are described in my *Studies in Asia Minor*, pp. 6 to 8. The sketches there published were drawn in 1881 by Mrs. Ramsay, who had not intended them for publication and made no measurements, but they give the general character of the figures quite correctly. These figures I consider to be really ancient, while M. Perrot considers them to be late. But as it has been necessary to defer the publication of the illustrations to support my view, I shall here say only that I adhere to my view as to the date of the sculptures.²

Within the city there remain several altars more or less dilapidated: their shape can be gathered better from the drawings, Figs. 20 to 24, than from any description. Each of these altars seems to have been intended for the worship of an object, which is perhaps a holy stone (*βαίτυλος*). In two cases these holy stones remain (Figs. 20, 23): in the others they have been broken away, leaving clear traces in the rock. In the illustrations the holy stones are restored on the analogy of the two preserved stones. The general form of the altars is always the same: a flight of steps leads up to the *βαίτυλος*, allowing priests or worshippers to ascend and pour oil or other gifts on the sacred emblem. In one case (Fig. 23) the *βαίτυλος* has on it slight sculptural ornament, doubtless of an apotropaic character. Where the *βαίτυλοι* are broken, the destruction was perhaps intentional, and it is not improbable that there were symbols on them which led to their destruction as emblems of devil-worship by the Christians.

Beside one of these altars there is a curious little relief representing Cybele facing, seated, holding a patera in each hand. The altar and relief are published in the *Journal*, 1882, p. 42, Fig. 9. They stand close to the line of the city wall, near the monument shown above Fig. 19: but they are inside the wall, while Fig. 19 is outside. The small steps in the front of the illustration are badly done, they really are marks of the beds in which the stones of the parapet were laid.³ It is remarkable that the altar should

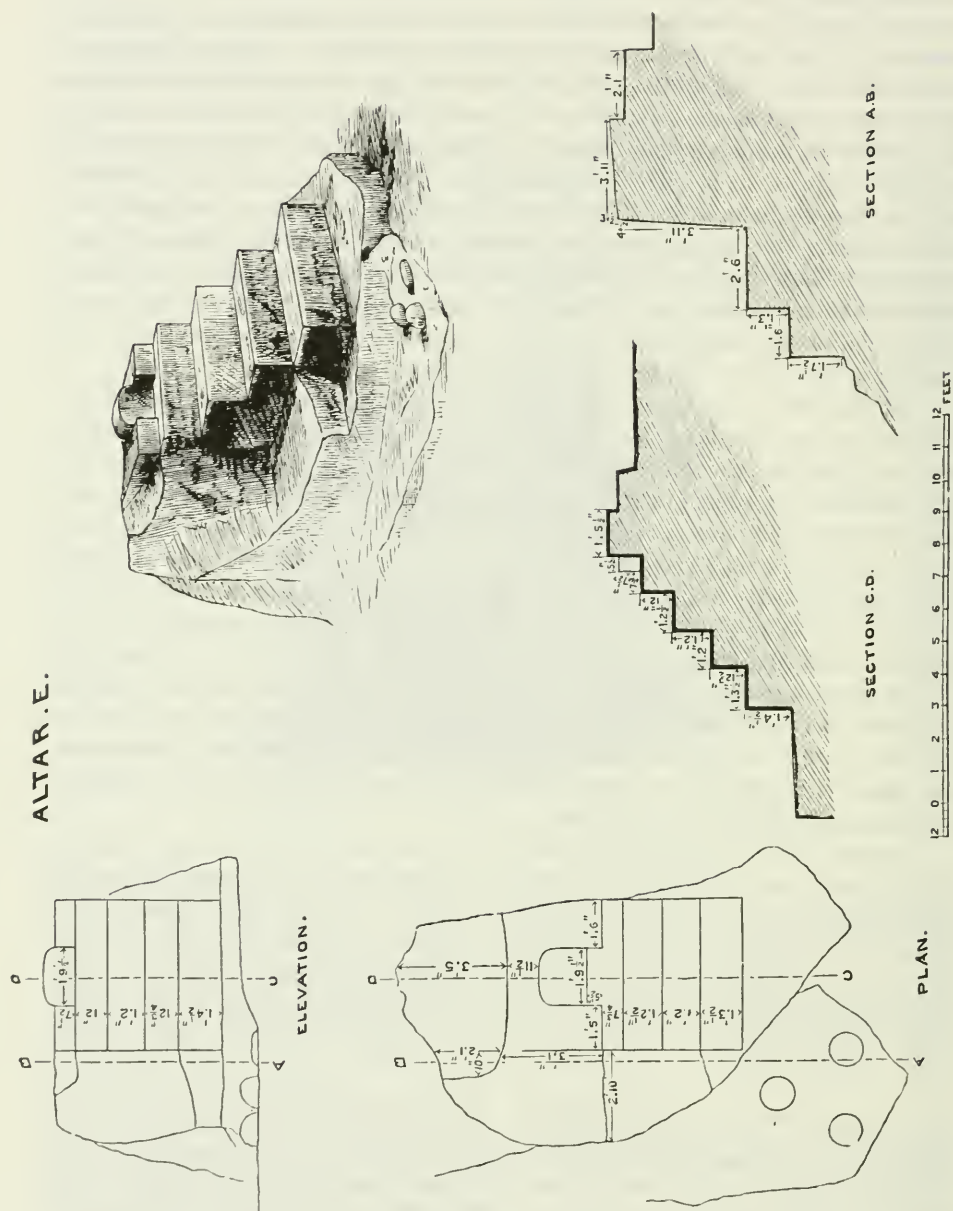
wishes to understand the arrangement of the fortifications must colour the remains in Fig. 11 in order to see them readily. The plan has been so much reduced in scale that it has lost all clearness.

¹ The word OUTWORK is by mistake printed a little too high in Fig. 12. It is placed almost outside of the probable line of fortification and on the dromos.

² The illustrations have now appeared in the

Athenische Mittheilungen, 1889, p. 170ff. My reasons for holding these reliefs to be ancient, are (1) they are in all probability made along with the dromos, (2) the curve of the back, which seems of late style to M. Perrot, appears in figures which are unmistakably ancient (see above, Fig. 18, and *Mittheil.*, Fig. 4).

³ A step too many is represented in front of the altar in the illustration. The drawing from which it was taken was done by Mrs. Ramsay



be so close to the wall. It is indicated on the plan, Fig. 12, close to the more southerly of the two 'probable gates' at the eastern extremity of the city.

The altar shown in Fig. 20 lies S.W. from the preceding, and is marked on the plan (Fig. 11) as altar E. It is still quite complete, and the details given in Fig. 20 show its nature much better than any mere verbal description would do. It also is close to the wall of the city. In front of this altar, on the left side, are three circular prominences of rock, which were left when the rest of the altar and surroundings was cut out of the rock. They are now so broken that their original height and shape are uncertain.

Altar D stands close to the chief gate (the only entrance practicable for vehicles) of the city, at the inner end of the dromos. Its position on the right as one entered was no doubt intended to give a favourable omen, and it is like the preceding two altars, closely connected with the city wall. When the dromos was cut out of the rock, the altar was left projecting from the scarpd rock-wall. It cannot therefore have been made as an after-thought; it is part of the original plan of this entrance to the city. All the details of this altar and the reliefs which accompany it are given in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 170 ff., tafel vi. and figs. 4, 5. In front of the altar on the left are three circular holes, apparently intended to hold three cylinders which should project and give a grip for some purpose. They may be compared to the three circular prominences in a similar position beside altar E, Fig. 20. This altar faces nearly due S.E. (138°).

To explain the position of the next altar, it is necessary to describe the approaches to the gate beside D.

In Fig. 12 the traces that remain of the fortified outwork flanking the dromos on the right as one descends are indicated. It must be remembered in studying this plan that the road, which at the gate is on the level of the plateau, slopes downwards. As one descends from the gate along the road, the rock-wall overhanging one's left hand becomes higher, while the fortified outwork on the right must have been almost wholly built artificially. About fifty yards from the gate the dromos forks: one branch turns sharply to the right, and the other goes straight on. Advancing along the winding road we have still on our right hand the outwork, which rises above us higher as we descend. At one point there are distinct remains of steps leading up into the outwork; these steps are probably beds intended to receive the stones of the outwork. This extremity of the outwork was of irregular form, a trapezoid approximating to a triangle. Not far from the steps there is an inscription engraved on a perpendicular face of rock, which formed part of the outer wall of the outwork.¹ Above the inscription are traces of the beds for holding the squared stones of the fortified wall.

in 1881, merely to assist her memory without any thought of publication. The task of preparing drawings for publication belonged to Mr. Blunt, who however had in truth not time enough to do himself justice.

¹ This inscription differs only in one word and two letters from the one on the right side of the Midas-Tomb. I advance a suggestion about its interpretation at the end of this paper.

On the other side of the postern gate the wall of the outwork, a vertical face of rock ten to twelve feet in height, continues towards the south-west. Projecting from this rock is an altar of peculiar shape, represented in the accompanying Fig. 21.¹ On account of its shape, M. Perrot, p. 149, remarks on the resemblance to a Christian altar, but the pagan origin is made practically certain by the situation and by the inscription, now mutilated, on the rock over it. The connection of the inscription with the altar seems sure. Only the lower parts of a few letters remain at the beginning of the inscription. I have published them in the *Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia*, part iii., no. 4, and give here the transcript in Roman character : *abusimanakio*. The inscriptions always mark the separation of words ; and as no punctuation occurs here, we must have one single long incomplete word. The inscription, which runs from left to right, continued for an unknown extent, but probably not far beyond the outer line of the altar-steps.

M. Perrot's idea that the altar might be Christian is probably partly true: I mean that the altar was perhaps adapted from a pagan to a Christian purpose. There may have been some pagan symbol, which was eliminated by making the little niche at the top—*une niche qui a pu recevoir une lampe ou une statuette : on dirait l'autel d'une chapelle chrétien*. All the other altars show some symbol or object that could be adored and anointed.

The altars hitherto described are all placed in close and obviously intentional connection with the wall of the city ; they are probably intended to ward off evil fate from the defences. Several other representations, also, of apotropaic character, occur round the walls.² Of the other altars, F (Fig. 22), B (Fig. 24), and C (which is so much broken that its original form is doubtful), are in close connection with a large mansion or palace, if I may dignify with such a name the scanty traces described in the first part of this paper, p. 377. These altars probably had a similar apotropaic character. The remaining altar, A, Fig. 23, stands in a perfectly clear open space ; in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 14, I have stated the opinion that it is an apotropaion, and see no reason to change. The drawings will it is hoped give a sufficiently accurate idea of these quaint monuments. Altars A and F face 111°, D 138°. On the upper surface of F there are two rectangular holes, which seem to have been cut to receive the feet of some sacred object (or statue).

The inscription on altar A is the most difficult of all the Phrygian inscriptions to read. By some accident the text is given in Fig. 23 with a slight fault : it should read 'mogro : fanak.' The inscription was apparently not continued on the broken right side of the altar, for, if it had been, there must have been traces on the part which remains. The letters are much

¹ I may here once for all acknowledge the skill with which Mr. McCann has from my measurements reproduced the form of these altars in perspective. To make drawings of objects which he had never seen was a very difficult task, and has been performed very skilfully.

² If my theory that the Midas monument is

a grave is untrue, I see no other possibility except to ascribe a similar character to it, to Perrot's Fig. 59, and to the monument given in my *Historical Relations*, Plate III., Fig. 10. These are all carved under the city walls. As I have stated above, M. Perrot's theory that they are commemorative cenotaphs suits none of the facts.

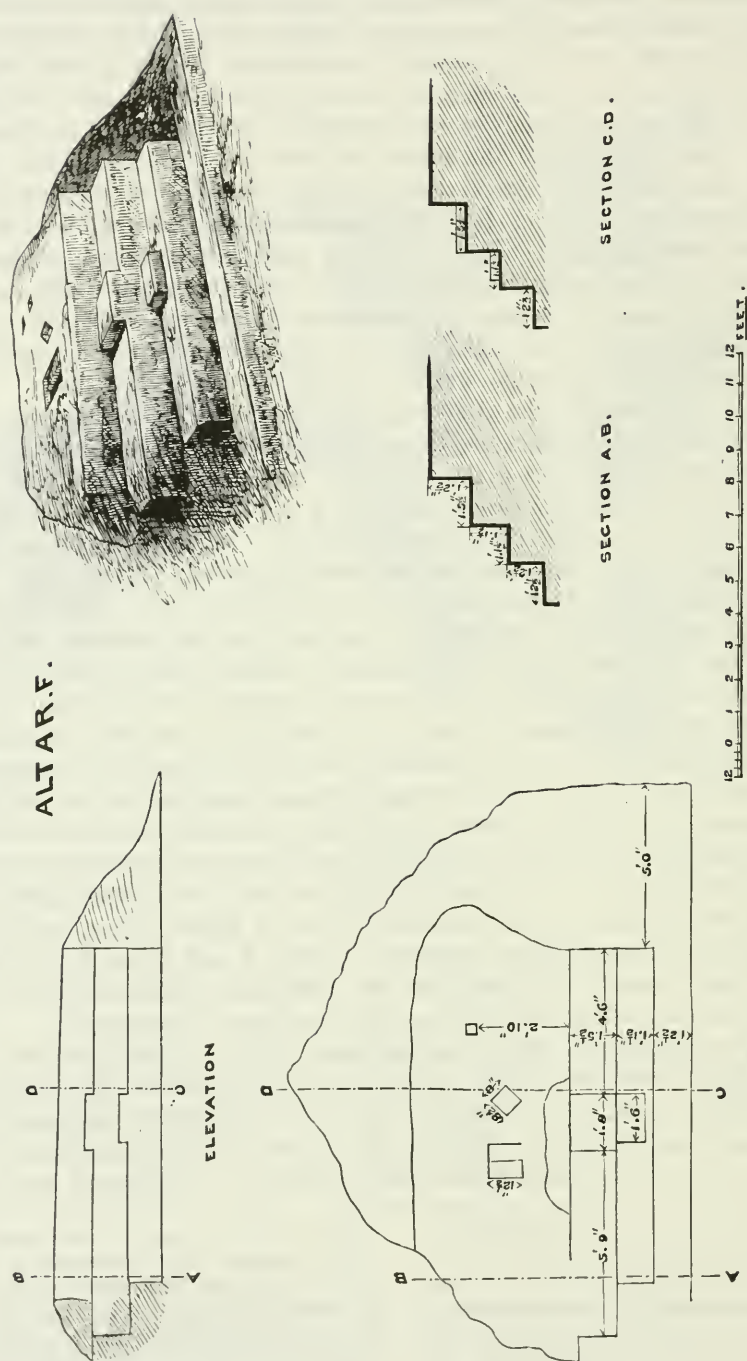
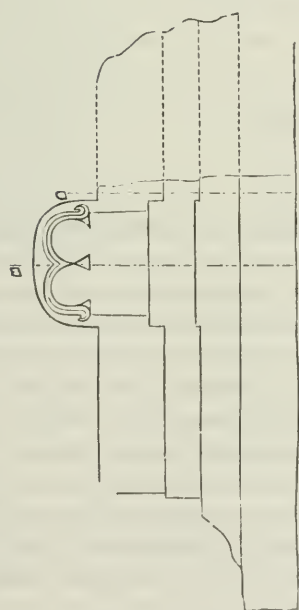
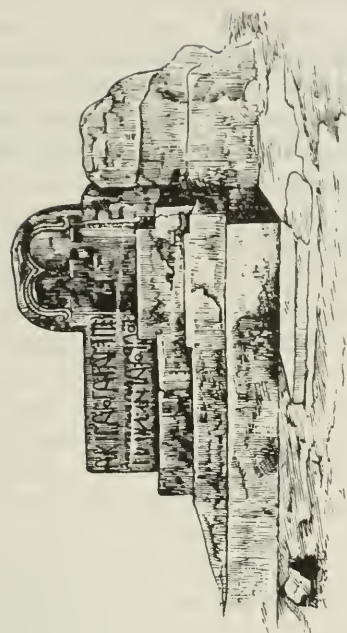
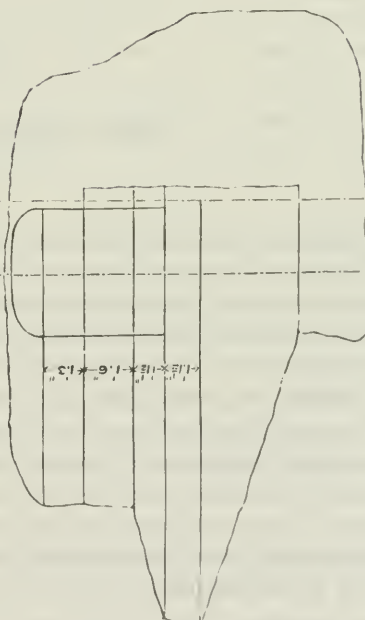


FIG. 22.

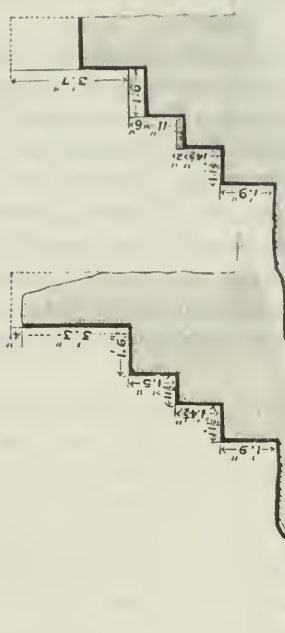
ALTAR.A.



ELEVATION



PLAN.



SECTION A.B.

SECTION C.D.



FIG. 23.

worn, and I cannot therefore guarantee the absolute accuracy of my copy, in several letters of which I have been forced to alter my first opinion.¹ The accusative 'akinanolafan' is an important form in comparison with the genitive 'akenanolafos.' I regard 'fanak' as accusative for 'fanaktan,' like 'bonok' on the tomb of Arezastis.

Altar B, Fig. 24, which is much broken, is given in plan to show the single circular prominence of rock, similar to the three shown in Fig. 20.

A tomb with a façade of the Doric order, which is near Fig. 18, has been mentioned above. M. Perrot gives a representation of it as Fig. 91, after Texier. I recognised in 1881 that this monument furnished a good test for the date of the late Phrygian tombs, and had the hope that a careful and accurate representation of the details might enable students of Greek architecture to determine the age to which it belonged. That it is influenced by Greek architecture is of course obvious to every one; but we should be glad to have some certainty whether it belongs to the fourth century before

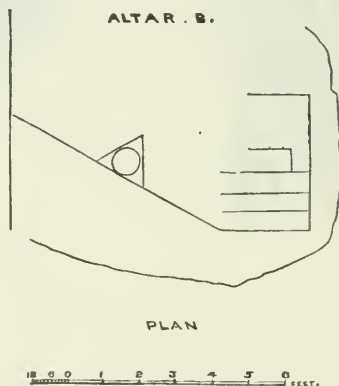


FIG. 24.

or the third century after our era. Mr. Blunt made notes and copies of Texier's drawing before we started from Smyrna in October, 1881, in order to compare them with the original monument. His opinion after making the comparison was that Texier's drawing was so inaccurate that new illustrations were necessary, but he has not given over to the Society any drawing of his own. Probably he found that his own notes made on the spot were not complete enough; and when we consider the circumstances in which he was placed, I cannot wonder if he omitted some necessary details. It was late in the afternoon of a bitterly cold November day when we came to the monument. I was nearly frozen while waiting for more than an hour with him to help in his measurements, and his sketches and notes of the points in which he considered Texier unsatisfactory were therefore made under great difficulties.

¹ Stewart's copy is barely recognisable as the same inscription, though in general his copies of

the Phrygian inscriptions are better than those of Texier, Mordtmann, or even Leake.

We had afterwards to ride two hours in the darkness over a rough forest track back to camp, and the following morning we left the district, so that another visit to the monument was out of our power. Anxious as I was to get a trustworthy representation of this monument, I can only regret that circumstances frustrated our intentions.

M. Perrot considers that, according to Texier's drawing, the Doric-Tomb is of the 'Roman Doric' (p. 138). I should be glad if it could be placed about 300 B.C., but I have no right to offer an opinion about a question of architecture. My recollection, however, is that the monument has a more massive character than Texier represents, and that the slenderness of the proportions, which betrays to M. Perrot's taste the late, so-called 'Roman,' Doric, is partly due to Texier's brilliant imagination.

The reasons given below in connection with Figs. 28—33 make me prefer M. Perrot's first alternative '*pas antérieur au temps des Séleucides*,' and make me averse to dating any Phrygian monument between B.C. 260 and A.D. 200.

Another tomb, which so far as can be judged from the ruins, was similar in style and very nearly of the same dimensions as the preceding, is carved in an isolated mass of rocks close to the Tomb of Midas on the north side. Of this tomb, only the front of the sepulchral chamber and part of the ceiling of the portico now remain; the rest has fallen, and of the ruins the soft stone has crumbled and disappeared. But so recently as the year 1800, this monument was almost perfect, and Leake describes it as follows. 'Close by [the Tomb of Midas] is a very large sepulchral chamber with a portico, of two columns . . . The columns have a plain plinth at the top, and are surmounted by a row of dentils along the architrave. They are of a tapering form, which together with the general proportions of the work, give it an appearance of the Doric order, although, in fact, it contains none of the distinctive attributes of that order. It is an exact resemblance of the ordinary cottages of the peasants, having a portico supported by two posts made broader at either end. The sepulchral chambers differ only in having their parts more accurately finished: the dentils correspond to the ends of the beams supporting the flat roof of the cottage' (pp. 34—5). The details which remain convince me that this tomb is not far removed in date from the period of the Doric Tomb; but as the columns are not Doric, it shows an earlier stage of Phrygian art, and Leake's opinion is probably correct that the elements of the architecture are all of native non-Greek origin. When Doric columns were substituted for the plain native supports of the portico, the general proportions of the native portico were retained, so that even if Texier's slender proportions are accurate, M. Perrot's inference that the monument was imitated from 'Roman Doric' would not be necessary.

About five miles west of the Midas-Tomb (Yazili Kaya) is the large village of Kumbet, planted on a rocky hill in the middle of a level plain. The hill is of an elongated shape, and rises highest at the northern end, where the rocks either are scarped or fall naturally in precipices to the plain. A good view of Kumbet is given by M. Perrot, Fig. 45. There are traces which

make it probable that the whole hill was once fortified in the same way as the Midas-city, viz. by scarped precipitous faces of rock, supplemented by artificial walls; but the modern houses make it impossible to follow out these scanty traces completely. The only interesting remains now visible on the rock are at the northern end. The rocks here have been cut so as to form a mansion or palace of considerable size, the ground plan and some details of which are shown in Fig. 25. The lower part of the walls was hewn out of the native rock, and the upper part was built of squared stones which fitted into beds cut in the rock. In some places the rock walls remain eight to ten feet in height, while in other places the building began close to the ground.

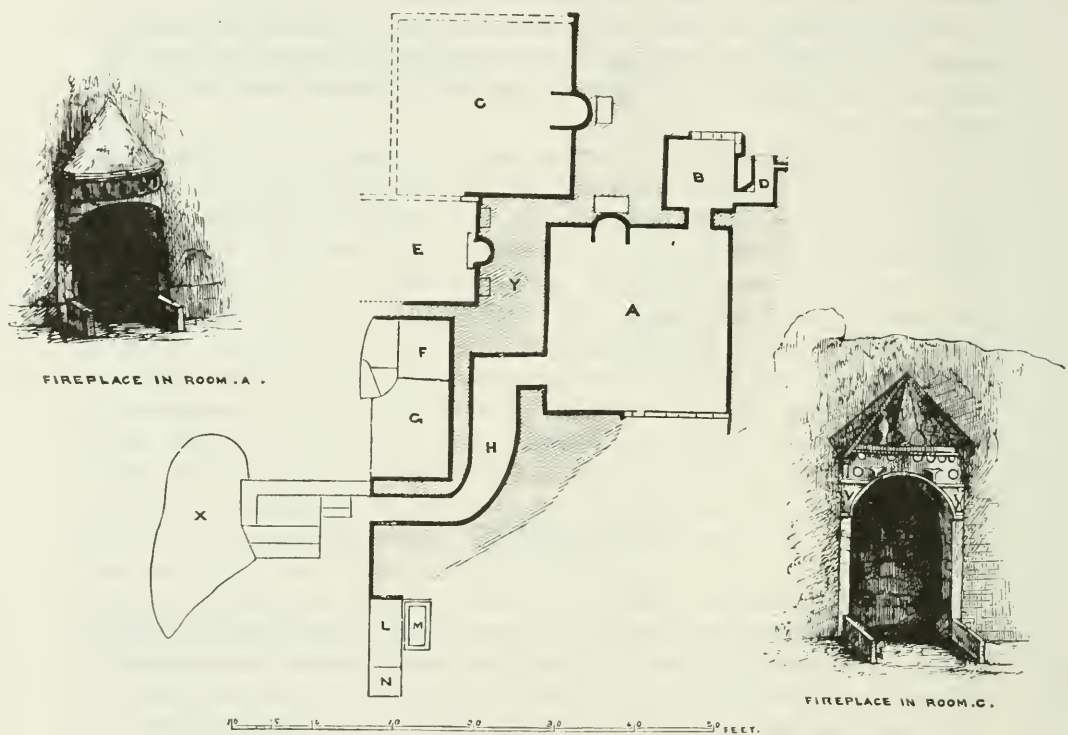


FIG. 25.

One enters by a flight of low broad steps cut in the rock into a space, the disposition of which is obscure, but which apparently contained several parts. On the right F, G, are above the level of this entrance or vestibule. Through this space we reach a chamber, E, which has apparently been turned into a chapel in Christian times: the eastern end has the appearance of a Greek church. Beyond this is a large chamber, C, with a fire-place and wide chimney in the eastern wall. The rock rises so high here that in M. Perrot's Fig. 45 it stands forth like an altar. The floor of these two chambers is covered several feet deep with earth. We employed several workmen in

1887 for a day to run trenches across them and show the ground plan. In this way we recovered the exact form of the fire-places shown in Fig. 25. The northern limit of the chamber, C, is given both by the end of the rock and by the recess cut in the east wall of rock to receive the stones of the north wall. The east wall and half of the south wall were of rock for part of their height, but the other walls must have been built from the floor upwards. We did not succeed in running a trench far enough to discover the line of the west wall, but I have indicated it conjecturally on the plan. The ornamentation over the fire-place is so commonplace and vulgar that I cannot accept it as ancient. Now the natives say that the house was inhabited until this century by a native Agha, and a few traces of walls built in miserable Turkish style remain to confirm their evidence. This ornament may be attributed to the modern inhabitants, but the fire-place must be ancient, both because the lower part projects into the chamber, and because the great cutting of the chimney cannot be attributed to Turkish hands.¹

Going back to the entrance we observe that the lower steps do not extend so far to the east as the upper step, and two small steps lead down towards a narrow passage cut in the rock. The passage, H, winds along, growing rather wider as we advance, between walls of rock about eight feet high, till we emerge into a large, nearly square chamber, A, with a fire-place in the north wall. Part of the south wall must have been built from the floor, the rest of the walls was cut out of the rock. In the north wall of the chamber there is a doorway, which admits into a small inner chamber, B, part of the north wall of which was built from the floor upwards. A narrow door in the east wall admits into a third still smaller chamber, D. A hurried excavation which I made in this chamber showed a small runlet cut through the wall of rock, and in the only place where we reached the floor we found an apparent paving of a different kind of stone. I therefore considered this to be a bath-room with a runlet to carry off the water. The reader will remember that the outer limit marked on the plan, Fig. 25, towards east and north is the edge of a precipice about 100 feet high.

It is clear that in this Phrygian mansion the public apartments are separate from the Gynaikonitis. We enter the harem through the winding passage, and reach first the large women's sitting-room, then the little bedroom, and finally the bath-room.² The arrangements, while showing that seclusion of women was practised, also suggest by their small scale that monogamy was the Phrygian custom.

The fire-place in A must be wholly ancient, for the upper part projects in a semicircular form from the wall of the chamber. It may however have been tampered with in recent times, and especially the roughly cut holes

¹ Fire-places of the very same type are in use at the present day.

² M. Perrot, on p. 77, attributes to me an opinion, which I never for a moment held, that these rooms were bed-room, dressing-room, and bath-room. A sitting-room is a necessary part

of a harem, and a large chamber with a fire-place can never have been used for a bed-room. He also, on p. 76, makes the larger northern room of the *ἀνδρωνίτις* a Christian chapel; it is the smaller middle chamber that has been used for that purpose.

which form a zone of ornament in the upper part, seem to be modern. On the other hand the upper part of the fire-place in C is indicated by incised lines or low relief on the rock-wall; and great part of the ornament may be, and probably is, modern.

On the outside of this house, as we approach the stairs, there is a high rock on the right hand, containing a grave, M, and a lower bench, L, in front of it. The grave is deep, and was originally covered by a lid, the marks of which remain.

A few yards south of the house is an important monument which has been carefully studied and illustrated by M. Perrot, first in his *Exploration Archéologique*, and afterwards in his *Histoire de l'Art*, v. pp. 128 ff. Prof. G. Hirschfeld¹ has rightly denounced a tendency which I think both M. Perrot and myself had indulged over much, viz. to attribute to Greek influence everything in these later monuments that had a resemblance to Greek architecture. The whole question is one of degree. It is certain that there is clear evidence of Greek influence in Phrygia, but it is equally certain that the Phrygian art developed independently of Greek and mainly under influence from the East. Even in the earliest period the alphabet is Greek; I do not think there is any need to give reasons to prove the so evident fact that Phrygia borrowed the Greek alphabet, and not Greece the Phrygian. Before the Cimmerian invasion, there is probably no trace of Greek influence on Phrygian art; any analogies are rather to be explained by Phrygian influence on Greece. In the time of the Phrygian vassal-chiefs first under Lydian, then under Persian rule, the question becomes more difficult. How early did Greek influence penetrate into Phrygia? Had it no power in Phrygia until Alexander established Greek rule there, or had the subtly expansive civilisation of Greece diffused itself even earlier and established in the way of trade a certain inclination towards Greek deliverers from Persian rule, which perhaps facilitated the conquest of Alexander? An answer cannot be given until, as I suggested to the Society in the summer of 1881, a draughtsman with good architectural training is sent out to make a proper study of the later monuments. Such an expedition would cost far more than my humble journeys do, but unless an expedition is properly equipped, it cannot make the accurate observations which are necessary to settle this question.² The preceding paragraphs referring to the Doric Tomb and to Leake's Tomb show what close analogy there may be between two tombs, one of which is unmistakably under Greek influence in respect of the columns, while the other is probably absolutely non-Greek. Again in respect of this tomb at Kumbet and another at Yapuldak (see Figs. 28—33), the analogy

¹ 'Paphlagonische Felsengrüber' in *Berl. Akad. Abhandl.*, 1885. I am glad to agree with almost everything that Hirschfeld says about the relations between Greek and Phrygian art, though I have been forced to dissent from some of his opinions on Syro-Cappadocian art (see *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1889, p. 171 ff.).

² The journey of 1884, in which Mr. A. H. Smith co-operated with me till his health failed, was the only one in which I have had anything like proper equipment for accurate work; but the Asia Minor Exploration Fund could not stand another expedition on such a scale.

between them, already noticed by M. Perrot (p. 135), is in one respect even closer than he observes. The gorgoneion which appears on the outside of the Kumbet Tomb, is the chief ornament, repeated in fantastic varieties, within the Yapuldak Tomb.¹ At the first glance I felt clear that the Yapuldak Tomb must be Roman, yet I have since then been constrained to abandon this opinion and to place it as one of the latest monuments before the Gaulish invasion. M. Perrot places these two monuments unhesitatingly as contemporaneous, but he does not take any notice of the interior of the Yapuldak Tomb.² It is the interior which produces such an impression of Roman work, but technical considerations leave no doubt that the interior is of the same age as the exterior. The difficulty then is this: the Kumbet tomb is clearly pre-Greek, the Yapuldak exterior has a striking resemblance to it in character and proportions and details, and has little or nothing of the Greek type about it, but the Yapuldak interior with its peculiar type of gorgoneion, which seems late and even Roman, belongs to the same design as the exterior. My own impression is that Persian art has exercised much more influence in Phrygia than Greek art during the fifth century, that the type of tomb which is now under discussion shows Phrygian work under Persian influence, and that the gorgoneion and the Doric column are the first signs of Greek influence.

The plan of the Acropolis at Yapuldak which I give depends on insufficient measurements. I began to make the plan when pressed for time and after two hours' work went off with the intention of returning the next day. Circumstances changed my intention, and on this account I am reduced to give a plan, Fig. 26, of which I can guarantee only that it gives a general idea of the character of the Acropolis. I know that further examination would give the lines of the surrounding wall more fully.

The hill on which the Acropolis is placed is rocky and precipitous on the east side and is approached by a gentle grassy slope on the west side. A number of rocks of elongated plan project above the general level of the acropolis and are utilised in the lines of fortification. F is a mass of rock which on its western side rises about twenty feet above the level of the Acropolis, and 100 above the level of the plain on the eastern side. It has been scarpd to some extent on every side, and has been cut to receive a wall which probably ran entirely round it and which rested in part against the rock.³ In this rock is cut the monument published by Perrot, Fig. 75, after *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 256, and Plate XXVIII. 4.

South of F is another rock, along the outer face of which runs the line of fortification, while part of its inner face has been utilised along with F to form a dwelling-place. An exit from this dwelling passes through a sort of

¹ Stewart represents one gorgoneion clearly, and I felt no hesitation in identifying the ornament as a gorgoneion; but MM. Perrot and Guillaume were not so certain about it. But even M. Perrot admits that a number of smaller gorgoneia exist (Fig. 87).

² I showed to him the very same illustrations (drawn in Oxford in 1885), which have been reproduced as Figs. 29-33.

³ A method of construction similar to that of the 'Wall of Romulus' on the Palatine.

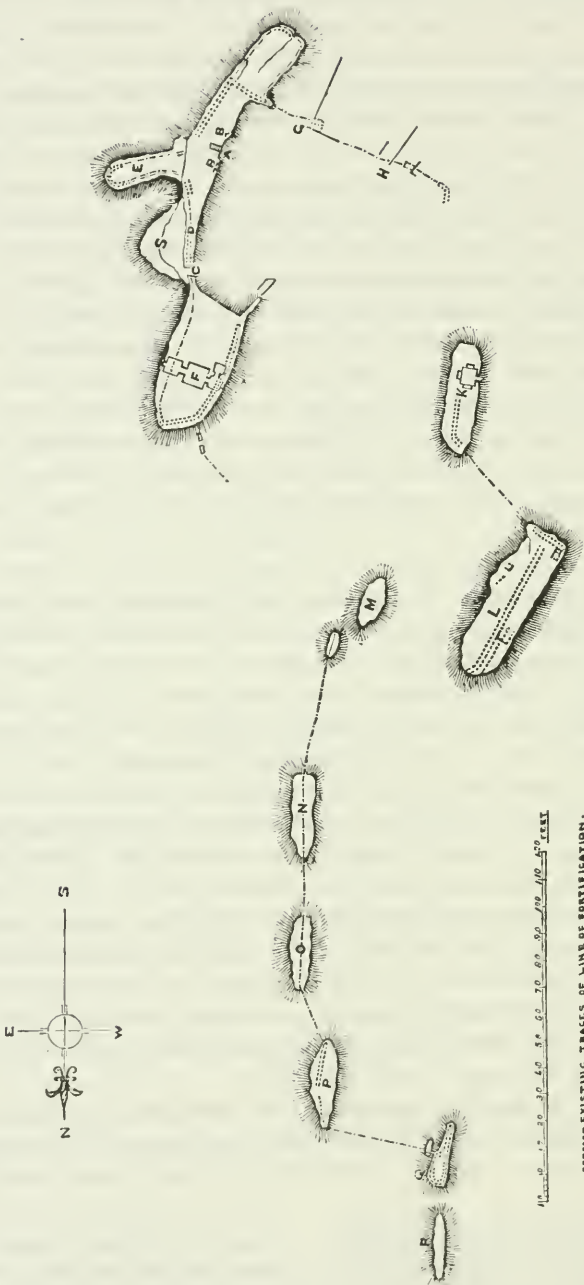


FIG. 26.

----- EXISTING TRACES OF LINE OF FORTIFICATION.
----- PROBABLE LINE OF FORTIFICATION.

doorway, C, on to a platform, S, outside the wall, but high above the plain and absolutely inaccessible from it. BB seem to mark the insertion of blocks of stone belonging to the walls of this dwelling. A is a staircase, which leads down into the rock. It is blocked about twenty steps down: from above one can see no trace of an entrance to the staircase at the bottom of the rock, which suggests the idea that it originally led down to a spring of water within the rock.¹ At G or at H there may have been a gate: the rock is here low and there is much cutting in it. From this point and round the western side the acropolis is accessible.

K is a rock scarped both inside and outside. Several tombs are cut in the outside: one is an *arcosolium*, another is shown in Figs. 28—33. On the

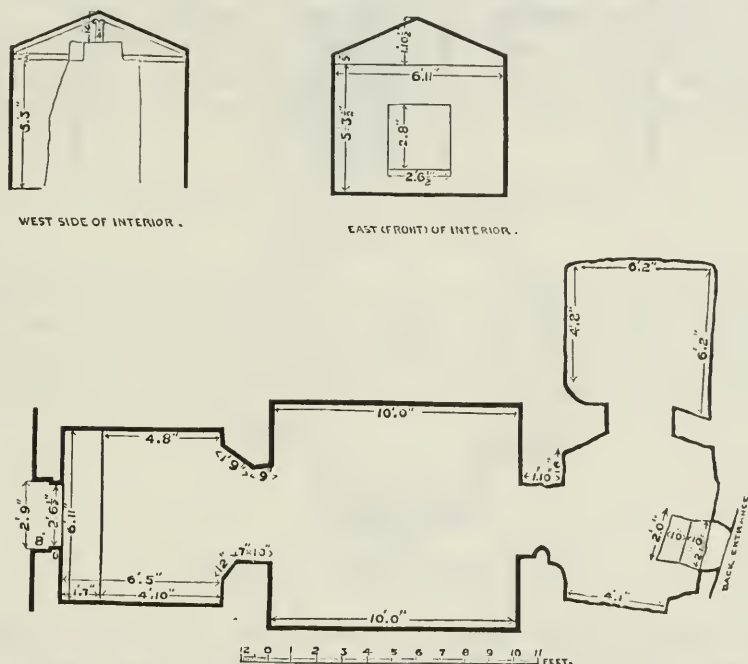


FIG. 27.

top there are cuttings to receive a wall, which rested against the rock on the inside. On L the traces of wall are very numerous, and include beds at different levels, higher inside than outside. Between L and Q the hill projects to the west, but I nowhere observed traces of the wall.

It may be noted that three fortresses of this district, Midas-city, Kumbet, Yapuldak, have a shape elongated from north to south, but this is due to the geological formation. Pishmish Kalesi is of a different shape.

¹ Such a stair and spring may be seen still perfect in the Acropolis of Amasis on the top of a conical rock 1,200 feet above the level of the Iris and its narrow plain. I should have

examined the stair at Yapuldak more thoroughly if I had carried out my intention to return and map the Acropolis completely.

In Fig. 27 some additional details are given on the tomb in the rock F. Its close analogy to Fig. 18 has been already mentioned. The plan shows that it originally consisted of two chambers, which in all probability were entered only by the small door in the carved front which looks out on the precipitous eastern side of the rocky hill (Perrot, Fig. 75). In later time the tomb was violently broken into from the west, and two rude additional chambers were added, and the whole has been so treated as to become a rough Christian church. The two original chambers have a pointed roof of the usual Phrygian style: ¹ the pediment of the west wall of the eastern chamber was supported by a slightly indicated column of the Ionic type (Fig. 27). The door between these two chambers has been enlarged in the rudest fashion when the church was formed; part of the pediment being cut away in the process. The pediment of the east wall is quite plain.

The exterior of this monument is shown according to Mr. Blunt's drawings, in the *Journal* 1882, Plate XXVIII. and after him by M. Perrot, Fig. 75. Mr. Blunt's drawing gives the general character quite well, and though it is

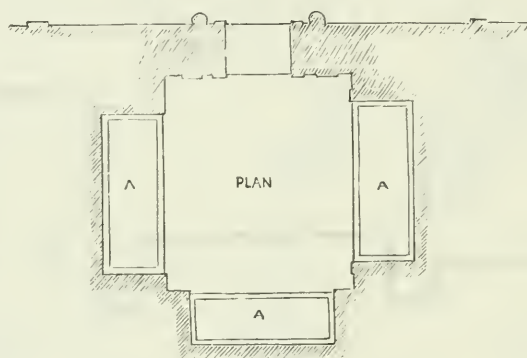


FIG. 28.

I think, incorrect in some details, yet the general fact that the mouldings consist entirely of plane surfaces without any curves is properly shown. This monument and Fig. 18 should probably be dated between the Lion-Tomb, Fig. 10, and the Broken-Tomb, Figs. 1—9.

The last monument which I have to describe is shown in Figs. 28 to 33, which are sufficiently detailed to relieve me from the necessity of making many remarks on its character. The tomb is a small chamber, with *arcosolia*,² A, in the two sides and the back, and ornament of an architectural type round the door both inside and out (Fig. 28).

M. Perrot has noticed the resemblance in proportions between the exterior of this tomb, Fig. 29, and the Kumbet Tomb (p. 135): 'même porte rectangulaire, mêmes proportions du fronton, mêmes modillons et mêmes denticules

¹ The roof of the later chambers is vaulted.

hundred in the Phrygian Necropolis.

² Graves of the *arcosolium* type occur by the

dans la corniche qui en forment les rampants; même préoccupation d'en orner le sommet et les deux autres angles au moyen de motifs qui, s'ils n'ont pas ici la même élégance, remplissent cependant la même fonction; même bouclier au milieu du tympan.'

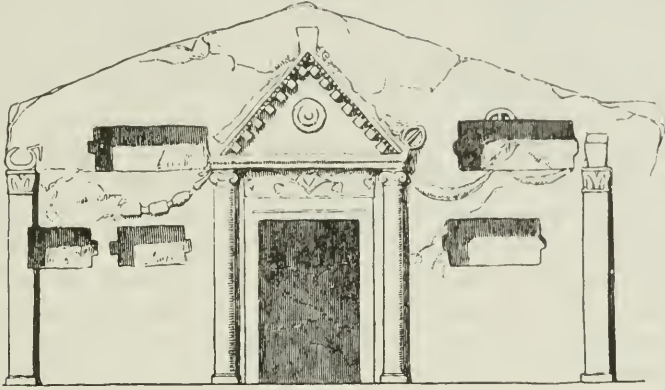


FIG. 29.

The floral pattern over the door is neatly executed in incised lines. The flanking columns are surmounted by objects, differing in shape; that on the left is obscure, and that on the right is hopelessly defaced. A chain hangs between the two columns on the left, this chain represents a set of large beads

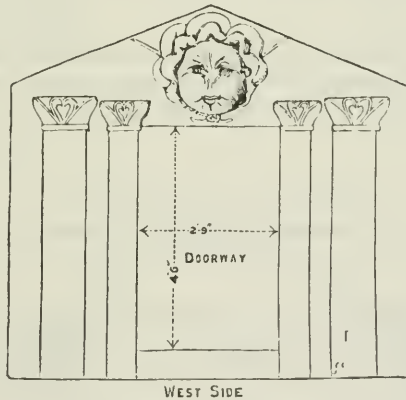
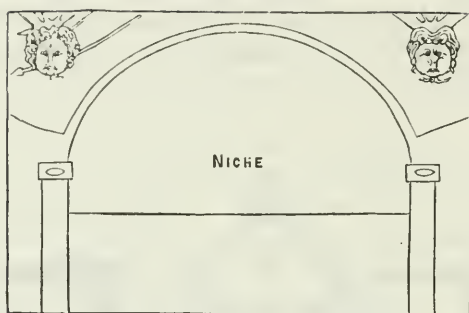


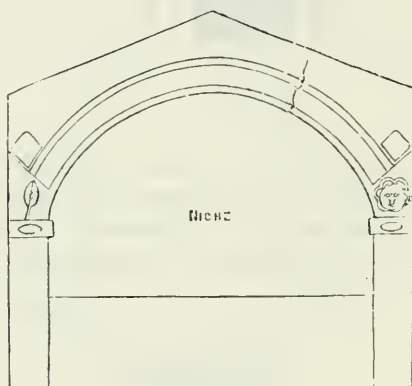
FIG. 30.

of different sizes and shapes strung on a thread, and connected with a ring projecting from the door-column by a metal hook that passes through the ring. The connection with the flanking column was probably the same, but is now decayed.



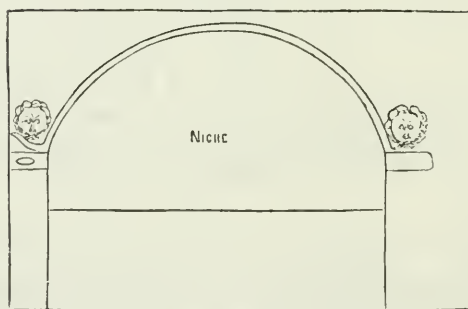
NORTH SIDE

FIG. 31.



EAST SIDE

FIG. 32.



SOUTH SIDE

FIG. 33.

Between the two columns on the right there hangs a chain of different shape, resembling two garlands looped up in the middle to an ornament which has been carefully defaced. The front of this tomb has been defaced by a number of rude rectangular holes cut in it in later time. The aspect of the interior, as I have already stated, suggests Roman work; but while I am not able at present to suggest any explanation of its peculiar character, I prefer to date the monument by the exterior sculpture. The wings of the gorgoneia are, according to M. Six, distinctly late, but a date in the first century before or after Christ seems to me to be excluded by historical conditions. Strabo describes in most emphatic terms the desolation of this region (p. 568), and as has been stated above, this desolation is to be attributed to the Galatian conquest. It is clear from Strabo that at the time of Christ the country was very sparsely inhabited, and all archaeological evidence shows that the first dawn of returning civilization in the district belongs to the third century after Christ. I refuse therefore to date any monument of the district between B.C. 260 and A.D. 200, and believe that the gorgoneia of Kumbet and Yapuldak are free Phrygian developments of a Greek type. The gorgoneion on the west interior wall is in very high relief; while those on the east and south are indicated by incised lines.¹

Before concluding this paper I add a few notes on the Phrygian inscriptions and alphabet. These add some further analogies between Phrygian and Lucian, in addition to those which I have mentioned in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, 1888. I have also to suggest an interpretation of a word on the Midas monument, which if correct would put an end to all controversy about the character of that monument, and at the same time would establish a connection between the Phrygian of 700 B.C., and the inscriptions of the Roman period, which I have discussed in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1887.

The inscription mentioned a few pages back as engraved on the wall of the outwork beside the stairs is written boustrophedon in three lines. I have published in my *Historical Relations*, No. 5, and give here the transcript in English characters:—

B[a]ba Memefais Proitafos	|
kwi[?]anafezos akaralusun	|
egaes	|

The interest of this inscription lies especially in the fact that it is identical, except in the fifth word, with one of the inscriptions at the Tomb of Midas.² The same person, Baba Memefais, son of Proitas, was concerned with both

¹ The gorgoneion in fig. 30 is sculptured in flat relief, so that the features are almost on one plane, and the edges round the face are cut square down to the wall of the chamber. The gorgoneion is represented as looking down into the chamber, the upper part of the head projecting several inches further from the back-

ground than the lower part. This character distinguishes it from Greek work.

² Viz., Baba Memefais Proitafos kwizanafezos sikeneman egaes. The engraver of the other text has omitted two letters, a in Baba and z in kwizanafezos. The omission is probably accidental.

monuments. The last word, *egacs*, is unmistakably a verb, analogous to *edaes* at the end of another inscription. Its precise sense is uncertain, but if *edaes* is connected with the root *dha*¹ and means 'placed' or 'erected,' I have advanced the conjecture that *egacs* refers more especially to the operation of making or carving. In that case the two accusatives *sikeneman* and *akaralasun* would denote the two things that were made, *sikeneman* the Midas-Monument, and *akaralasun* the fortification, or the road, or the approach as a whole. If this be so, then in the interpretation of the word *sikeneman* lies the key to the character of the Midas-Monument, which is in dispute between M. Perrot and myself.

The interest attaching to the name and the monument of Midas may justify me in advancing an interpretation of the word *sikeneman*. It goes back to a form *skneman*, which appears in Phrygian in two dialectic varieties, *skneman* and *sknuman*. Similar dialectic varieties occur in later Phrygian in the forms *αιινυ* and *αιινουν*, Sibia and Soublaion, a fortress in southern Phrygia. The difficult combination of consonants at the beginning was avoided in two ways, either by weak vowel sounds developed between the initial consonants giving *sikeneman*, or by dropping the initial letter, giving *knuman*. The dative of the latter word appears in all the Phrygian epitaphs of the Roman period, written in Greek characters, as *κνουμανει*. The interpretation which I have given of these late inscriptions leaves little doubt that *κνουμαν* means 'grave,' and this interpretation constitutes another reason in support of my view about the Midas-Tomb.

I may hazard another conjecture about *kwiζanafezos*. The first part of this compound perhaps corresponds to the Lycian *kbedā* king, and *kbedan* kingly. The Lycian combination *kb* is a hardening of *kw*, just as according to my explanation is the case with Phrygian *αφυτος* and Lycian *ābättā*. Another Anatolian word meaning king has been traced by Lagarde and M. Schmidt; this word appears in Phrygian as *βαλῆν* or *βαλλῆν*, in Lydian (inferred) as *κοαλείν*, in Carian as *γέλαν*, and in Lycian as *παλῆν* (according to M. Schmidt's accentuation and interpretation). Schmidt remarks that Lydian *ko* stands for *qu*. He arranges the glosses of Hesychius as *κοαλδδεῖν ἢ κοαλιεῖν* Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα, and *Κόαδοι Βάρβαρον ἔθνος*: but perhaps the Lycian words (together with *καλόις*, *βασιλεύς*) have arisen from two Lydian forms corresponding to the double Lycian and Phrygian forms, one with *λ* and one with *δ*. I need not here do more than refer to Fick's discussion in his *Ehemalige Spracheinheit* and to Schmidt, *Neue Lykische Studien*, p. 130.

In my 'Early Historical Relations between Phrygia and Cappadocia' I advanced the conjecture that the Greek alphabet was communicated by the Milesian traders of Sinope to the inhabitants of Pteria and to the people of Phrygia. The connection of Phrygia and Cappadocia with the traders of Sinope is certain, and the communication of the alphabet in this way is paralleled by the history of the Italian and the Celtiberian alphabets. But

¹ Deecke (*Lyk. Studien* p. 318 in *Bezz. Beitr.* vol. xii) also makes *edaes* equivalent to *ἔθηκε*.

Fick has shown that the Phrygian glosses prove the aspirates to appear in Phrygian as sonants

an examination of the peculiar symbols in the Phrygian alphabet suggests a different line of communication as perhaps more probable.

One of the peculiar letters occurs in a word which is used in two different inscriptions, and the letter in question is represented by a slightly varying symbol in each case.

(1)

ΚΦ Ι Σ Α Μ Α Φ ϖ Σ ::

(2)

:: ϖ Σ ϖ ϖ Α ϖ Α Ι Τ Χ

Coming after *kappa*, this symbol can hardly denote anything except a sound like the English *w*, so that *kappa koppa* together are equivalent to *qu*.¹ ↑ would then be an abbreviated form of Φ, a simple variant of ϖ.

This use of ϖ in Phrygian is to be compared with the Pamphylian of Aspendos, in which φ appears where we expect digamma (φίκατι = twenty). The only similar example known to me is the inscription on the famous vase of Caere,

ϖ ϖ ϖ Ι ο ϖ ϖ ϖ ο ϖ ο ϖ Ι ϖ ϖ Α

in which Bolte has already² showed that we must probably understand Ἀριστόνοφος as equivalent to Ἀριστόνοφος. The explanation of these facts is to be sought in the trading connection of some Greek city alike with Aspendos, with Caere, and with Phrygia.

Another fact is to be compared with these. At Sillyon, a neighbouring city to Aspendos, we find the symbol **W** used in the sense of the English *w*. In the alphabet of the famous Galassi vase, which was found at Caere, the same symbol **W** appears in the place where *koppa* is to be expected, between *pi* and *rho*. Kirchhoff's treatment of the Galassi alphabet is singularly unsatisfactory. The symbols which do not square with his theory are explained as being symbols retained in the alphabet, but not actually used: they are **W** and **W**. In the preceding paragraph we have seen one remarkable analogy between Pamphylia and a Greek vase found at Caere. Now precisely the two strange symbols of the Galassi alphabet are the two most characteristic symbols of the alphabet of Sillyon, **X** (which Kirchhoff expressly recognises as a modification of **W**) and **W**. The conclusion is clear: we must recognise the Galassi alphabet as being that of a Greek city closely connected by trade alike with Caere and with Pamphylia. That city used the symbol **W** in its alphabet with the sense of English *w*, and the symbol **X** or **W** in its alphabet

¹ I have now unconsciously adopted an interpretation of ϖ which was advanced some years ago by Professor Sayce.

² De monumentis ad Odysseam pertinentibus, p. 5. Dümmler's explanation, Ἀρίστων δ Κώ[ι]ο[ς]

(see *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 17), seems to me inadmissible. Anything can be made out of an inscription if we may insert letters *ad lib*.

with the sense of *x*. The city which fulfils these conditions is in all probability either Cyme Aiolis or Phocaea, and most probably the former.

The connection of Cyme Aiolis with Pamphylia has been already indicated by Bergk, who traces two Cymaeon colonies on the Pamphylian coast.¹ One of these, Side, is vouched for by Strabo, p. 667; the other is not so well attested, but Bergk's authority shows that I am not straining facts to suit my views. The connection of Cyme with Italy is vouched for by the name, and by the probability of its close relations with the neighbouring Phocaea, the leading city in the Italian trade. Cymaeon vases could go to Caere in Phocaeon ships, even if a direct trade from Cyme to Etruria is not proved. In the third place the one Greek city which is actually recorded to have been in relation with the ancient Phrygian kingdom is Cyme Aiolis.

It is true that Sillyon and one of the Caerite vases use the symbol **Λ** for *w*, while Aspendos, Phrygia and the other Caerite vase use koppa in that sense. But the former vase puts **Λ** where koppa should occur in the alphabet and does not use koppa at all. The alphabet of Aspendos used the koppa in its sense of *w*, and adopted alongside of it the ordinary Greek symbol **ϕ**, and the two symbols are apparently confounded in the late inscriptions, one form being used in both senses. This group of alphabets use a symbol for *w* in addition to digamma: some use koppa, some **Λ**, but none of them employ both symbols.

As to the last three symbols of the Galassi alphabet, +, which is used in the Sillyon inscription for *khi*, must therefore be so interpreted, and not with Kirchhoff taken for *xi*; **ϕ** is apparently the second last symbol.² The last symbol **Ψ** occurs also in Phrygian, and a very similar symbol **⋈** occurs at Perga in Pamphylia in the sense of a palatal sibilant. It is not safe to try to fix the value of **Ψ** in the Cymaeon alphabet until the word **λαΨ**et in Phrygian shall have been explained.³

These remarks will explain my change of view about the origin of the Phrygian alphabet, and will show that M. Perrot's objection to my derivation from Cyme or Phocaea (p. 9) implies a misapprehension. He says 'la difficulté est que l'alphabet ionien ne paraît pas avoir eu le *F*.' It is true that we have no ancient monuments of either the Cymaeon or the Phocaeon alphabet. But certainly the probability (we might say certainty) is that the former alphabet used the digamma, and Pauli⁴ sees no difficulty in the supposition that the Ionic alphabet possessed the digamma in the seventh century.

On this theory the alphabet of Cyme Aiolis was originally almost identical with that which is used in Phrygia in the latter part of the eighth century. It retained koppa, combining it with kappa to indicate *qu* or *kw*.

¹ See Bergk in *Zft. f. Numismatik*, 1884, p. 333. He argues that Aspendos, which is called an Argive colony, was founded by Achaean Argives, who had gone to Cyme. Selge, an Amyclaeon colony, might be explained in a similar way (Dionys. Perieg. 860 and Eustath. *al loc.*).

² The form is rather blurred, but there can be little doubt about it.

³ It may however be safely asserted that **ψ** in Phrygian is not the Ionic *psi*. Phrygian used **κΞ**, not *xi*, and cannot have adopted *psi* before *xi*.

⁴ Eine vorgriech. Inschrift aus Lemnos, p. 17.

It had a symbol of doubtful value (probably a sibilant) Ψ , and also it probably used the \boxplus and certainly \ominus , which Phrygian does not require: perhaps it also used the symbol for *khi*. Owing to its situation Cyme early passed under the influence of the Ionic alphabet, adopting *xi*, *phi*, and perhaps also *khi*. The alphabet of Cyme was originally an island alphabet, and an example of its early form remains in the two famous Lemnian inscriptions, whose close analogy with the Phrygian inscriptions is an accepted fact.¹ The only other case in which I have been struck with an analogy to Phrygian is in a well-known inscription of Thera, now in the National Museum at Athens. The letters are cut in a way that closely resembles the Phrygian. They are long, deeply cut letters, and seem to have been cut with a square chisel, which makes a rectangular groove in the stone. The Phrygian letters are all of the same character, tall, narrow, deeply and squarely cut.

The objection, that this theory of the Kymæan alphabet does not agree with Kirchhoff's classification, will readily suggest itself to any reader. I do not regard Kirchhoff's classification as being in agreement with the facts of the seventh century. His classification comes to suit the sixth century much better than the seventh, though it does not suit perfectly even that time. The Greek alphabets strove from diversity towards uniformity. Two powerful types gradually established themselves, and finally one of these replaced the other and became universal.²

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ The analogy with Phrygian so struck me at the first glance, that I immediately concluded they were in the Phrygian language, till examination showed that they were certainly in a different language.

² After this paragraph was in type Professor

Hirschfeld's article in *Rhein. Mus.* 1889, p. 461, appeared. He considers, rightly as I think, that the so-called Ionic alphabet is simply the alphabet of Miletos, which gradually was adopted, first by the other Ionic cities, and finally by the whole of Greece.

THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

FEW English scholars have an exact knowledge of the history, the constitution, and the labours of the German Archaeological Institute, although the existing science of classical archaeology may be roughly said to be a creation of that Institute. So when, some months ago, an authoritative paper by Professor Michaelis of Strassburg, a member of the Central Direction, appeared in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, supplying exactly such information on these matters as should be current among us, the Editors of this Journal thought that the opportunity thus offered was one of which advantage should be taken. Accordingly permission was obtained from Professor Michaelis and the Editors of the *Jahrbücher* to publish in these pages a translation of the article. The translation was undertaken by Miss Alice Gardner; and Professor Michaelis has himself made some additions to the text to fit it more completely for an English audience. [ED.]

Scientific institutions, which take their functions seriously, live a silent life. This is a result of the very nature of scientific work, which in most points of its manifold occupations cannot appeal to a wide public. Only in case of especially important discoveries, or of conspicuous performances, and on festal occasions do such institutions step out of their quiet round of work into public light, and demand the sympathy of wider circles.

Such an occasion arose ten years ago, when the Archaeological Institute at Rome, on the 21st of April 1879, celebrated in the midst of wide sympathy, in its new stately mansion on the Capitol, the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Delegates from different quarters met on the Tarpeian rock and congratulatory letters were received: among others a sympathetic letter of the Trustees of the British Museum and a very elegant Latin address from Cambridge University. Especially we Germans called to mind with pleasure the share which German scholars had taken in the foundation and progress of the Institute. In all our journals the importance of the occasion was recognised with expressions of goodwill and sympathy. The circumstance that the 'Institute of Archaeological Correspondence' was founded in 1829 in Rome, and that this festival attached especially to this Roman Institute, made it easy to forget, or at least not sufficiently to remember, that meanwhile the Roman Institute had acquired a worthy parallel at Athens, and that both Institutes were in fact branches of a German Archaeological

Institute, the headquarters of which are in Berlin, and a great part of the sphere of its activity in Germany. In fact that very festival contributed not a little to the notion still widely spread, that the work of the Institute is confined to Rome. The German Institute seemed absorbed in the Roman, with which so many travellers, in their winter journeys in Italy, made a more or less hasty acquaintance, of which probably in many cases they first heard at Rome. Thus it is easy to understand how the interest of the public, so far as it concerns itself with such a scientific institution, is accustomed to turn exclusively to the Roman Institute and its occasional utterances.

I will endeavour in the following pages to show that this way of regarding the matter is too narrow, and does not correspond to the facts as regards the Institute. Scholars in general may be glad to acquire a more correct view of the Institute as a whole. In order to make clear in what ways the limits of its activity have been gradually widened, it seems necessary first to give a slight sketch of the history of the Institute.¹

I.

The 'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica' was founded in the year 1829 as a private undertaking. The real founder and the soul of the whole was Eduard Gerhard, supported principally by Bunsen and Panofka. The most important archaeological scholars in Germany and Italy shared earnestly in the work. There were joined with them a few colleagues from England, Denmark, and Greece; outside Germany and Italy an important contingent was furnished only by Paris, where archaeological studies flourished, under the presidency of the noble Duc de Luynes, then often called 'le dernier gentil-homme de la France,' who had already given important aid in the preliminary discussions in regard to the foundation of such an international scientific union. This is not the place to detail the friction and disagreements which took place during many years between the French group, led by the Duc de Luynes, and the Germans and Italians, under Gerhard and Bunsen, both parties aiming at taking the leading part in the Institute. At last in 1836 a compromise was made, by which Rome was recognized as centre of the Institute, but greater independence was allowed to the French section, the place of publication alternating between Rome and Paris. So matters remained until the revolution of February. The political storms to which France was exposed in 1848 quenched there for the moment all scientific interests. The Duc de Luynes, a strong supporter of the white banner, alike from family tradition and from personal conviction, gave up all hope of the permanence of the Institute, and on the 12th of May 1848 the French section announced, through its secretary M. De Witte, that with the completion of the last year's volume

¹ Comp. the author's *Geschichte des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 1829—1879. Berlin, 1879. (Also in Italian: *Storia dell' Istituto*, etc., Rome, 1879.)

their share in the labours of the Institute ceased. Thus only the Italians and the Germans remained.

The correspondence, whence the Institute had taken its name, was in these first twenty years of its existence the chief source of activity of the Institute, owing to the difficulty of travelling and the want of scientific journals. Its centre was the Roman Secretariate, which from the first was almost regularly in the hands of German Scholars; Bunsen, Gerhard, Panofka, Kellermann (a Dane), Emil Braun, Lepsius, Wilhelm Abeken, and Henzen form a noble series of names. Besides occasional separate publications the Institute published yearly three volumes. The Monthly Gazette or *Bullettino* gave a current account of new discoveries. The *Monumenti Inediti*, appearing in large folio form, twelve plates a year, gave reproductions of important monuments for the most part unpublished. A volume of *Annali* contained longer or shorter scientific treatises among which discussions of the large plates occupied most space; smaller plates (*Tavole d'aggiunta*) served for supplement or for publication of smaller works of art. The language of these papers was either Italian or French, even the titles of the volumes being bi-lingual; Latin also was allowed. German was forbidden, although German contributors formed a majority, on the obvious ground that the use of that language would have kept away Italian correspondents, on whose zealous support it was necessary to rely for furnishing material. The same languages were used in the weekly sessions of the Institute in winter, the so-called 'adunanze.' The Italians were obliged, German being forbidden, to accept as currency that extraordinary dialect which acquired the name of 'il barbaro dell' Instituto.'

The weakest side of the Institute was the financial. At first the revenue was derived only from the produce of the publications, but the difficulty and irregularity of the bookselling business, caused by the remoteness of Rome and by imperfect postal institutions, made this resource a very unsatisfactory basis for a reasonable finance. It was often necessary to trust to advances made by the secretaries, and the inexhaustible liberality of the Duc de Luyne did much to keep the ship afloat. The Papal Government was not disposed to support the 'Prussian' Institute, and it was a matter for congratulation if no enmity was displayed. On the other hand the Prussian treasury at first felt a difficulty in subsidising a 'foreign' and private undertaking. Only on the accession of Frederick William IV., the protector of the Institute from its beginning, a modest salary was paid by the State to the first secretary, and later to the second also, a grant of about £200 first placing the finances in a tolerable condition. The responsibility of the Institute still continued for all other expenses, no small matter considering the unsatisfactory character of the trade in books at a time of so much political disquiet.

Amid such financial difficulties the Institute, passing after Braun's death (1856) into the judicious hands of Wilhelm Henzen and Heinrich Brunn (the latter being later replaced by Wolfgang Helbig), performed a work of great importance on behalf of archaeology and Latin epigraphy. In addition

to its strictly scientific work it became a sort of academy for training young scholars, particularly from Germany and other northern lands. Rising Italian students also took an eager part in the Institute, which in their opinion was half Italian. French archaeologists rarely stayed at Rome or assisted personally in the work of the Institute which, however, some of them supported by correspondence or contributions; generally they gravitated more and more to the French School of Athens established in 1846. The clearer that the influence of the Institute on German learning grew, especially in supplying the chairs of archaeology in the German Universities, by this time universal, the more incumbent it became on the State to give more liberal assistance. This did not, it is true, strike the smaller German states, but it was one of the beneficial actions of the Prince Regent of Prussia to carry out his brother's intention in increasing the grant to the Institute to £875. By that sum, besides the salaries of the secretaries, provision was made for scientific publications, a fixed revenue secured to the library, which had hitherto been almost dependent on charitable contributions, and two travelling scholarships founded for young archaeologists. In a truly liberal spirit it was provided that these students need not be born Prussians so long as they had taken a doctor's degree or passed examinations in Prussia; and in fact most of the secretaries had come from other German states. As a necessary consequence the relations of the Institute to the Direction which sat in Berlin under Gerhard's presidency underwent a change. That Direction ceased to be merely a board of reference for the secretaries, partly scientific and partly administrative, and became, in virtue of the larger grant and the award of scholarships, a Direction responsible to the State. The secretaries were not yet, it is true, functionaries of the State, but their relation to the Central Direction became closer and more definite.

This was but the first step in the passage of the '*Instituto prussiano*' into a public institution of the Prussian State. A complete assumption of this relation was brought about by the Central Direction in conjunction with the Secretaries at Rome in 1867, with a view to certain great advantages, such as complete protection of the Institute established in a foreign country from all political aggressions, close relations with the Berlin Academy, and the establishment of the secretaries as state officers with a claim to pension. On July 18, 1870, King William accepted the arrangement, and on March 2, 1871, he signed as Emperor at Versailles the new statute. The change not unnaturally passed without public notice in so momentous a time. More attention was aroused when in 1874, on the motion of the German Reichstag, the Institute, which had always been pan-Germanic in character, ceased to be connected with the Prussian State, and became attached to the German Empire. The Central Direction in Berlin was strengthened by the addition of four archaeologists resident in other German universities; four travelling scholarships for classical archaeology and a fifth for students of Christian archaeology, each of £150 per annum, were constituted in the place of the two which existed, and thrown open to all German subjects; a considerable increase in the grant, now

amounting to nearly £5,000, allowed the Institute to plan and carry out on a larger scale its various undertakings.

It is thus evident how slowly and gradually the transformation of the Institute was accomplished. It was not till after it had, by its innate vitality, sustained successfully an anxious struggle of many years, and thereby given full proof of its deserts, that it was able to receive the reward of its faithful labours. But the increase in its funds was by no means to be confined to operations in Rome. At the suggestion of the Central Direction the transformation of the Institute into an Imperial Institution was at once associated with a widening of its sphere by the establishment of a Branch Academy at Athens. At the time of the foundation of the Roman Institute, in 1829, the political state of Greece was not such as to allow of such a project, and it seemed sufficient to use the publications of the Roman Institute as the medium also of making known discoveries in Greece. But when in Greece the state of the country became more settled, when excavations were undertaken which led to great results, when scientific travellers of all nations began, in perpetual succession, to explore the land from end to end,—it became more and more evident what rich treasures were here to be brought to light, and also how inadequate to the task of discovery and of exploitation were either the unaided efforts of the Greeks themselves or the occasional attempts of passing strangers. The right course was marked out by the above-mentioned French school, which had both rendered eminent services to the more exact knowledge of Greek lands and Greek art, and was also serving as an excellent training institute for the younger generation of French archaeologists. Nor could any more opportune moment be chosen for the establishment of a similar institution for Germans than the time at which the German Empire was starting its epoch-making excavations in Olympia. Nor could the tasks which called for the activity, in Greece, of any archaeology ready to wield the shovel as well as the pencil or pen, be regarded as of less importance than those which lay nearest to the Roman Institute, such as the complete exploration of Italy. On the contrary, in proportion to the greater dignity and originality of Greek art as compared with that of Italy, to the greater amount of virgin soil in the Archipelago and the neighbouring lands of ancient Greek population in comparison with the well investigated homes of ancient Italian civilization, was the certainty of the hope that the new work to be undertaken from Athens would yield rich results which might further the progress of science towards the solution of its most important problems. From the archaeologist's point of view, there could be no doubt that the younger academy must rank as at least equal in dignity with the older sister-academy in Rome, though possibly to the general public the latter, being old-established and personally known to many, continued to take precedence, or even to be still regarded as *the* Institute. The works of the Athenian Institute were to be found—with the exception of some separate publications—in the *Mittheilungen* of which there appeared annually a stout octavo volume accompanied by plates. In outward appearance it corresponded generally to the Roman *Annali* except that it

was not accompanied by a folio publication of *Monumenti inediti*, and thus there was no connection between the text and the illustrations of such monuments as were too large to be reproduced in the plates. Monthly reports were also dispensed with. Although in the case of contributions from members of other nations, foreign languages were not excluded, yet even with them the use of German greatly preponderated, since among Greek scholars, in consequence of their studies abroad, the knowledge of German has become so general, that the necessary association with the natives of the country has not been, as formerly in Italy, hindered by linguistic difficulties.

Although the establishment of the Athenian branch implied a remarkable extension of the original Institute—doubled in fact its functions and its sphere of activity—yet the ends and the means of the new Imperial Institute were not confined to these two foreign localities. A third centre for investigations had sprung up in Germany itself. As early as the year 1843, Gerhard had started in Berlin the *Archaeologische Zeitung* as a lesser German organ of his favourite foundation, the Roman Institute. When the Central Direction took this journal in hand, the bond was tightened which already bound the journal to the Institute. Beside the various publications in foreign tongues issued from Rome and the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, the *Zeitung* represented primarily German archaeological work. But for this last, tasks were preparing of an entirely different character.

The annual budget of the Central Direction placed at its disposal a certain sum 'for special scientific undertakings originating in the Institute.' Of all the functions which archaeological science is in our days called to fulfil none is more pressing than the collection and publication of all existing or traceable monuments. Latterly, active progress has been made in simple tabulation by means of accurate catalogues, although many very important collections are still without a good list of their contents. But this process is no more satisfactory than catalogues of manuscripts of ancient authors. Works of art cannot be studied without reproductions—descriptions cannot enable us to see things. But reproductions only exist to a very insufficient extent. Archaeologists have only too long contented themselves with publishing and explaining the particular monuments that they came across more or less by hap-hazard, and they have often seemed quite unconscious that work on such fragmentary material can lead to no sure results. Here and there indeed one of the older Italians has attempted to collect together the monuments of one kind—as Pietro Sante Bartoli has done for the terracotta lamps, Gori for the so-called diptychs with their ivory reliefs, Ficoroni for the leaden seals—but these were, both in the kind of the monuments and in the execution of the design, efforts of modest scope. One man clearly perceived what was wanted—George Zoega, the founder of sound method in archaeology,—and he personally undertook the collection of Roman marble-reliefs; but the publication of these was, unfortunately, soon interrupted by his death. His example was followed by Eduard Gerhard, who publicly declared: 'No class of ancient works of art has as yet been treated in a clear and comprehensive way, so as to take account of the whole supply that has

come to hand, and to the arbitrary character of a mere fancy choice are we to attribute the fact that our knowledge of the old art-monuments is entirely wanting in a firm foundation.' Gerhard, whose favourite proverb was, 'Monumentorum artis qui unum vidit nullum vidit, qui milia vidit unum vidit,' gave brilliant example in the collection he himself accomplished, with the help of the Berlin Academy, of Etruscan mirrors, *i.e.* of the drawings engraved on their backs. At the same time he brought together abundant material for a collection of reliefs on Etruscan sepulchral urns, and he made some provision for the far-reaching field of Greek vase-paintings, if only by his very comprehensive publications. The *Élite céramographique* edited by Ch. Lenormant and De Witte was undertaken from a similar point of view, but remained also far from exhausting the marvellous riches of vases stored up in the various public and private collections. As to sculpture, an invaluable foundation has been laid in Count Clarac's large *Musée de sculpture*, which, however, is greatly wanting in stylistic accuracy and in critical circumspection.

It was in this direction that a path of successful activity was marked out for the Institute. Already in 1835, Bunsen had called attention to the duty of the Institute to bring together in reproductions or at least in descriptions, all accessible monuments and to work them out on principles of classification. In close connection with the Institute, the Berlin Academy embarked on the mighty undertaking of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, under Mommsen's superintendence, and shortly afterwards on that of a revision of certain parts of Boeckh's collection of Greek inscriptions, especially the Attic, superintended by Kirchhoff. In the former work, Henzen, the secretary of the Roman Institute, took part; in that of the Attic inscriptions, Koehler, the secretary of the Athenian Institute. These great enterprises, moving along similar lines, might serve as models for archaeological undertakings of the same kind. In Rome, Brunn, one of the secretaries, revived Gerhard's project of a collection of the reliefs on Etruscan sepulchral urns, and even completed the first volume (1870), after which he handed over the remaining two volumes to his pupil Gustav Körte.¹ Körte also took up the continuation of Gerhard's work on mirrors, which had been begun by Klügmann in Rome in 1878, and interrupted by his early death (1880), and this has been appearing in parts since 1884.² In Vienna Conze urged the Austrian Academy, in 1873, to undertake the collection of Greek sepulchral reliefs, a task which, on account of the great wealth of material, it was found necessary to confine in the first instance to the sepulchral reliefs of Attica. This work, the publication of which will shortly be begun, was since entrusted, by the consent of the Academy of Vienna, to the care of the Archaeological Institute. The Institute had further undertaken, after the death of Otto Jahn (1869), the design which he had kept in view of collecting the Roman reliefs on

¹ H. Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche. I. Ciclo troico*. Rome 1870.

Band bearb. von A. Klügmann und G. Körte. Numbers 1-9. Berlin, 1884-1888.

² Ed. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*. Fünftes

sarcophagi, which task was committed to Jahn's pupil Friedrich Matz. The premature death of this young and excellent investigator (1874) for a time deprived the enterprise of its leader, until Carl Robert entered on the great undertaking. He carried it on so zealously, that at present the first part of the collection divided into five volumes is shortly to be published. And finally Richard Kekulé had in 1873 proposed to the Central Direction the collection of the so-called terra-cottas, *i.e.* of the statuettes and reliefs of baked clay, and had thus undertaken a difficult and far-reaching work which had hitherto been undeservedly neglected. Assisted by his pupil Hermann von Rohden, Kekulé accomplished his task as quickly as the material at his disposal would allow. The first volume, comprising the terra-cottas of Pompeii, compiled by Rohden, appeared in 1880; four years later followed Kekulé's compilation of Sicilian terra-cottas.¹ Two further volumes, comprising the Roman bas-reliefs best known from the Campana collection in the Louvre and the Tanagraean terra-cottas, are in course of preparation.

But however long the list of the publications of 'series' now in process, we see that after all but a modest beginning has been made when we consider the whole of the task yet to be accomplished. For to mention but a few of the most prominent classes of monuments, we are still wanting in the statues, the pictures, the vase-paintings, the bronzes, the gems,—to say nothing of the architectural works. Only for the first-named class, the statues,—among the most important of all,—are the preparatory operations already begun. There are two points of great importance in determining the choice of the series to be collected. In the first place it is necessary to find the right man for the particular task, which is not always an easy matter. The undertakings that have hitherto been started rest entirely on the personal initiative of the editors, who have for the most part had at their command the results of some preparatory work, their own or that of others. In such a case it was necessary to seize the opportunity, without considering whether this or that class of monuments was of the greatest importance. So that this point has been most essential in determining the selection of subjects. Besides this consideration, we have that of the funds to be applied to the work. The sum granted to the Institute for such purposes scarcely suffices to keep on foot the undertakings already started, indeed besides other causes, of which we shall speak directly, the paucity of means has had no small share in retarding the publications. So that it is no wonder if from time to time other series, of narrower compass, which might readily have found some one to take them up, have had to be postponed, and if the preparatory work for the series next contemplated, that of the statues, progresses but slowly.

It is thus evident that the Institute, working from its centre in Berlin, and sustained by the effective co-operation of the branches at Rome and Athens, has made considerable efforts towards supplying archaeological

¹ R. Kekulé, *Die Antiken Terracotten*. I. H. Stuttgart, 1880. II. R. Kekulé, *Die Terracotten von Rohden, Die Terracotten von Pompeji*. ten von Sicilien. Berlin u. Stuttgart, 1884.

studies with the fundamental basis so long required. All this activity is scarcely known beyond the narrowest circle of specialists, still less has it received its due meed of praise. But this is only natural when we consider that the greater part of the preparatory work must of necessity be accomplished in complete silence. We lose all inclination to disparage the exertions made and to complain of the delay in the appearance of results as soon as we realize the nature of the preparatory work; thus even in the case of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, in spite of the wonderful powers of work of Mommsen and his fellow-labourers, whole decennia elapsed from the commencement of the whole work before the separate volumes could be arranged in something like connected sequence. We may be allowed to trace here the course followed in this kind of work in the case of one class of monuments which may serve as a specimen—that of the Roman sarcophagi.

The marble sarcophagi of Roman times fall into two great classes. One kind is especially found in Greek lands, and comparatively few specimens came from other regions. The other consists of those that are for the most part products of the city of Rome, and of a smaller number manufactured in other parts of Italy or in the provinces of the Roman empire. Of the sarcophagi belonging to the city of Rome, the greater number have remained in Rome, but very much scattered, as since the time of the Renaissance, the long reliefs of the sarcophagi have been freely used for the adornment of palaces, villas and houses, while the complete sarcophagi have served as fountains, troughs, and for similar purposes. A considerable number had gradually found their way into the Roman museums. But there was also a large number of these sarcophagi and sarcophagus reliefs that had strayed away from Rome into the other museums of Europe. Scarcely a single collection, as far as St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Scotland (Rossie Priory), Portugal, is without any specimens. On account of this wide diffusion of material, the editor experiences in the first place considerable trouble in making a complete survey, then he has to make sure how much of this has already been published and also whether the publications are to be trusted. This is very seldom the case, since at the present day the claims of science are much higher than they were formerly, and involve not only reproductions accurate in detail and correct in style, but above all things we must have it carefully ascertained how much of the work in high relief—so easily damaged—is really antique, and how much is an addition due to the naïve delight in creation of past centuries, which, unconcerned with questions as to genuineness, busied itself in producing something pleasing that could be used in the decorations of courts, passages, and halls. We also have to cope with modern restorations, as they are still carried on in Rome, where, *e.g.*, people are not afraid to produce, by completely arbitrary additions, from the damaged remains of a sarcophagus representing Marsyas, a varied combination of representations of all kinds of events. These investigations are, of course, only to be made with the originals, and thus require long journeys on the part of the collator, often to distant lands, where the remains of ancient art are to be found at the very limits of modern culture. Personal inspection is

most particularly needed in the case of those sarcophagi which are only known from descriptions, often only from brief mentions. And again, it is only in this way that the distinction can safely be made between what merits or requires reproduction by engraving, and what only needs an exact description; since it would evidently be needless waste to have a drawing made of every single repetition of exactly the same composition.

These preparatory efforts on the part of the intending editor must be followed by those of the draughtsman. And it is no light task to discover an artist who has skill in work of this particular kind and is willing to devote himself to it entirely. As soon as he is found, he must next be made acquainted with the special character of the work in hand and must acquire practice in it. Mechanical reproductions, by means of photography, are generally impossible owing to the position of the monuments and the light in which they stand. We must have recourse then to drawing by hand, which by reason of the multitude of figures, and the dimensions of the compositions, often, too, the inconvenient position of the objects, occupies a great deal of time. And then the draughtsman ought also to be somewhat of a diplomatist. He must obtain access to the original, must overcome the innumerable, always novel difficulties which the fancies of the owners or the avarice of the keepers put in his way, must on occasions provide himself with a scaffold and see to what is necessary in other ways. In Rome, or generally in the larger museums, he is supported in his efforts by the officials of the Institute or the directors of the collections, but in the smaller, out-of-the-way places, he must rely on his own energy, tact, and powers of persuasion. But at last all these difficulties are overcome, and the bitter cold of winter in the museums and the glowing heat of summer in the streets and courts have been successfully withstood,—the drawings are ready. Now begins the revision, for even the most practised draughtsman, not being a specialist in archaeology, will not be able to comprehend and reproduce everything correctly. Again, he will hardly in every case have a quite sound judgment as to the distinction between the antique parts and the modern additions or alterations. The head of the undertaking must therefore set out on his travels again, and if possible in company with the draughtsman, must set about a comparison of the drawings with the originals, and order what alterations may be necessary. Not till then does the material lie to hand in a form fit for use.

This work, which has to do with several thousands of many-figured reliefs, has meantime occupied a period of many years and necessarily consumed large sums of money. As a matter of fact, the work preparatory to the *Corpus Sarcophagorum* has cost about £5,000. Now begins the publication. A publisher has to be found and terms arranged with him—no easy matter in a work involving so much engraving. Besides this, the editor of the collection must determine the arrangement of the whole work, the suitable distribution of the separate subjects on the plates, the mode of reproduction—by copper-plate, lithography, mechanical process, or one of the heliotype processes—and to superintend the carrying out of the whole. He must at the same time be always on the watch to see whether in the mean-

time new monuments of the kind come to light and require supplementary drawings. Finally he has to compose the letterpress, and to solve all the problems which may be raised in connection with it. Then he must send to press, and the printing being often of a laborious kind involves yet further expenditure of time; and now at last first the volume, finally the whole work, is complete, until fresh accretions of monuments necessitate the production of supplementary numbers.

Thus tedious is the process involved in every single series. With smaller works that frequently change hands and are easily lost sight of when in private ownership, such as *terra-cottas*, the difficulties are in many respects yet greater. Then again, the greater the artistic merit or the more peculiar the style of the monument, the greater are the difficulties of a really artistic drawing and reproduction. Yet another point is to be observed. It is not enough to reproduce in their present condition the originals that are still extant—we must go back to the older sources, some of which set before us these same works in their earlier state, often untouched by any restorations, while others preserve for us sculptures that have vanished or been lost. We have to do with two different kinds of sources. Particularly valuable are the older collections of drawings after the antique, from the fifteenth century downwards, to which only in recent years the attention of archaeologists has been directed. This material is again very scattered. Berlin and Coburg, possessing two copies of a large collection of such drawings made about the middle of the sixteenth century, were first considered. A particularly rich treasure is hidden in the Royal private library at Windsor, the collections of the famous *Commendatore dal Pozzo*, of the seventeenth century, of the Cardinal Massimi, &c., a great part of which the Institute has been able to make use of by the kind mediation of the Empress Frederick, and by the gracious permission of the Royal possessor. The British Museum, some English private collections, the Paris Library, the Library of the Escorial, &c., contain other drawings of the kind not yet sufficiently brought to light, and we can hardly doubt that many similar sources of information lie unknown in various places. These must be tracked out and brought into use as far as is possible. But not only are the treasures hidden in manuscripts to be discovered—all the literature of past times must be diligently searched through with the same object. Reports of excavations, descriptions of vanished works or of the earlier state of such as have since been defaced, early engravings, notices of the fortunes of the monuments in the hands of various owners, of dealers, and of restorers—all these form the material for long and tedious labours, which, however, not being specially difficult, can be apportioned to younger workers under experienced oversight. It is quite evident that this indispensable work, if it had to be undertaken afresh for each separate undertaking, especially if we take into account the scattered and not easily accessible state of the literature on the subject, would involve a quite unreasonable waste of time, money, and strength. But also for the collection of Latin inscriptions, of which the conditions are very similar to those of the collection of sarcophagi and other monuments, the troublesome

work of making extracts of the whole literature in manuscript or print, had been undertaken and accomplished as a whole. So that we must regard as a necessity to the completion of the entire undertaking of the publication of series, a repertory, comprehensive and as complete as possible, of archaeological literature—not, of course, to be printed as a work in itself, but as a preparatory help to archaeological work. This notwithstanding it is possible that the order of the monuments to be extracted may be determined with reference to such undertakings as might be nearest at hand. This task also has already been undertaken by the Institute with a special view to the future series of statues, and has only been temporarily interrupted through want of the necessary funds.

But we have not even yet come to an end of the efforts of the Institute for the progress of archaeology. We must add a considerable number of special publications and of grants towards the publication of works, which, though useful, were not likely to be a commercial success. Not, of course, that such assistance was given whenever asked for, even in the case of very desirable publications. Such a course would have gone beyond the means and the purposes of the Institute. Only such works could be taken up which had, so to speak, the character of inventories or of sources of information. Among these are, in the first place, catalogues of antiques, such as that by Duetschke, in five volumes, of the collections of Upper Italy, including those of Florence¹; that by Matz and von Duhn of the scattered monuments of Rome²; and that by Schreiber of the collection in the Villa Ludovisi.³ Next to these comes Schoene's index of the valuable Bocchi collection of vases in Adria, of which the Institute undertook the publication, with copious illustration by plates.⁴ The Jubilee of the year 1879 was the occasion of De Rossi's magnificent work on the older plans and views of the city of Rome, which opened up an almost unknown field of research.⁵ It was also from the funds of the Institute that means were provided for Mau's *History of Decorative Wall-painting in Pompeii*, with the accompanying valuable atlas of splendidly executed coloured plates, a work of the greatest importance for the knowledge of ancient decoration.⁶ Schliemann's Mycene finds led to the two great publications of Furtwängler and Löschke on the so-called Mycene vases, which make a considerable contribution towards the knowledge of one of the oldest phases of art and civilization on Greek soil.⁷ An excavation specially undertaken by the Institute in the neighbourhood of Acharnae brought to light a bee-hive vault like those of Mycene, the complete contents

¹ H. Duetschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*. I.–V. Leipzig, 1874–1882.

² F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*. I.–III. Leipzig, 1881–1882.

³ Th. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*. Leipzig, 1880.

⁴ R. Schoene, *Le antichità del Musco Bocchi di Adria*. Rome, 1878.

⁵ G. B. de Rossi, *Piante iconografiche e pro-*

spettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI. Rome, 1879.

⁶ A. Mau, *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*. Berlin, 1882.

⁷ A. Furtwängler and G. Loeschke, *Mykenische Thongefässe*. Berlin, 1879. *Mykenische Vasen, vorhellenische Thongefässe aus dem Gebiete des Mittelmeeres*. Berlin, 1886.

of which were published in a special treatise.¹ Another is ready for publication on an excavation undertaken by the Institute itself in Lesbos under the superintendence of Koldewey, for exploring a large and hitherto completely unknown Ionic temple. Finally, with the support of the Prussian Ministry of Education and of the German Military Staff the Institute undertook an entirely fresh survey of Attica, and is publishing the results under Ernst Curtius and Kaupert's supervision in more than twenty large sheets.² By these means, Attica now belongs to the most exactly known regions of the world. A detailed text by Milchhoefer accompanies the atlas. As a welcome sequel to this we may regard the maps of Mycene, undertaken by Captain Steffen, which have for the first time presented a clear and complete representation of this remarkable seat of the earliest Greek culture.³

II.

We hope that what we have said above will have made clear to the reader how narrow and inaccurate is that conception which would still make the *Archaeological* Institute identical with the *Roman* Institute, and confine all attention to this branch only. What we are dealing with is in fact nothing less than an attempt at the *organization of archaeological work*, so far as such an attempt is necessary and practicable; for it is hardly needful to say that, besides this, the free labour of individuals will and must often continue to be the principal factor in scientific progress. This thought was already present to Gerhard and to the other founders of the Roman Institute, and we must admire the talent with which the task was taken up, and the parts assigned, while the threads invisibly rested in the hands of that great organizer. But since Gerhard's death we have no central personality, acknowledged as such by all nations and by all fellow-workers. Moreover, the tasks set before archaeology—which may justly be considered among the most progressive sciences of our century—have so much increased that a single person and the former limited means no longer suffice for the comprehensive and lofty purposes in view. In consequence, the Central Direction, faithful to the traditions of the Institute while gradually transforming them, has undertaken this task and entered on the new paths marked out, without claiming in any way a privilege for doing so, but showing the way to other similar Institutions or Academies which might be willing to undertake or to promote other parts of the large work still remaining. For it is evident that neither the work of individual specialists nor the means of individual publishers would be sufficient for such a scope. Only large public funds, methodically laid out, might in time attain the goal. The same remarks apply to the large historical publications undertaken in different countries

¹ *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, herausgegeben vom deutschen archaologischen Institute in Athen. Athens, 1880.

² E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von*

Attika. Plates, I.-V. Berlin, 1881-1887. Letterpress, I. II. Berlin, 1881-1883.

³ Steffen, *Karten von Mykenai*. Berlin, 1884.

and generally supported by public funds, or by learned bodies, except that it results necessarily from the nature of art, which must appeal to the eye, and to the conditions of the editing of works of art, that the publication of the great archaeological collections requires much larger sums than do the drawing up and the publication of mere written documents. And so in the choice of the means of reproduction no luxury is admitted; in fact economy is carried to such lengths that—hitherto, at least—those who are working on the series or on the special enterprises, receive no other reward for their most fatiguing labours than that which consists in the consciousness of having furthered the cause of science. There is need in truth of the self-denying, ideal tone of mind, which is not yet out of vogue among the representatives of science in Germany, to overcome faint-heartedness in work. But there is also need of a union of all forces, of a close organization, to prevent the strength of individuals from being spent unprofitably, and to make all efforts help towards the attainment of the great objects in view.

It has already been remarked that for these objects the most important means have been provided in the two institutions abroad, the Roman and the Athenian Institutes. For either of these Institutes, its sphere of action has been determined by its geographical position. Athens must be the centre of exploration for those lands of the East where Greek influences have preponderated, not merely for European Greece with its islands and the neighbouring regions, but also for Asia Minor, which has of late been the field of rival explorations from all nations, as far as Cyprus and the coasts of ancient Phœnicia. The Roman branch institution naturally has Italy for its primary field of research, without losing sight of the further western lands of the old Roman Empire. Besides keeping a watchful eye on all fresh discoveries, besides their own travels of research and even their own excavations on a small scale, the branch institutions find leisure for prosecuting vigorously those great tasks which belong to the Institute as a whole. The directors of the series as well as the artists employed, naturally have recourse to the secretaries in Rome or Athens, who smooth their paths and generally undertake their cause. But besides the secretaries, they have at their disposal the whole ranks of young scholars, who for about forty years have, in the phrase of the Capitol, gone by the name of *ragazzi*. Of these the main body consists of those who hold the bursaries of the Institute, four being appointed every year, and they are joined by other young scholars, Germans and foreigners—of late especially Austrians. These young men, under the direction of the secretaries, go through courses of study, with practical work, in archaeology, epigraphy, and topography, which, considering the riches of material heaped up and still accumulating from all sides in the museums, afford an incomparable practical completion to their previous academic studies. Moreover they make their entrance, under the guidance of the secretaries, into the organism we have already described of archaeological work as a whole, and it is gratifying to see how zealously and how skilfully the young men, in addition to their own studies, undertake now the

cataloguing of a collection, now the promotion of one of the great publications, now a small excavation, now the exploration of unknown places or of insufficiently known ruins. We soon recognize that a strong common motive power urges on all these labours, and how in active and friendly competition each exerts himself for the common good: 'To be the first in every field, and still surpass the rest.' And yet the reins are not held so tight as may be the case in other similar institutions. The German way is to leave to the individuals as much freedom as possible, and the good training and good will of the majority fully justifies this principle. All the more encouraging is the voluntary co-operation of the individuals in common effort for the progress of science.

When the attention has to be directed to such high and far-reaching purposes, the question naturally arises whether the arrangements handed down from the past are still quite adequate to those purposes, or whether in certain points reforms are required. Such considerations have come home to the members of the Central Direction for many years past. As might naturally be expected, any such suggestions applied less to the newer arrangements which were a product of the tendency to take a wider range than they did to the oldest part of the whole establishment, the Roman Institute. This had both in its organs and in its settlements entirely kept to the traditions of its time of foundation, more than a half-century before, when the Roman Institute was the only accredited scientific representative of archaeology in Italy. But in the place of a patronizing Papal government and a divided Italy, had been formed the united Italian kingdom, which was striving to gather its forces together in the scientific as well as in the political field, and wrote on its banner the proud utterance: '*Italia fa da sé.*' Already in the year 1872, the municipal Commission of Archaeology, which had for its task to preserve antiquarian interests amidst the extensive rebuilding going on in the new capital of Italy, began to publish its own archaeological journal, the editors of which were in a better position than the Institute to follow up and to place on record the discoveries which were daily being made. Thus the antiquities of the city of Rome were withdrawn from the monthly Reports of the Institute, and only the *Monumenti* with the *Annali* attached to them continued to be the natural vehicle for publications requiring much space and large plates. A quantity of periodicals in the provinces of wider or narrower scope followed the example of the capital. Of still greater moment was the decision taken in 1875 by the Roman *Accademia dei Lincei* to publish monthly accounts of all new excavations and discoveries derived from the reports furnished by the Inspectors of Excavations throughout Italy to the General Direction of Antiquities at Rome. The annual quarto volume composed of these official *Notizie degli scavi* served the same purpose which the *Bullettino* of the Institute had been endeavouring for half a century to carry out with less abundant and trustworthy materials. Was it then expedient to continue the production of the *Bullettino* in its early form? None could answer this question in the affirmative except those who regarded anything which was customary as necessarily worthy of preservation.

The difficulties connected with the folio plates of the *Monumenti Inediti* were of another kind. When that publication was begun, two methods of engraving only were in use for such works, lithograph and copperplate. The former process had been only occasionally used by the Institute, particularly for the plates published in Paris, and again, more recently, for the reproduction in colours of vase- and wall-paintings. Copperplate engraving, on the other hand, was used by skilled artists both in Paris and Rome, and so was principally employed for the plates of the Institute. During a long time, up to about 1870, they were confided mainly to Bartolommeo Bartoccini, whose engravings also in other artistic publications have won celebrity. But gradually this branch of art decayed at Rome, and now it is cultivated with far more success elsewhere. Thus in the case of difficult engravings foreign engravers had to be employed. Also in regard to all of the modern photographic processes of reproduction the level of technical excellence at Rome is rather low; and the silver-printing which is practised there with zeal and success is out of the question when a large edition is required. In the case of chromo-lithography too, only easy subjects are reproduced with tolerable success. The result of these unfortunate conditions, for which the Institute was in no way responsible, was that difficult plates had frequently to be executed out of Italy. And when this was the case the original drawings had to be sent to Berlin, or Leipzig, or Munich, and the stock of the valuable plates had to be sent back to Rome; whence once more at the end of the year they made their way back to Germany with the complete edition. It was surely simpler and more practical, seeing that this would probably be necessary oftener and oftener in coming years, simply to remove the whole publishing of the *Monumenti* from Rome.

For such removal there was another and a still stronger reason. The *Monumenti* were the only folio publication at the disposal of the Institute. In the hands of the secretaries at Rome they were naturally mainly used for the reproduction of Italian monuments, among which a prominent place was taken by the monuments of Etruria, and lately by those of early Italian civilization, besides vases, statues of the kind common in Roman museums, sarcophagi, and wall-paintings. True Greek art was thrust too much into the background, and commonly found a place only on suggestion from abroad. Such a selection of material fulfilled ill the general purposes of the Institute. It naturally seemed unfair that the Athenian Institute, situated at the very source of the purest art and in the midst of continual important discoveries should not have so large a share in that great publication as had Rome. A' share in it was also claimed by the Berlin Direction; German museums and many foreign galleries, such as the British Museum with its many unpublished treasures, could be more easily reached from Berlin.

Finally there were inconveniences in connection with the *Annali*. One of the chief purposes of this publication was, as has been shown, to provide an accompanying text to the plates of the *Monumenti*: the two were closely connected. The consequence was that sometimes a very important monument difficult of comment was kept back for years because an able

commentator could not be found; sometimes a plate was accompanied by a hastily written paper quite unworthy to appear in a first-rate periodical. Such experiences suggested the question whether it would not be better to loosen the close union between the *Annali* and the large plates, and to let each periodical stand on an independent footing.

Yet another point called for consideration. At the time when the Institute was founded, circumstances had required the exclusive use of the Italian, French, or Latin language, and the exclusion of German. But times were changed. Knowledge of the German language had, within the last few decades, spread to a remarkable extent, especially in Italy,—the only country here in question. There are at the present day in the principal cities of Italy but few scholars who are not acquainted with German, at least sufficiently well to be able to read it without difficulty, especially as German archaeological literature cannot be safely neglected by any student of the subject. On the other hand there was not a single Italian whose ears were not sensitive to the foreign-sounding style of Italian that pervaded the writings of the Institute, and it required all the courtesy which belongs to Italians by birth and breeding to endure patiently, and without change of countenance, such mutilation of their beautiful mother-tongue. As early as ten years ago, on the occasion of the jubilee of the Institute, the impatient inquiry was heard from the younger Italians, whether the time had not come to allow admission to the German language, with the Italian, into the periodicals of the Institute, and to give credit to Italians for knowing at least so much German. And indeed, since the French had withdrawn from the Institute, and the Roman Institute belonged almost entirely to Germans and Italians, it seemed unreasonable to reserve, simply in memory of old times, to the French language the place it had formerly held, now that its use had long ceased to be very frequent, and to exclude German from the periodicals of an institution that belongs to the German Empire, from which it derives its entire support, is guided by German officials, and is by preference frequented by young German scholars. We may safely ask whether France, England, or Italy, under similar circumstances, would ever have for more than fifty years completely renounced the employment of their own languages in oral discussion and in publication. And apart from the question of national dignity, convenience and equity demanded that Germans should no longer be compelled to clothe, or to cause others to clothe, their articles in the generally inconvenient and ill-fitting garment of a foreign tongue. How much of the natural expression of the thought and the original colour of the description is usually lost in this process of transformation, and how easily an unintended comic element creeps in, might be illustrated from many examples.

III.

It was along these lines that changes were being mooted within the Central Direction, and a discussion of the subject had been placed among the agenda for the next general meeting, when matters were unexpectedly brought

to a more speedy decision. In the New Year's number of the *Kölnische Zeitung* for 1885, Herr Ihne, Professor of English Literature at the University of Heidelberg, and author of several works on Roman history, who had lived some winter months at Rome, complained of the exclusion of the German language from the writings and discussions of the Roman Institute. The Imperial Chancellor (the Institute as a foundation depending on the Empire, and on account of its branch academies in foreign parts, comes under the Foreign Office) demanded from the Central Direction a statement on the subject, and subsequently ordered them to give the German language its proper privileges in the Roman Institute. The *Monumenti* and the *Annali* were to be turned into a German periodical, the use of Latin being permitted; in the *Bullettino*, on the other hand, Italian was to be allowed, and in exceptional cases also French. In the oral discussions of the meetings German and also Italian were to be used—other languages only when the speakers were unfamiliar with either of these tongues. By this means, a definite line was laid down for the further resolutions of the Central Direction. In the most essential points, these new orders agreed with the intended changes already described, and although at first the regulation seemed to involve difficulties in some points of its execution, after a personal conference of the Central Direction with the Roman secretaries, a satisfactory understanding was reached as to the method of carrying out the future rules.

The affairs of the *Monumenti* lent themselves the most easily to rearrangement. When this was to be made the chief periodical of the Institute as a whole, the removal from Rome to the residence of the Central Direction, Berlin,—also desirable on technical grounds—and the transformation of the *Monumenti antichi inediti* into *Antike Bildwerke* followed as a matter of course. The epithet *inediti* might be omitted, because an occasional more exact republication of monuments of which hitherto only inadequate engravings had appeared, was not to be entirely excluded. Each of the three centres of the Institute, Berlin, Rome, and Athens, obtained free disposal of a third of the twelve annual plates, although this rule is not to be enforced with pedantic precision. If one of the three seats of Direction happens to be particularly rich in materials, so that it can make public any specially important monuments, it is an understood thing that precedence should be given to its publications, and on the other hand the editorial staff has to take means for preventing undue preference from being given to any particular kind of monuments, and to provide for a fair proportion among the works of architecture, of sculpture, and of painting. The three numbers that have appeared since the change afford a justification of it which will be easily appreciated. They are distinguished from the former Roman *Monumenti* both by the variety of important monuments and by the great superiority in the processes of reproduction, and if, especially in the latter respect, something remains to be desired (for in this respect Berlin is less advanced than, *e.g.* Vienna), the progress made is nevertheless clear to every unprejudiced mind. We would observe in particular that the investigation of

architectural remains had not till now been allowed to occupy the space which its importance merited. The textual appendix to each number consists only of a rather short table of contents of the separate plates, which gives the facts about as fully as would a good catalogue. No more lengthy explanations are permitted in that place. Such elucidations as are necessary, in cases where opinions may safely be stated, find their place in one or other of the periodicals of the Institute; where the mere reproduction is sufficient, or where adequate explanation would require deeper and more protracted study, then at least the monument is made accessible to all archaeologists as soon as possible.

When in the case of the large plates, appended explanatory notices ceased to be necessary, the *Annali* seemed to lose their chief *raison d'être*, which had consisted in maintaining such connection between illustration and explanation. The remaining part of the contents of this periodical were more like those of the *Bullettino*. Seeing then that the number of really valuable, or even of somewhat important archaeological works which can take the shape of magazine articles, is not very numerous, and seeing also that it would not be desirable to further the publication of inferior work by means of a superfluity of periodicals of similar character, it seemed advisable to effect a concentration of forces, the more so as other nations—Italy, France, England, America—have recently begun with great success to unite their forces in special periodicals dedicated to archaeology. To this end, the part of the Roman *Annali* devoted to the more important investigations was united with the *Archaeologische Zeitung* of Berlin, and the twofold origin was expressed in the new title of *Archaeologisches Jahrbuch*. For the sensational interest of striking novelties, suitable for a journal or a monthly magazine, is out of place in a quarterly or an annual, which should be in the first place devoted to continuous scientific investigations of greater or less scope. These can sometimes dispense with pictorial illustrations, or they may be illustrated in the plates of the annual or by smaller sketches inserted in the letterpress, or finally they may be attached to the larger plates of the *Antike Bildwerke*. The form of the *Jahrbuch* is like that of the previous *Archaeologische Zeitung*, but made a little smaller, so that the inconvenient two-column page could be changed for a single column. The annual is supposed to be capable of extension by the issue of separate supplements. Often, unfortunately, the publication of extensive archaeological works which require a large number of plates meets with great difficulties in the conditions of the book trade, or sometimes it is effected in an out-of-the-way place, where it is withdrawn from convenient general use. The supplementary numbers of the annual, following as occasion arises, are designed to obviate, as far as possible, these disadvantages, without compelling the purchasers of the annual to take the supplements in addition. As a first instalment a paper by Strzygowski on the illustrated calendar of Furius Dionysius Philocalus (A.D. 354) has already appeared. A number of other interesting works—for instance, a report on important discoveries in the Aeolic town of Aegae, and a treatise, by Dörpfeld and Reisch, on the remains of earlier Greek

theatres and their arrangements—have been promised in the forthcoming supplements. Finally, from the present year onwards, the annual, appearing in quarterly numbers, contains a regular supplement corresponding to the *Archaeologische Anzeiger* formerly edited by Gerhard. For as it is desired, as far as possible, to keep the annual in the regions of purely scientific discussion, and seeing that the periodicals of the Roman and of the Athenian Institute—of which we shall speak directly—are occupied principally within their own geographical limits, it is advisable to have a paper of freer scope for communications on points of bibliography and on points touching museums, for notices of the proceedings of the Berlin Archaeological Society (a society akin, as it were, to the Institute) and of other scientific societies, for news of excavations, for short scientific notices, for obituary records, and so forth. This completion of the annual by the addition of a paper of this kind will certainly meet the wishes of many fellow-workers, especially of such as reside in the provinces, and owing to their distance from the centres of the Institute are without opportunity of hearing the news that ever flows thither from all parts. Thus, for example, since a knowledge of the proceedings of the above-mentioned Berlin Society, very important in many ways, has for years been unattainable by means of German archaeological periodicals, people had to gather their information from political, literary, and other newspapers and weekly papers. If possible, this will not be the case in future.

Besides these two German publications, which especially represent the Institute as a whole, the two foreign Institutes naturally require each its special organ. In Athens, the *Mittheilungen* appearing in quarterly numbers, illustrated by a number of smaller plates, has for the most part kept its original arrangement. Under Ulrich Koehler's editorship, this periodical has by the thoroughness of its discussions and its excellent scientific tone obtained a place of honour among its contemporaries. The only wish to be expressed—one justified by the title of *communications*—is that the periodical could be directed more along the lines taken by the publication—also Athenian—of the French School. However, in this respect a marked improvement has of late been visible, which is to be attributed partly to the conscious purpose of the editors, partly to the increased interest in travels and discoveries taken by members of the Institute, especially by the holders of studentships and their companions, and partly in the character and bent of studies of one of the secretaries. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who had belonged to the Athenian Institute for some years, and became second secretary in 1886, and soon after first secretary, belongs to that band of architects who have received a thorough training in the exact investigation of ancient buildings, by means of the German excavations at Olympia and the Prussian at Pergamum, and at the same time are capable of making a complete co-ordination of their investigations with those of archæologists who have undergone a different training. In securing Dörpfeld for the Athenian Institute, the study of architecture—hitherto almost entirely neglected—has won a permanent place as a branch of the work of the Institute. Both the *Antike Bildwerke* and the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, have already

gained much thereby, and not the least advantage of the newly aroused activity of the Institute has been the gradual fresh measurement of extant ancient buildings, and the discussion of the results obtained from them. The lesser excavations set on foot in various places for the purpose of promoting those investigations afford at the same time an excellent training in such work for the young scholars who take part in them. It is to be hoped that Germany will not renounce the hope of plucking, on some future occasion, new Olympian or Pergamene laurels, and on such an occasion, this band of directors of excavations will be found, in virtue of their knowledge and their practical skill, to be of very great service.

The example of the Athenian periodical naturally suggested itself to those who had the task of revising the form of the Roman *Bullettino*. The zealous activity of the Italians above described, particularly in reporting archaeological discoveries, and to some extent also in working out results, necessitated some kind of change. We are far from regretting this circumstance—on the contrary, it seems to us quite in the order of things that Italy, strengthened on all sides, should regard it as a task peculiarly her own to collect and make known the archaeological facts and discoveries within her own limits; nay, we acknowledge, with unmixed satisfaction, that among the reporters not a few are accomplishing their task most meritoriously. Though the Roman Institute has lost thereby some of its previous functions, it still retains sufficient for its powers. Moreover, even in the field of reporting, not all its duties were taken away. With respect to such important excavations as, *e.g.*, those of Pompeii, no reports are, for minuteness and accuracy, to be compared with those of Mau in the Roman *Bullettino*. The Italian official inspectors of excavations are so numerous that it is impossible for all to stand at the same level of scientific knowledge, and many places merit and require a more accurate report. This applies especially to those parts of Italy which were once Greek, and which lie somewhat outside the circle of interests of the Italian investigator. Further, it is a natural result of regular and official drawing up of reports, that in the course of a long-continued excavation the connection of results is easily broken, and that they cannot afford to pass over anything, however slight and insignificant. We can thus easily imagine that in many cases a supplementary or a periodical *résumé* of the really important things discovered (which must depend not on the descriptions of others but on personal observation), and a sketch of the results ensuing therefrom, must be by no means out of place. And further, the Athenian *Mittheilungen* have shown that, besides the reports of excavations, room may be found for special scientific investigations. This function of the former *Annali*, with the plates thereto belonging, is now also reserved for the *Bullettino*. So that the Roman *Mittheilungen* (with the second title of *Bullettino*) not only represent the former *Bullettino*, but constitute, with the addition of a part of the *Annali*, an extended organ for researches belonging to the regions of the Roman Institute, *i.e.* to all the western lands of the Mediterranean basin. As not only the labour of Germans, but, according to the older custom, the co-operation of Italian members of the Institute is particularly expected in

this field, both languages are equally favoured in this periodical; indeed, in order to satisfy the interests of Italian workers and readers as far as possible, it is probable that Italian will continue for long time to be the dominant language. The appended plates are in many, perhaps in most cases, sufficient for the illustration of the papers. At the same time, it is possible here also to hand over the more comprehensive monuments or groups of monuments to the *Antike Bildwerke*, while the treatises pertaining thereto, if they are to be in Italian, may find their place in the Roman *Mittheilungen*. Finally, we must especially notice—what is indeed self-evident, but has encountered doubts and fears in some quarters—that the secretaries in Rome and Athens are as independent as they were before, in relation not only to the editing of their periodicals, but to the whole sphere of their scientific activity.

But the new arrangement of the periodicals which we have described was not the only novelty. One which penetrated deeper into all previous habits was the permission to use the German language in the meetings of the Institute. These winter meetings in the large library of the Institute form, if we may use the expression, the great mart for the exchange of Italian and German knowledge. Here more than anywhere else have been formed, for more than half a century, the friendly personal ties which bind together the scholars of both nations—here the newest discoveries are imparted, and become at once material for a lively exchange of thought. At one time, all listen with eager reverence to an enchanting analysis from Giambattista de Rossi; at another, they follow with interest the arguments of the German scholars belonging to the Institute. The medium of mutual understanding was the Italian language. It was open to doubt whether German were—not equally well, but in any degree at all—adapted to this purpose. For there is for a foreigner a very great difference between the faculty of understanding a printed treatise and that of following a spoken discourse, and in this case there was also to be considered the great variety among German dialects, and the want of fluency sometimes found especially among the younger scholars. In fact, the fear seemed to be justified that to introduce the German language without making any exceptions would be to defeat the whole object of these gatherings, and to disturb the old, near relations subsisting between Italian and German fellow-workers. This result was unfortunately, before there was any visible sign of the intention of such a radical change, assumed as certain also in certain German circles at Rome, and was also openly talked of in the presence of the Italian friends of the Institute. Thus excitement and bad feeling were aroused in Rome. People thought themselves justified in assuming that the traditional relations towards the Italians were now at stake, and there arose a project of an opposition Italian Institute started by the late minister Bonghi. But when the official proceedings in Berlin, which took a certain time, were completed, it became evident that here once more there had been ‘much ado about nothing.’ Certainly, the German language was allowed free access to the meetings, and indeed, for the so-to-speak official parts of the session—the opening and closing—its use was made compulsory, in order thereby to maintain in some measure the claims of Germany in

regard to the Institute. But since, in case Italian scholars should be present, the use of Italian was expressly to be permitted to all present without any limitations, the Italians still had it in their power to give preponderance to the language of the land in which the Institute was established. If foreign guests are unable to express themselves in either of these languages or in Latin, they may, as an exceptional privilege, take part in the proceedings in other languages, such as English or French.

IV.

The readers who have followed these explanations will, I trust, have become convinced on two points. In the first place, that the changes necessitated within the last few years in the Roman Institute have resulted quite naturally on the one hand from the transformation of the Institute into a firmly-established institution of the German Empire, and on the other hand, from the extension of the scientific objects which had to be placed in view. Even the change of name from 'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica' into the more simple 'Deutsches archäologisches Institut' was a natural result of that change in official position, and at once it points to the fact that the unduly narrow range of the earlier Roman Institute has been expanded so as to form an organization on a large scale, proceeding from its centre in Germany, and comprehending a variety of forces. Yet this change in name does not by any means betoken a character of exclusiveness, which would be contrary to the old international traditions of the Institute. On the contrary, the co-operation of all engaged in a like work, to whatsoever nation they may belong, is most earnestly desired. To this end, all the privileges and means of assistance which the Institute can offer have been placed at the disposal of all workers equally. The lectures and demonstrations which the secretaries undertake with the students are, both in Rome and in Athens, open to young scholars from foreign countries, if they have sufficient acquaintance with the German language, and we are glad to see that these advantages are willingly made use of in Athens by the members of the American and the British Schools. In the rooms of the Casa Tarpea, foreign archaeologists may also find accommodation, so far as space permits. And again, the use of the excellent library of the Institute is open without distinction to all educated persons; how much this permission implies, and how eagerly it is used—especially by the Italians—every one knows who has spent any length of time in Rome.

The second point on which I desire to lay especial stress is that of the relation of the Institute to the Italians, which through misunderstandings and misinterpretations like those noticed above, once threatened to become considerably strained. On several occasions, a meaning has been put into the changes in the Institute which would imply that a certain ultra-German *chauvinism* had come to prevail there, and that the changes had been prompted by feelings of hostility to Rome or even by contempt for the Italian colleagues. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Seeing

that we Germans feel ourselves, in political matters, whether through the analogies in our recent history, or in virtue of common efforts made in behalf of peace, closely bound to the Italian people, how should we come in the field of science to renounce all at once all our old traditions and to thrust back, or regard with aversion, those who had for a long time been our friends and fellow-workers? On the contrary, those changes in the publications of the Institute were in part the actual result of the recently-stimulated activity of the Italians themselves and of our ungrudging recognition of their claim to carry on their own work in their own land and by the light of their own knowledge. If in course of time, the scheme once set on foot and since abandoned, of an Italian archaeological institute should be carried out, we Germans would be the very first to give the new establishment a hearty welcome. We should behold in it not so much a rival institution as an additional strength to the spirit of scientific enterprise which would animate both institutes alike. The field of archaeological research is surely wide enough and rich enough to allow two institutes to find sufficient work without mutual hindrance. How stands the case at Athens? Besides the very energetic Greek archaeological society with its own journal, and besides the Governmental Department for Antiquities and Museums, which also has its monthly reports, we have there at work no less than four foreign archaeological institutes—the French School, the German Institute, the American School, and the British School, and yet all these find without difficulty their fitting spheres of activity. Why should we expect to find it otherwise in Rome, in Italy?

But if, nevertheless, those fears have been able to become widespread, and even to become diffused beyond the boundaries of Italy, this diffusion is in great part to be attributed to the fact that almost at the same time a complete change of persons took place in the secretarial bodies both at Athens and at Rome. It was easy to attribute an erroneous importance to this fact, which indeed resulted from an entirely accidental combination of peculiar circumstances. Athens was deprived of Ulrich Koehler who had for long been sole secretary, on his summons to Berlin to undertake the professoriate of ancient history—an honourable post which he was naturally unwilling to decline. His colleague Dörpfeld remained, and after Eugen Petersen had for a short time occupied Koehler's post, was transferred to the first place, while Paul Wolters was associated with him as second secretary. In Rome, there died in January, 1887, the venerable Wilhelm Henzen, who for almost half a century had taken part in the direction of the Institute, and who had always been, to use Mommsen's words, *bonarum litterarum apud duas nationes propagator, Italorum Germanorumque amicitiae stabilitor*. A short time previously, Wolfgang Helbig, who likewise had for more than twenty years carefully cultivated friendly relations with the Italians, had on the advice of his physician requested permission to retire on account of his failing health, and under such circumstances, this could hardly be denied to him. Thus there left Rome, almost simultaneously, those persons with whom the Italians were most familiar, and who might stand as representing the traditions of many

years. It was quite natural that some connection should be supposed between these events and the new arrangements, though such a supposition must ignore the facts that Helbig had taken part in the consultations of the Central Direction as to the new constitution, and had declared himself satisfied with it in all essential points, and that Henzen had readily undertaken to carry out the new arrangements, and thereby to prove to the Italians that the scope and intentions of those arrangements had been incorrectly represented to them. The Central Direction, thus compelled by circumstances, could do nothing more than to fill the posts with the best qualified persons available, and with such as were quite clear from any trace of hostility against Italy. Thus the principal post was assigned to Eugen Petersen, a well-known investigator and teacher of archaeology, who had likewise conducted excavations and expeditions of discovery in Asia Minor, and whose character, as well as his mature age, afforded a pledge that he, like Henzen, would always be ready to do good services to anybody, and would in everything regard exclusively the interests of science. At the same time no one seemed better suited to the epigraphical part of the task than Christian Hülsen, fellow-worker and successor to Henzen in the publication of the *tituli urbani* in the great *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Also August Mau, who had for long acted as amanuensis to Henzen, and during his long stay at Rome has acquired the full confidence of the Italian scholars, was attached to the Roman Institute, with the special provision that he should devote his attention to the library, and also continue to prosecute his study of Pompeii. And if we also observe how precisely the most weighty representatives of Italian learning, such as De Rossi and Fiorelli, now as previously take an active share in the discussions and the work of the Institute, we may rest assured in the hope, that even if a few misunderstandings may yet linger in Rome, they will all vanish in course of time, and that the old friendly co-operation of Germans and Italians will continue to exist,—a hope which seems to be justified by the three volumes that have since appeared of the Roman *Mittheilungen*. Finally, we have a pledge for a peaceable administration of all the affairs of the Institute, in such fashion as to avoid giving offence, and to follow only the best interests of science, in the person of the man who stands at the head of the whole Institute. Alexander Conze, who had already for many years presided over the Central Direction, but had been hindered by other duties from devoting all his powers to the Institute, has now been for two years at the head of the whole establishment, in the post of General Secretary, which had ceased at Gerhard's death, but has been revived as a new office by the Imperial Government. Thus a fixed central point has been given, without which so far-reaching an organization could hardly have been kept together.

However much we may regret the great personal changes of the last few years, we must acknowledge that there is a more cheerful side to be seen in the application to the work of entirely fresh forces. There are no longer any particular interests belonging to the Roman and to the Athenian Institute, or to the department in Berlin, but all the officials and all the active members

of the Institute, mutually realizing their common interests, are animated by an equally warm affection for the Institute as a whole. They all cherish the same firm conviction of the importance of their common undertakings, of the worthiness of their common aims, and of the necessity, in order to reach those aims, of uniting all forces in unbroken harmony. May the Institute in this matter find ever the kindly interest and the intelligent support of all those, of whatever land or nation they may be, who have at heart the energetic and methodical development of archaeological science, while on its side, the Institute is ever ready to support all those who are labouring along with it towards a like goal.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG, NOV. 1888.

(*Revised, Aug. 1889.*)

ARTEMIS-LETO AND APOLLO-LAIRBENOS.

ONE of the most curious series of Anatolian inscriptions known to me has been published by Mr. Hogarth in this *Journal*, 1887, pp. 376 ff. Their importance lies in the fact that they show us the manners and religion of one district hardly affected by Greek civilisation, and almost purely native in character. As the use of the Greek language and knowledge of Greek civilisation spread, the native manners were proscribed as barbarous, and even native mythology was discarded and Greek tales adapted to suit the locality. I have frequently given instances of this. At *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, for example, if we may judge from the references of Pausanias, the mythology of the district was re-modelled under the influence of the Greek literary tradition of Niobe, and localities had to be found to suit the details of the story.

As to the inscriptions published by Mr. Hogarth, Nos. 12-20, probably no one who reads over the texts can doubt that Greek was strange to the writers. They were native Phrygians, speaking their own language with a smattering of Greek, quite uneducated, but impressed with the belief universal over Asia Minor that Greek was the one language of education, and trying to express themselves in Greek. In every part of the country where the inscriptions enable us to penetrate below the Graeco-Roman varnish, the same inference is forced on us. Greek did not succeed in forcing itself on the native population of Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia (except in the large cities which were centres of Graeco-Roman civilisation) until Christianity gave it the additional power of being the language of the Scriptures.

The fact that the inscriptions were written in Greek by persons who had a mere smattering of the language makes them very hard to understand. The words are mis-spelt, corrupted, distorted so much as to be sometimes unrecognisable. In June 1888 I spent a day at Badinlar, where the inscriptions are for the most part found, and discovered several new texts which throw some light on those which had previously been published. The interest of the subject makes me think it worth while to publish the newly discovered texts, and to show how far they help us towards the proper interpretation of those already published.

I have elsewhere collected the facts which prove that a goddess called sometimes Leto, sometimes Artemis, was widely worshipped in the southern

and central parts of western Asia Minor.¹ She is invoked as the 'Mother,' and her son, most commonly called by the Greek name Apollo, is worshipped along with her. The inscriptions of Dionysopolis, where they were known as Leto and Lairbenos, give us some curious glimpses of the character of their cultus. They permit us to form some idea of the relations that existed between the two deities, mother and son, Leto and Lairbenos, on the one hand, and their worshippers on the other. With all their rudeness and bad grammar, they show us more of the real character of Asia Minor society and religion at the period to which they belong than do any other known inscriptions.

Such errors as ἐξοπράρει for ἐξεμπλάριον show that the authors of the inscriptions picked up by the ear only their small stock of Greek. The engraving also is so rudely done that Δ and Λ, Ο and Θ, Γ and Ε, &c., are frequently confused, and letters are often omitted entirely. The interpretation of these texts is greatly a matter of comparison with less obscure inscriptions of a similar kind, and I shall therefore at the end quote a few inscriptions which throw light on obscurities in the Dionysopolitan texts. M. Foucart's admirable *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs* ought to be read in company with the following texts.

1. On a small stele at Badinlar.

ΩΩΑΝΔΡΟCΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕ
ΤΗCΕΠΙΟΡΚΗCΑCΚΑΙ
ΑΝΑΓΝΟCΙCΗΛΘΑΙCΤΟ
ΕΥΝΒΩΜΟΝΕΚΟΛΑC
ΘΗΝΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΛΩΜΗ
ΔΕΝΑΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ
ΤΩΛΑΙΡΜΗΝΕΠΕΙΕΖΕΙ
ΤΗΝΕΜΗΝCΤΗΜΗΝΕΖΕΝΤΛΟΝ

Σώσανδρος Ἱεραπολε(ί)-
της ἐπιορκήσας καὶ
ἀναγνος ἰσῆλθα ἰς τὸ
σύμβωμον ἐκολάσ-
θην· παρανγέλλω μη-
δένα καταφρονεῖν
τῷ Λαιρμηνῷ, ἐπεὶ ἔξει
τὴν ἐμὴν στή[λλ]ην ἔξενπλον

It is perhaps doubtful whether we should read ἰς τὸ[ν] σύμβωμον, Apollo being understood as the θεὸς σύμβωμος; but I think it more probable that in the bad Greek of these inscriptions τὸ σύμβωμον is to be understood as 'the temple of the σύμβωμοι θεοί.' My friend Mr. Hogarth recognised in ΕΤΗΜΗΝ the word στήλλην, and thus gave me the key to the understanding of the formula.

The people of Hierapolis also worshipped Lairbenos, as is proved by their coins, on which a radiated head of the Sun-god, with the legend ΛΑΙΡΒΗΝΟΣ, frequently occurs. The inscriptions show that persons from Hierapolis² on the south, and Motella on the north, frequently came to share in the worship

¹ 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia,' A. II., in *Amer. Jour. Archaeol.*, 1887. To the homes of her worship add (7) the Ormeleis in Kabalis, as is shown by the inscription quoted in the course of the same article, A. VII., 'Ἀπόλλωνι

καὶ Μητρὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

² Compare also the inscription No. 4 in my 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' Part I., *J. H. S.*, 1884.

of the shrine near Dionysopolis overhanging the south bank of the Maeander.

I do not in the transcript correct any of the faults of grammar in the text. The intention of the writer seems to be, 'I, Sosandros of Hierapolis, having sworn falsely and being impure on that account, entered the temple of the Gods Consort, and I was chastised, and I now give warning that no one should despise the god Lairmenos, since he will have my stele as an example.' On *ἀγνός, ἀναγνος*, see Foucart, p. 147.

The inscriptions of this class agree in representing the authors as having approached the hieron when polluted with some physical or moral impurity and therefore unfit to appear before the god: they are chastised by the god (in some cases at least, perhaps in all cases, with some disease¹): they confess and acknowledge their fault (*ἐξομολογέομαι* is the technical term); they thereby appease the god (*ἰλάσκομαι* probably); they are cured of their ailment or released from their punishment; and finally they relate the facts as a warning to others not to treat the god lightly. The question might be raised whether the oath in this case was a religious one (*e.g.* among *ἐρανισταί*, Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 210, l. 9), or belonged to ordinary social life.

The term *σύνβωμον* is important, as showing that the mother and the son were worshipped in the same temple and on the same altar: *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος* are often united, but the latter here implies the former.

2. Orta Keui: in a house: on a marble stele beneath a relief representing a *bipennis*. The stone is broken left and bottom.

Ι Η Σ Ι Μ Ο Σ Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ω Ν Ι Υ	Ὀν]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι [Λ]υ[ρ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣΥΠΕΡΤΟΥΚΟΛ	μηνῶ] εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ-
ΕΝΤΟΣΒΟΟΣΔΙΑΤΟΥΣΤ	ασθ]έντος βοὸς διὰ τοὺς τε . .
ΕΚΑΙΜΗΠΑΡΑΓΕΓΟΝ	. . . ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[. . .
ΗΕΥΣΗΜΩΙ	. . . η εὐσήμω
ΥΝΕΥΞΑΜ	. . . ων εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστηλογ-
ΙΓΕΝ	ράφ]ησεν ²

This fragment would certainly have been interesting, if it were better preserved. The relief over it shows that the *bipennis* was the symbol of the god Lairbenos, marking him as the sun-god: the radiated head on coins of

¹ Hogarth's suggestion of fever is very probably right in cases where no other disease is indicated.

² The probable maximum of letters lost is indicated by the number of dots. The text doubtless continued with the usual formula, *παραγγέλλων μηδένα κ.τ.λ.* The following restoration, in which I am aided by suggestions of Hogarth, suits the conditions of space, but I do not insert it in the text, as I do not feel confident of the two words that follow *εὐσήμω*: otherwise I think we have reached the truth:

διὰ τὸ ὅστε[ρην]κεν]ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[ένε, στήλ]η
εὐσήμω [ἰ]λασάμενος, εὐλογ]ῶν εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστη-
λογράφ]ησεν, κ.τ.λ., 'on behalf of his ox which
had been punished (by the god) because he had
been late and had not made his appearance (at
the temple).' I felt confident when reading the
inscription that the gap in 5-6 began with *ε* and
ended with *ω*, and the words which I suggest
are all technical in these formulae. I have also
thought of *Ἡλίφ εὐχαριστῶν*. Repetitions are
very common in the following inscriptions.

Hierapolis leads to the same conclusion. At Develar a small relief without inscription shows the god on horseback bearing the *bipennis* over his shoulder, a type which is common on coins of Lydia and Phrygia: some numismatists used to interpret the figure as an Amazon, but there can be no doubt that it represents the Lydo-Phrygian sun-god, who is known in different places by such names as Sabazios, Lairbenos, Men Askaenos, Sozon, &c.

Elsewhere I have mentioned the great variety of forms in the name of the god. We have *Λαιρβηνός*, *Λαιρμηνός*, *Λερμηνός*, *Λνερμηνός*, and perhaps *Λυρμηνός*.

The ox or the bull had some connection with the Phrygian mysteries: cp. Foucart, p. 77, and the mystic *ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων*; see also below, § 19.

3. At Badinlar on a small fragment, broken at top and on left side.

////////ΙΑ////////

////ΕΛΛΩΜΙ////

//ΟΝΕΙΝΤΟΥΘΕ

//ΕΙΤΗΝCΤΗΝ

ΕΞΕΝΠΛΑΡΙΟΝ

παρ[ανγ]έλλω μ[ηδέ]-

να καταφρ[ονεῖν τοῦ θε-

οὔ, ἐπεὶ ἔξ[ει τὴν στή[λη]ν

ἔξενπλάριον

It is possible that *ἔξενπλάριον* was added as the only word in the last line; though there may have been a word or words between *στην* (which seems to be an engraver's error) and *ἔξενπλάριον*. The last word is interesting. The use of the word has been made an argument against the genuineness of the epistles of Ignatius.¹ We have here an example, which is not, I think, later than the second century, of the word spreading north from the Lycus valley among a rude and illiterate people. From some cause or other *ἔξενπλον* and *ἔξενπλάριον* must have been taken into the popular speech in this part of Phrygia at quite an early period. The word recurs below, 5 and 6, in extraordinary corruptions, which prove its use in the vulgar dialect. It doubtless was popularised from legal use at the conventus of Laodiceia.

These three inscriptions clear up some parts of the difficult texts already published by Mr. Hogarth, all of which I examined anew in 1888 without finding any important variation from our old copies.² I add the texts of those which can now be more completely understood, assuming all Mr. Hogarth's results. Much remains still unintelligible.

4 (Hogarth, 12). This inscription I observed on a new examination to be almost complete. We have the first line, which wants only two letters.

Ἄτ]θεις Ἀγαθ[ημέ]-

ρ]ου ἱερὰ βιαθίσα

ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμα-

ρτήσα(σα) ἐ-τήκω

¹ See Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, I. p. 396, II. p. 34.

² The reproduction by type of such rude texts was of course very imperfect.

5 *κολαθῆσα ἐπὶ τοῦ θε-
οῦ· ἐπὶ ὃ κ(ἐ) ἐστηλογ-
ράφησεν παραγ(γ)-
έλ(λ)ων μηδένα κα-
ταφρονεῖ.*

ἐτήκω with prothetic vowel, which is common in Asia Minor, but generally before a double consonant. The active for passive need not surprise us in these inscriptions; but still the interpretation is doubtful, as the word is not used in any of the other texts.

The offence which has caused impurity in this case is incest. Nothing is said about approaching the sanctuary during impurity, so that the punishment is represented as inflicted directly for the offence, and not for entering the sanctuary before purification from the offence.

5 (Hogarth 13).

Ἀπε[λλᾶς Ἀπολλ]ωνίου
Μοτελληνὸς ἐξομολογοῦ-
με κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐπεὶ ἠθέλησα μεῖνε μετὰ
5 *γυνεκός· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν πα-
ρανγέλω νᾶσιν μηδέ-
να καταφρονεῖ τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ
ἕξει τ[ὴν στ]ήλην ἐξον-
πλάριον.—μετὰ τῆς
10 ἐμῆς γυνεκός
Βλειδίδος.*

The name in the last line is certainly ΒΛΕΙΔΙΔΟΣ; but considering how frequently letters are falsely engraved on the stone, Mr. Hogarth's ingenious correction Βασιλίδος may very well be right. In line 6 νᾶσιν is engraved for πᾶσιν: in 7 ἐπί for ἐπεὶ. The last three lines seem to me to be an addition explanatory of 4–5, μετὰ γυνεκός. The sentence ends with ἐξονπλάριον. In 7 I read ΝΕΙ in 1888 for ΝΗ in 1887.

6 (Hogarth 14). It is doubtful how much is lost at the beginning. One or more lines may have been broken away.

μέγεθος] Ἑλίου? Ἀπόλλ-
ων]ου? δι τὸ ἡμαρτηκ-
εῖναι ἐπεὶ τῷ χωρί[ω] ἰσέ-
τυχει καὶ διῆθα τὴν
5 *κώμη β ἄναγνα λημον-
ήσα(ς) πύριμη εἰς τὴν κώμη·
παρα(γ)γέλλω μηδεῖς καταφ-
ρηνήσει τῷ θεῷ ἐπεὶ ἕξ-
ει τὴν σ[τ]ήλην ἐξοπρίρει(ον).*

10 ερεισε τον μετον η προγεμενε
 . . .]υχεις καὶ ἐξωμολογησά-
 μην] καὶ εἶλαθη[σ]ο.¹

I think that this inscription, like the last, ended with line 9, and that the last three lines are an explanation which should have come about line 5. Either they were omitted by the engraver, or the author felt that he had not sufficiently explained the circumstances in line 5, and added some further particulars. The last two lines seem to contain the confession and the appeasing of the god. The last word is apparently as given in the text: the second last letter is imperfect. Lines 5-6 seem to be a dittography (β') of 3-5. The composer was dissatisfied and added β' , i.e. 'or.' The sense is 'in as much as he happened and traversed (vulgar for "he happened to traverse") the Village,² or in this way, in impurity forgetting I was at the Village.'

Mr. Hogarth has rightly, I think, interpreted both χωρίον and κώμη as the village attached to the temple. The name Hiera Kome in a similar sense is found in the lower Maeander valley. The temple was not in or close to any of the cities of the district. It was doubtless older than them all,³ and was the original central hieron of the whole surrounding district. It stood on a spur of the plateau projecting into the great cañon of the Maeander, connected by a low, narrow neck with the higher ground on which Dionysopolis stood. The expression 'to go up to the temple' (ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ χωρίον) is strictly true to the latter part of the approach, though as a whole the hieron is on a lower level than any part of the plateau on either side of the Maeander. The exact name of the Sacred Village is preserved to us in an inscription (*Cit. and Bish.*, No. 5) as Ἀτυόχωριον. This name may be compared with Menos Kome, which was (as I shall prove elsewhere) applied to the village attached to the temple of Men Karou near Attoudda.

The restoration given by Mr. Hogarth, [Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου, in line 1, does not please me. I prefer to see in the two genitives the remains of some expression like τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνος. The difficulty is that Ἀπόλλωνου must have been the reading on the stone, but the same false form occurs in the following inscription. The name Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου would imply a third century date. But though the *praenomen* Aurelius became exceedingly common, it is not usual to give it in this way with the father's name, but only with the name of the son which precedes. For example, in this case the form of the inscription would have to be either Αὐρήλιος Μένανδρος Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου or Μένανδρος Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου, both of which are improbable, the latter being exceedingly rare. Perhaps we may detect the words ἀναγνα, as in No. 1, and πάρημη for πάρεμι.⁴ Mr. Hogarth (rightly as I think) interprets διῆθα as διῆ(λ)θα. I

¹ The inscription ends with O. In 10 our first copy, made in 1837, is as published by Mr. Hogarth, the third letter being part of A or Δ. In 1888 I thought it was Ε.

² Compare the Phrygian city 'Bria,' which

literally means 'the Town.'

³ Apparently however it was rebuilt in the Roman period.

⁴ The writer of No. 2, who knew more Greek, uses παραγίνεσθαι rather than παρῆναι.

understand that the classical adjective *λήσμων* may already have given rise to such derivatives as the modern *λησμονέω*, *λη(σ)μονήσας*.

7 (Hogarth 15).

Μέγας Ἀπόλλω Λειμηνός.
 Σόφρον ἱερὸς κολεθεῖς or κολσθεῖς (i.e. κολ(α)σθεῖς)
 ἐπὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λει-
 μηνοῦ δει τὸ ἔμαρ-
 5 τηνκένει ποιστριφοῖς ν
 εἰλάστην κλησειπου
 κειτογζην Ἰλασ(α) Ἀπό(λ)-
 λω[ν]ου μάκεδος καὶ
 αμαζονας καὶ νεικο·
 10 α χειλιαῖς ἐξομολ[ογ-
 ησάμενος εἰστηλογ[ρά-
 φησα παραγ(γ)έλ(λ)ω μηδι-
 ς καταφρονήσει ἐπεὶ [ἐ-
 ξεί τὴν στήλην ἔξεμπλον].

Lines 6–10 seem to contain a statement of the expiation. 7, 8 perhaps ‘I propitiated the greatness of Apollo.’ Possibly gifts are mentioned as part of the propitiation (εἰκό[ν]α?). In 5 perhaps the intention is a passive aorist, *προστρεφθείς*, from *προστρέπω*, in the sense of ‘having supplicated.’

In 1888 I could not satisfy myself about any letter in lines 14 and 15. The words *τῷ θεῷ* or *τοῦ θεοῦ* are omitted in 13 before *ἐπεὶ*, and may have been given at the end. If the letters which we read (13, 14) with much hesitation in 1887 are to be trusted, the formula expressing the punishment at the end was different: I have restored the common formula to show what I think to have been the sense.

8 (Hogarth 16) belongs on account of the name to the third century. I can add little more than Mr. Hogarth has suggested. The offence is some personal impurity, as is shown by the relief and by the word *ὄρχις*. Mr. Robinson Ellis’s *ληκηνσάμην*, as a Phrygian form of aorist from *ληκάω*,¹ seems correct. I have elsewhere shown that the Phrygian patois of Greek loved middle aorists.²

Αὐρήλιος Σωτηρχὸς Δημοστράτου Μοτελ(λ)ηνὸς κολαθὶν ἐπὶ τῷ θεοῦ
 παραγ(γ)έλ(λ)ων πᾶσι μηδὶς ἀνάγνον ἀναβῆτε ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐ προκήσι ἡ
 κηνήσετε τὸν ὄρχις· ἔγωγε ληκηνσάμην ἐπὶ τό χωρίων.³

¹ I would account for the form as the result of pure ignorance or misspelling. Similar reasons, and not a rare dialectic form such as Hesychius would quote, must explain line 3, where Mr. Ellis prefers *ἀνάγιον* to *ἀναγνον* (*Journal of Philology*, XVII. 139). But the analogy of Nos. 1 and 3 points to *ἀναγνον*.

² *Zeitschrift für Vergleich. Sprachforsch.*,

1887; *Philologus*, 1888, p. 755.

³ I read *ΩΠΙΟΝ* in 1888; *ΩΠΙΩΝ* is however more probably right, as I did the end carelessly in 1888, and we were very careful in 1887. On the Phrygian dative singular in *-ν* see my paper in *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, 1887.

A writer who gives τὸν ὄρχις, παραγέλων for present παραγγέλλω, κολαθίν for κολαθείς,¹ may quite well have given ἄναγνον for ἄναγνος. Ε for Η before προκήσ(ε)ι is an engraver's error. Mr. Hogarth speaks of the inscription as 'a piece of very careless work.' I would rather call it a laborious piece of ignorant work by persons who had picked up by ear a smattering of the language of educated society, but who spoke Phrygian as their native language.

9 (Hogarth 19).

Γ(άιος?) Λόλλιος Ἀπόλ(λ)ω-
νι Λερμ]ηνῶ ὁμόσας
[καί ἐπιορκήσας, &c.].

I add a conjectural restoration in line 3 to show the general character. The inscription is not honorific (Hogarth, p. 390), but belongs to the same class as the preceding. Unfaithfulness to an oath is a common fault in this class of inscriptions, but the remains of letters in 3 show that the actual words were not those which I have printed.²

10. At Develar. The stone is broken so that it is impossible to say how much further the inscription extended.

ΟΔΗΜΟCΟΚΑΓΥΕΤΤΕΩΝΕ	Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καγυεττέων ἐ-
ΤΙΜΗCΕΝΕΥΤΥΧΗΝΙΟΛΛΟΥΦΙ	τίμησεν Εὐτύχην Ἰόλλου φι.
Λ////ν////////Ρ////////ΠΑΤΡΙΝ////////	λ[ο]κ[αίσα]ρ[α φιλό]πατρην

This inscription gives us the name of a village on the borders of the territory of Dionysopolis and Mossyna. It enables us to restore the inscription published by Mr. Hogarth, No. 22, where l. 6, 7 is τοῦ δήμου [Καγυ]εττέος. This genitive from Καγυεττεύς is an instance of Phrygian Greek, and the want of an article after δήμου³ is to be explained in the same way.

11. At Badinlar, on a fragment, complete only on the left, broken on all other sides: there was however no fourth line.

ΛΩΝΙΑΙ	Ἀπόλ]λωνι Λ[αιρβ-
ΗΝ ΙΗ	ην[ῶ
ΘΕΩΥ	θεῶ ὑ[ψίστῳ

12. At Orta Keui in a cemetery: beneath a relief representing an eagle, The letters are faint and worn.

¹ Unless ἐκολάσθην παραγγέλλων be the intention.

² In 1888 I examined and measured the stone carefully, and considered that at least one letter was lost at the left of the first line. The second now begins ΙΗΝΩ. The third now

reads ΑΒΙΙΩ. There is no clue to the number of lines, but each contained about 14 or 15 letters.

³ Usually δ δῆμος δ Πρυμνησσέων is the form, but sometimes the second δ is omitted.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ	Ἀπολλώνι-
ΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΩ	ος Ἀπολλω-
ΝΙΟΥΟΙΕΡΕ	νίου ὁ ἱερε-
ΥΣΔΕΙΝ////	ὕς Δεὶ Ν[ω
ΝΟΥΛΕΙΥ	νουλεῖ εὐ-
ΧΗΝ	χῆν.

Δεῖ for Διῖ occurs occasionally in Phrygian Greek. The last letter of line 4 is squeezed into a narrow space sideways and of smaller size. It cannot be given by type, but is certainly Ω. Apollonius the Priest is in all probability the hereditary priest of Apollo Lairbenos (see § 31). He addresses the god by a strange title.

13. At Badinlar, on a small stele, beneath a relief representing a winged horseman to the right, carrying in his right hand an object which may be a ball or a patera. The letters are so rude as to be hardly decipherable.

ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΗΣΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΥ	Ἡρακλίδης Πανφίλου
ΔΙΕΙΓΩΩΣΟΥΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ	Διεὶ Γωωσοῦ(?) εὐξάμενος
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ	ἀνέθηκα

The epithet following Διεῖ is quite uncertain.¹

14. On a cippus in the cañon of the Maeander, on the right bank of the river.

ΡΟΥΦΙΩΝ.ΚΛ.	Ῥουφίων Κλ(αυδίου)
ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ	Κλήμεντος
ΔΟΥΛΟΣΕΥΧΗΝ	δοῦλος εὐχῆν

15. Many of the persons mentioned bear the epithet *ἱερός* or *ἱερά*. Mr. Hogarth gives the sense as 'engaged in the service of the temple.' I am disposed to get a more precise meaning by comparison with *ἱερόδουλος*: the same persons who in the original Anatolian system were *hierodouloi*, were now under the Graeco-Roman social system *hieroi*. They are distinguished alike from the slave population, from the priests, and from the immigrant population of the cities such as Dionysopolis. They are therefore the true native Anatolians, and hence the ethnic *Motellenos* occurs much more frequently than *Dionysopolites*: *Motella* was a village hardly affected by the Graeco-Roman civilisation, while *Dionysopolis* was a Greek city with the Graeco-Roman tone.

The terms *ἱερός* and *ἱερά* are in the great inscription of Andania applied to a class of persons or officials, of considerable number and chosen by lot, connected with the mysteries. Sauppe in his commentary says that this use

¹ Mr. Hogarth's words would seem to imply that his No. 28 was copied by Mr. Sterrett in 1883. This is a mere slip of order. The in-

scription was copied by Hogarth and myself in 1887.

of the term is unique (p. 36). It is too purely Greek to be used in illustration of our present case. Strabo (p. 559) says of Comana Pontica *πληθός [ἐστὶ] γυναικῶν τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὧν αἱ πλείους εἰσὶν ἱεραί*. Here the term must mean 'attached to the sanctuary and bound to the service of the deity.' Such women are a well-attested feature of the Anatolian worship.¹ Besides those who were bound to the life (*ιερόδουλοι*), there were also cases in which women acted in this way for a time as an act of devotion to the deity. An inscription of Tralleis is erected by a lady apparently of good family, to judge from her name, during the third century after Christ, in which she speaks of herself as *ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων* and as herself *παλλακεύσασα καὶ κατὰ χρῆσμον*.²

16. A series of Inscriptions at Dionysopolis record the enfranchisement of slaves by dedicating them to the god. They would in that case become *hieroi*. The word *ιερόδουλος* occurs in an inscription of Sandal quoted below.

The inscriptions of this class are given by Hogarth, Nos. 1–6,³ to which I would add his No. 8, in which his restoration seems unsatisfactory. These inscriptions were engraved several on one stone, or they were (as in his No. 1) squeezed in at the end of an inscription of quite different character: in this way I interpret the first line as being the end of one inscription. The stone then continues after the date of the new inscription (which is rightly explained by Mr. Hogarth), *Ζη[νύδοτος ? κ]αὶ ἡ γυν(ή) μο[υ καταγράφομ]εν τὸν ἑαυτῶν θρεπτὸν* 'Αν, &c.

17. The inscriptions of Dionysopolis are to be compared with those of the Lydian city of Satala, now called Sandal, beside Koula.⁴ The goddess worshipped there is called Leto and Artemis-Anaëtis. She perhaps got the name Anaëtis from the Persian colonists who were settled in the Hermus valley by the Persian kings. The inscriptions of Koula are of similar character to those of Dionysopolis, but are more Greek in type, written in better language, and less instructive about the native religion. I give here two or three texts, partly because they are generally incorrectly restored in their published form, but also for the light they throw on the more obscure inscriptions of Dionysopolis. In the Smyrna *Μουσείον*, No. *τλγ'*, 'Ετους . . ε , *μη(νός) [Αὐ]γναίου ιβ'*, *Τρό[φι]μος Νεικία ἱε[ρό]δουλος, ἐπιζ[ητή]σαντος Διὸς Σ[αβ]αζίου, διὰ τὸ κ[ολά]σεσθε αὐτον [ἔγρα]ψα καὶ ἀνέσσω[τησα τήν] στήλλην*. Trophimus, when Zeus Sabazios visited him with punishment, wrote and set

¹ I use the term Anatolian worship, not as indicating identity, but only general similarity in some important features of religion in great part of Asia Minor.

² I published it in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, p. 276.

³ In addition to those given in my 'Cities and Bishoprics,' § VII. *J. H. S.*, 1883.

⁴ I have frequently pointed out that there is no real foundation for the view now too deeply H.S.—VOL. X.

engrained in modern literature for me to eradicate, that Koula is an ancient village Koloe. Koula is the Byzantine fortress Opsikion (called by the Turks Koula 'the fortress') in the territory of Satala. The inscription now at Koula mentioning the village Koloe, was brought from the Kara Tash district, eight hours distant. Mr. Hicks, in the *Classical Review*, 1889, p. 69, doubles the error by actually confusing this Koloe with the lake near Sardis.

up the stele on account of his having been chastised: *κολάσσεσθε* is for *κολάζεσθαι*, where we should expect *κεκολάσθαι*.

18. A still closer parallel is given by the following, which is engraved beneath a relief representing a horseman, towards the right, carrying a bipennis in his left hand: *Ἀντωνία Ἀντωνίου Ἀπόλλωνι θεῷ Βοζηνῷ διὰ τὸ ἀναβεβη[κέ]νε με ἐπὶ τὸν χορὸν ἐν ῥυπαρῷ ἐπενδύτη, κολασθίσα δὲ ἐξωμολογησάμην¹ κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὁλό[κλ]ηρος*. To judge from the appearance of the inscription it is not later than the second century. Here many technical terms occur: *ἀναβαίνειν*, *χορὸν*, *ἐξωμολογέομαι*, &c.; *χορὸν* ought in all probability be printed *χόρον*, and interpreted as a mere error for *χῶρον* or *χωρίον*, the village beside the sanctuary. *ῥυπαρὸς* is a technical term of the mysteries, as may be gathered from Plutarch, *de Superst.* 12, quoted by M. Foucart, *l.c.*, pp. 147, 169.

The stone, which is said to have come from Koula, was brought to the Berlin Museum in 1879, and published by Conze in the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 37.

19. Another stone, of the same provenance, and published along with the preceding inscription, shows a relief representing a bipennis; beneath it is the following inscription: *ἀνθέστησαν οἱ Ἀρτέμωνος υἱοὶ τὸ καταχθέν στηλάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ βοδὸς Ἀπόλλωνι Ταρσί*. This stele apparently replaced another which had been knocked down and broken by an ox belonging to Artemon or his sons² (see § 2). *καταχθέν* for *κατεαχθέν*, is of the Phrygian Greek: *ε* is often inserted in unaugmented forms by late writers and in MSS. of early writers.

20. In the Smyrna Mouseion, No. *υλγ'*, dated A.D. 237, six persons record (beneath two breasts, a leg, and two eyes in relief) that they make the sacred tablet in propitiation of the goddess: *ποιήσαντες τὸ ἱεροπώμα εἰλασάμεν Μητέραν Ἀνάειτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἔνγραφον ἔστησαν*.

21. No. *υλζ'*, dated A.D. 159, is very important in comparison with No. 7 above. *Μεγάλη Ἀνάειτις*. *Ἐπεὶ ἡμάρτησεν, Φοῖβος ἐπεξήτησεν, ἱεροπώμα ὑποδεί[κ]νυν εἰλασάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστῶν, ἔτους σμδ', μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεισίου β'*. The cry 'Great is Anaeitis,' 'Great is Apollo Lairmenos,' at the beginning, recalls 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.'³ The intention of the writer, who does not give his name, seems to be as follows, in defiance of grammar and logic: Apollo visited me with punishment when I sinned, and

¹ Conze makes this into two words, taking *μήν* as a particle. A love for the middle voice is characteristic of Phrygian Greek, see my notes in *Philologus*, 1888, p. 755. Moreover the compound *ἐξωμολογέομαι* is not found in the active voice.

² The omission of the names of the sons suggests that the offence dates from the time of

Artemon, and that his sons make the restitution. This stone accompanied the preceding.

³ I can merely state the opinion in this place that the inscriptions quoted in these pages give a better idea of the Artemis of Ephesus, the Mother, the Parthenos, than can be obtained from any other source.

I have set forth the facts by a *tabula sacra*, propitiating the god and thanking him. Compare ἐξείλασθαι and εὐείλατος in Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 220.

22. In No. τλβ', Aur. Stratoniceus, having in ignorance cut wood from the sacred grove of Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anacitis, κολασθεὶς εὐξάμενος εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέστησα. The date is 235-6 A.D.

23. In No. τλδ', A.D. 126, ἐκολάσθη Ἀμμιὰς οἰπὸ Μητρὸς Φιλείδος ἰς τοὺς μαστοὺς δι' ἁμαρτίαν λόγον λαλήσασα, καὶ [ἰ]λθαμένη, καὶ ὥμοσε ἕκκ τῆς ιδίας αὐλῆς,¹ ἐγὼ οὖν ἤδη τὰ ἐπιμήνια . . . The inscription is also published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1884, p. 378. The terms ἐκολάσθη and ἁμαρτίαν are similar to the inscriptions below. The rest is obscure; apparently she was cured and then took an oath to make some monthly service.

24. In No. τκς', in A.D. 143, Artemidoros and Amias μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἔξ, (ε)ἰδότων καὶ μὴ (ε)ἰδότων, λύτρον κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ καὶ Διὶ Ὁγμηνῶ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς, the word λύτρον seems to be used almost in the sense of εὐχὴν as a ransom paid to the god for Artemidoros and his wife.² The only sense I can gather from the opening words is 'with their relations six in number, some of whom know and some do not know.' The Μουσεῖον reads ἔξ ἰδόντων καὶ μὴ ἰδόντων. The word αὐτῷ seems to imply that Men and Zeus are one,³ and the concluding phrase is equivalent to καὶ τοῖς συνβόμοις θεοῖς.

25. This use of the word λύτρον occurs also in an inscription published in the *Classical Review*, 1888, p. 138, by Mr. Hicks, who despairs of the transcription and interpretation. I copied the same inscription at a khan in Simav in 1884, and can attest the accuracy of the copy sent to Mr. Hicks.⁴ But at present I can contribute little but guesses to the explanation of the strange text, although the words are quite clear: Παλλικῶ Ἀσκληπιάς κώμη Κερυζέων πα[ι]δίς(κ)η [Δ]ιογένου λύτρον. The word λύτρον, occurring at the end, proves it to be a dedication to a deity. Asclepias, the slave of Diogenes, dedicates the expiation (λύτρον) to some deity. The village of the Keryzeis is introduced in an obscure fashion; but the meaning is probably 'Asclepias (a native of) the village.' The inscription is engraved below a relief representing a figure compounded of Men and Telesphoros, wearing a very short mantle with a peaked hood, with the crescent moon behind his shoulders, standing facing, and bearing a spear in his right hand. The upper

¹ Perhaps we should read αὐ[δ]ῆς.

² In a long unpublished inscription of the district I find ἔλουσε (i. e. ἔλυσε) τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ νῦν εἰλασμένη εὐλογεῖ Μητρὶ Ἀρτάμιτι (i. e. Ἀρτέμιδι). The date is 119 A.D.

³ Compare Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Βεννεί, which identifies two gods of two different districts. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883, p. 258.

⁴ My variations are Π or ΙΤ for Γ at the

beginning, ΗΚΕ for ΗΕ in 2, and Λ for Δ as the first letter of [Δ]ιογένου: the last is quite clear and certain. κώμη for κώμης, and παδίσκη for παιδίσκη, are also probably errors of the engraver, but Mr. Hicks's copy, which reads ΠΑΙ for my ΠΑ, gives the clue to the above interpretation.

part of the stone, which is now lost, may have contained the beginning of the inscription with the date and the word *θεώ*. Then comes the title *Παλλικώ*. The twin Sicilian deities *Palikoi* are well known; but the representation is almost unique.

26. Mouseion, No. *υξ'*, *Λυρήλιος Τρόφιμος Ἀρτεμισίου ἐρωτήσας τὸν θεὸν ἀνέστησα Μητρὶ θεῶν στήλην εὐλογῶν σου τὰς δυνάμεις*. The word *ἐρωτήσας* proves that the *ἐπιταγή* of the god, which is frequently mentioned, is the oracle given to a worshipper consulting him.

27. No. *τκζ'*, *Απολλωνίως Δραλᾶς δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ* is explained by the inscription of Dionysopolis [*Γ*]νείως Ἀφιδᾶς Θεοδότου δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ, ὅτι ἐξ ἁδυνάτων δυνατὰ ποιεῖ.

28. The inscriptions of Koula show more variety as well as better Greek than those of Dionysopolis. In the latter *ἐπιζητέω* seems not to occur, *κολάζω* is the only verb indicating the punishment inflicted by the god, *ιεροποίημα* does not occur, nor *ἀποδείκνυμι*, but *ἀπαγγέλλω*, *ἐξομολογέομαι*, and *στηλογραφέω*¹ take their place. I think however that peculiarly inflected aorists from *ἰλάσκομαι* can be traced. In the obscure parts we may perhaps look for expressions to correspond to *εὐχαριστῶν* and *εὐλογῶν τὰς δυνάμεις*.

The dates of the inscriptions of Satala vary from A.D. 126 to 237. Those of Dionysopolis evidently belong to the same period, but as they are even ruder than those of Satala, and as the earliest at Satala are also the rudest, the inscriptions of Dionysopolis may be placed for the most part in the second century.

29. Several of the inscriptions copied at Ephesus by Mr. Wood belong to the same class of inscriptions as those of Dionysopolis and Satala (*Inscr. Augusteum*, 2-4 and 8), *εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κυρία Ἀρτεμι, Γ(αίος) Σκαπτιος*, and *εὐχαριστῶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι Στέφανος*, &c. These inscriptions contain the formula 'I give thanks,' which occurs both at Dionysopolis and at Satala and nowhere else, so far as I have observed. Artemis has the title *κυρία*, as Apollo is *κύριος* in a Dionysopolitan inscription (Hogarth, No. 17). The expressions 'Great is Artemis,' 'Great is Apollo,' are found at Ephesus and at Dionysopolis. The legend *ΛΗΤΩ. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ*. occurs on a coin of Ephesus (Imhoof, *Monn. Gr.* p. 285), beside a type of Greek style showing Leto with the twins in her arms. In the article already quoted² I have traced the worship of Artemis-Leto from the Pamphylian coast at Perga, through Kabalis to Dionysopolis and Satala on the north, and on the west along the slope of Messogis to Ephesus. The god who is associated with her as *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος*, under the names Men, Sozon, Sabazios, Apollo, is not her husband but her son: she is both *παρθένος* and *μήτηρ*. She is, as Professor Robertson Smith suggested, the Semitic *Al-lat*, the *Alilat* of Herodotus, and

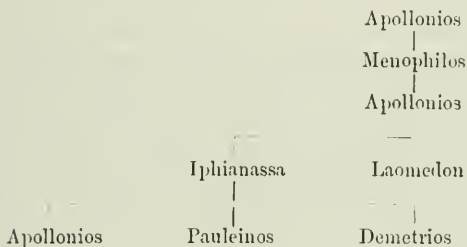
¹ *στηλλογραφῆσαι* occurs at Satala, No. *τις'*.
ἐξομολογέομαι occurs there once also.

² 'Antiq. of S. Phrygia,' &c., in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1887.

her worship takes us back to an older state of society, when true marriage was unknown, when descent was reckoned only through the mother, and when the divine mother of all life was, like her worshippers, unmarried (*παρθένος*). The worship of such a goddess cannot be accounted for except as the divine model for a corresponding social system among men. After the old social system had given way to the more advanced stage of society (introduced probably by European conquering tribes), the old religion still persisted alongside of newer forms, in which the *ιέρως γάμος* was the divine prototype and sanction of human marriage.

30. One rite of the primitive religion, whose traces are gradually being discovered among the inscriptions, may here be mentioned, viz. τὸ *ιερὸν ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον* (Hogarth, No. 17). We may gather from the fact that this flesh was sacred and not allowed to be eaten, that at Dionysopolis the goat was offered as a purificatory sacrifice (*καθαρμός*), but not as an ordinary *θυσία*: the flesh of the former might not be eaten, whereas the flesh of the ordinary sacrificial victims was regularly eaten. I have not repeated the text of Hogarth 17, 18, 20, in which I have nothing to add, except the possibility of Ἀσκληᾶ[ς ὁ καὶ Ἰού?]μος *ιέρως*, but [εὐξά]μενοι below rather favours Hogarth's reading.

31. The priestly family of this cultus is alluded to in several inscriptions, and we can recover from them the pedigree for several generations: see above, No. 12, and 'Cities and Bishoprics,' No. 5, 6.¹



There can be little doubt that these persons are all to be placed in the second century. Apollonios, son of Apollonios, the priest, belongs to the same family and century, and must be the son of one of the Apollonii of the above pedigree.² These priests call themselves, sometimes at least, priests of the Saviour Asklepios; and they make dedications to Zeus Nononleus and to Leto with Apollo Lyermenos: there can be little doubt that here the various masculine names denote merely varying aspects of the same deity, who is closely akin to the Sozon Theos of Artiocheia ad Maeandrum, Themissonion, and the Ormeleis, and to the Men Karou of Attoudda, who was a healing god with a medical school attached to his temple.³ This Anatolian god is

¹ In 6 read Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μηροφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους ἱερεὶ τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κ.τ.λ.

² Probably Γ. Νώνιος, Ἀπολλωνίου υἱός, Ἀνιησίῳ, Διόφαντος, ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς, who dedicates to Zeus Mossyneus, belongs to the

same family.

³ 'On miraculous cures in the worship of the Mother of the Gods,' see Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 98 and 170.

identified with the Greek Zeus as the great god, with the Greek Asclepius as the healing god, and with the Greek Apollo as the sun-god and the god of prophecy. The name and character of Men may perhaps seem inconsistent, but I believe that Men was wrongly identified, through the popular etymologizing tendency, with the Greek word *μήν*. Men is a native name, properly Man or Manes,¹ and the crescent moon on his shoulders is really a mistaken representation of archaic curved wings. The name of the 'Hiera Kome,' viz. Atyokhorion, gives an insight into another aspect of the cultus. The references given in 'Cities and Bishoprics,' part ii., § 23, show that probably the mysteries described by Clemens Alexandrinus belong to this cultus.² The entire class of reliefs showing a goddess of the Cybele type accompanied by a youthful god (the latter called by Conze Hermes-Kadmilos), are also, I think, under the influence of the same cultus.³

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ At Aemonia he was called Manes Dacs (or Daos) Heliodromos Zeus; see 'Cities and Bishoprics,' No. 33.

² *Protrepd.*, c. 2; see Foucart, *l.c.*, p. 77.

³ Conze in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 1.

TWO CYLICES RELATING TO THE EXPLOITS OF THESEUS.

[PLATES I., II.]

THE subject of the exploits of Theseus as seen on Greek vase-paintings has recently been treated by Professor Milani in a long and interesting paper in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* (iii. 1, p. 236). I propose therefore to set aside all general consideration of the myth and its typography, and to confine myself to the discussion and elucidation of two hitherto unpublished vases (plates I., II.), one of them included in Professor Milani's list, one entirely unknown to him, and both, as I hope to show, having strong claims on the attention of archaeologists. They are (1) a red-figured vase, which for convenience sake I shall call from its owner the Tricoupi cylix; (2) the fragments of a red-figured cylix from the De Luynes collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

1. The Tricoupi cylix, plate I. When I was in Athens in the spring of 1888, Miss Tricoupi with her accustomed kindness, so familiar to all visitors to Athens, allowed me to examine at my leisure her brother's collection of antiquities. I found to my surprise that it contained a vase which I have reason to believe is from the hand of Duris, and of which, so far as I am aware, no mention has been made in the numerous discussions of vases dealing with the exploits of Theseus, and which therefore, I suppose to be entirely unknown. I record here my grateful thanks to Miss Tricoupi for her kind permission to publish the vase, and for her goodness in facilitating its exact reproduction. The drawing from which plate I. is facsimiled was made for me by M. Gilliéron under my own personal supervision, and I can therefore vouch for its perfect accuracy. I was specially anxious to secure its immediate publication as, though the vase is at present in such safe hands, the security of antiquities in private collections is always precarious.

The vase, as will be seen, is in almost perfect preservation; the red body markings are unusually distinct. The subject of both obverse and reverse is simple and needs no commentary. On the obverse, Herakles wrestles with a giant, who must be Antaios. His bow and quiver and club lying idle fill the space to the left, a bit of suspended drapery to the right. The vases, both black-figured and red-figured, dealing with the wrestling of Herakles and Antaios are given by Klein (*Euphronios*, p. 122) in relation to the Euphronios Antaios krater. The type adopted by black-figured vase-painters was taken

over by the red-figured style, and little done in the way of development or alteration, except for a general softening of the ferocity of Antaios and the uncouthness of his gestures. Even in red-figure designs however, up to the time of our vase, efforts are made to characterize his savagery. On the cylix published *A.Z.* 1861, Taf. 140, his body is covered with small curved lines to indicate shaggy hair. In the Castellani cylix (*Ann.* 1878, Tav. D.), his pose is extraordinarily distorted. Even in the Euphronios Krater (Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 118) his head is barbarian and savage, his hair long, straight and unkempt. All this the painter of the Tricoupi cylix has softened down; the face of Antaios has still the blunt profile, characteristic of the savage, but the hair is neater and compact, and the attitude graceful rather than violent. On the obverse is Theseus about to slay Procrustes with his pelekus. There can be no doubt I think that the giant is Procrustes,¹ the pelekus being the characteristic weapon used for lopping him, and the tree is absent which would characterize the only other alternative giant, Sinis. The juxtaposition of Theseus with the elder hero is the vase-painter's way of saying ἄλλος οἶτος Ἡράκλῃς. Theseus is markedly youthful in contrast to the bearded mature Herakles.

The interior is occupied by a beautiful design of a youth draped in a long himation, carrying in the left hand a cylix, while with the right he pours a libation from an oinochoe on to an altar. The design appears to have no connection with the other two.

It remains to note the inscriptions, which are all important. On the obverse is ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΘΕΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, on the reverse ΚΑΛΟΣ simply, in the interior again in full ΚΑΛΟΣ ΑΘΕΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ. With respect to the interior inscription, reproduced in black, I may note that, though clear on the drawing, it is extremely indistinct on the vase itself, the red colouring having entirely disappeared. It escaped my first observation, nor did M. Gilliéron observe it while making the drawing, and it was only as I was carrying the vase back to its place that light falling from a passage window at a particular angle revealed it. Athenodotos is a familiar *love-name*. The present vase makes the fifth known instance. The list is as follows:

1. Peithinos vase. Klein, *Meistersig.* p. 174.
2. *Mus. Etr.* 1471.
3. A vase in the Bourguignon collection. Klein, p. 132.
4. Fragment of cylix cited by Mr. Torr. *Classical Review*, June 1888, p. 188.
5. The present vase.

No. 3 is of special importance as here Athenodotos occurs in conjunction with the widespread love-name Leagros. Leagros appears, as may be seen by

¹ In a brief note on the inscription of the vase in the *Classical Review*, July 1888, I gave by an oversight the name of the giant as Kerkyon.

reference to Dr. Klein's list, on vases signed by Chachrylion, by Oltos and Euxitheos, and on the three earliest vases signed by Euphronios. If, with Dr. Studniczka (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 161) we take this Leagros to be the strategos who fell in battle B.C. 467, it seems probable, as these love-names were for the most part in honour of youths rather than middle-aged men, that the name Athenodotos was in use about where we should expect it, *i.e.* in the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Happily an inscription on the interior design enables us, I think, to settle not only to what cycle the artist belonged but his very name. On the cylix in the youth's left hand is inscribed $\Delta\textcircled{\text{O}}\text{R}\text{I}$, which I have little hesitation in reading $\Delta\textcircled{\text{O}}\text{R}\text{I}(\rho)$. My reasons for this are as follows:—

1. The sigma is entirely missing, not a trace of it can be discovered on the original vase, but there is obviously just space for it; it was expected, and probably originally written.

2. The rho of the inscription is of the shape uniformly employed by Duris; on the other hand the delta is not the dotted delta he usually employs.

3. The small *o* which precedes the Δ , and which might otherwise necessitate the reading of the name as *οδορι* is *so small* that I think we are justified in regarding it as merely decorative: probably when the inscription was complete it was balanced on the other side by a similar decorative *o*, which made misunderstanding impossible.

4. If the inscription be accepted as an artist's name it can be almost exactly paralleled as to position by the lekythos published in the *'Εφημερίς* (1886, p. 41, iv. 4). Dr. Klein (*Meistersignaturen*, p. 150) says of this lekythos, "eine lekythos aus Eretria (*Eph. Arch.* 1886, S. 4), mit dem blossen Namen hat nichts mit ihm (Duris) zu thun"; as however, the name is written with both the rho and the delta characteristic of Duris, and the style of the vase is thoroughly congruous, I am at a loss to know why the vase is so summarily rejected. The design is as follows: a nude youth holding a discus in his left hand, and with the left outstretched nearer to the right, away from a table or seat on which is deposited a piece of drapery. On the drapery is written $\Delta/\textcircled{\text{O}}/\text{R}/\text{I}/\rho$ (thus), the lines representing the folds of drapery. There are the same careful, minute markings of body lines as in our vase, and the ribs of the youth are indicated in precisely the same manner. This will be very clearly seen if the body of the nude youth on the lekythos be compared with the body of Procrustes on our cylix; line for line we have the same careful convention as to which details of anatomy should be drawn in black which in red.

In the case of a master the vases signed by whose name, if not by his hand, differ so widely, it is certainly difficult to base any argument on style; but from the fact that two vases exist in both of which the name appears on some object in the design and not in the ground, and in both of which there are marked peculiarities not only of signature but of general *technique*, it seems

to me there is a strong balance of probability in favour of their both being from the studio, I dare not say from the hand, of Duris himself. That a master should omit the *ἐποίησε* or *ἔγραψε* is nothing remarkable. This was done also by Python, Pamphaios, Chachrylion and Euthymides.

With the Tricoupi vase all has been clear and straightforward. It is quite otherwise with the second subject of this paper.

2. The De Luynes fragments (Plate II.).

These fragments have been long known to archaeologists. Reported to have been found at Canino, they have passed with the rest of the de Luynes collection into the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. I owe to the kindness of the Directors of the Cabinet de Medailles permission to have the fragments photographed for publication, and especially my grateful thanks are due to Mr. E. Babelon, and Mr. de la Tour for the kind facilities they have afforded me for personal study. The photographs were made of the original size of the fragments, and to suit the pages of the *Journal* have been reduced to about half scale. The drawing of the restoration was made by Mr. F. Anderson under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Smith, to whom as well as to Mr. Cecil Smith I owe more than one suggestion as to the restoration of details. A glance at the plate will show which are the original fragments (known by the tinted back-ground); the restorations, where I consider them fairly certain, are in outline: in one case, where I must confess to considerable uncertainty, dotted lines are given.

It may seem to some a hazardous and perhaps fruitless task to attempt the restoration of fragments so scattered. I hope, however, to show that in undertaking the restoration I have been prompted not only by the natural fascination of a somewhat difficult problem, but by the conviction that the restoration in its main outlines is probable if not certain. A conjectural restoration, like a conjectural reading of an inscription, is better than none at all, provided it be distinctly stated as conjectural. It forms at least a basis for future emendation.

It will be well to take first the grounds for the general placing of the various groups and, this once stated, to return to each group and state the reasons for the restoration adopted.

The previous literary notices of the fragments, so far as known to me, are brief. De Witte (*Description d'une Collection de Vases Peints*, p. 65) says "Parmi les fragments de vases de la collection de M. le Duc de Luynes, nous avons remarqué à l'extérieur d'une coupe Thésée précipitant Sciron dans la mer: le taureau de Crète, sous lequel le héros Athenien est renversé, Minerve vient à son secours: Pityocampes, Procruste, le Minotaure: et dans l'intérieur la lutte de Thésée (Θησεύς) et de Cercyon κερκυα..." To this notice, so far as I am aware, nothing of any value has been added. In the various summaries and discussions of Theseus' exploits mention is occasionally made of the fragments, but they do not seem to have been personally examined. The last literary notice is by Professor Milani (*op. cit.* p. 236). I suppose his tabular view to be in every archaeologist's hands, but for convenience in following this

paper I give the most important vases that I shall constantly have to refer to, with the letters by which he enumerates them, omitting those not needed in my argument.

a. Cylix by Chachrylion. Florence. *Mus. Ital.* iii. Tav. ii.

c. Cylix by Euphronios. Louvre. *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* v. 1. Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 182.

d. Cylix by Duris. British Museum. Gerhard, *A. V.* pl. 234, and *Jahrbuch* 1888, p. 142.

t. Cylix Basseggio. British Museum. *J.H.S.* C. Smith, 1881, pl. x.

Finally the de Luynes fragments are noted as follows (under letter *e*).

Sinis. Skiron. I. KEPKVA. Procruste. Toro legato con Athene.

Minotauro I. Antiope(?).

With the exception of the last name 'Antiope,' for the presence of which I am at a loss to account, the list is correct so far as it goes. If my restoration be correct, we have to add to it the exploit with Phaia and the sow of Krommyon.

The most superficial examination of the fragments shows at once, as had been evident to all, that they had belonged to a cylix of very large size. This cylix had been decorated with a centre interior design, and with a series of exterior designs, one and all relating to the exploits of Theseus. The size of the figures on the concave, *i.e.* interior design, showed at once that it contained, as would be expected, one exploit only; the certain letters EPKV on one concave figure left no doubt as to which exploit this was: Theseus wrestling with the giant Kerkyon.

Kerkyon then, it may fairly be presumed, is absent from the series of exploits on the exterior. There remain as possibly to be found there, the exploits with—

1. Bull of Marathon.
2. Sinis.
3. Skiron.
4. Procrustes.
5. Phaia.
6. Minotaur.
7. Periphetes.

About (1) the Bull of Marathon there is happily no doubt. The tail of the bull, his prancing forelegs remain; Theseus is prostrate beneath him and Athene stretches her aegis in defence of the hero. This exploit occupies an unusually large space and clearly takes a prominent position. Immediately next to it and joined beyond the possibility of a doubt to the right is the portion of the trunk of a tree and a fallen giant. This gives us—

(2) Sinis. The presence of this exploit is further confirmed by a fragment of the body of Theseus, with the letters $\rho\lambda\text{N}$ and another fragment of a spreading tree-branch. On the same fragment of this branch is the body of a youth (Theseus) and the foot of a giant held by the youth's hand. The giant

is evidently being hurled headlong downward and this leaves no doubt that we have—

(3) Skiron. Most fortunately, on the same fragment with the giant's outstretched hand, is a foot, clearly that of a prostrate giant. This gives the juxtaposition of a fourth exploit, though it is left uncertain which. As Sinis and Skiron are already depicted, and Phaia and the Minotaur in the nature of the case excluded, there remain only Periphetes and Procrustes. As another fragment remains of the body of Theseus grasping a pelekus or double-headed axe, and this pelekus is characteristic of the exploit with Procrustes, I have no hesitation in fixing on—

(4) Procrustes. This is the more probable as the exploit with Periphetes is not nearly so popular and appears but rarely on vases.

We are now at the end of anything like certainty, and approach a field of somewhat hazardous conjecture. It may be well to resume what we have got certainly fixed. Going from left to right we have Theseus with the Marathonian bull and Athene, immediately followed by Sinis:—in the middle of the Sinis group, it should be noted, there is a complete break where all is conjectural. Sinis is certainly followed by Skiron, and Skiron by some prostrate giant whom we may almost certainly take as Procrustes. It should further be noted that so far, though Sinis has been arranged under one handle, the position both of this and the other handle is purely conjectural. Another fragment remains, on which is depicted undoubtedly a portion of the body of the Minotaur: the fragment of the tail makes this quite certain. This fragment fits exactly to another fragment containing a portion of the body of Theseus, the lower part of the leg of the Minotaur crossing the upper portion of the left leg of the hero. On the fragment which contains the portion of the body of Theseus there is an object which appears to me explicable in one way only, i.e. *as the tail of Phaia's sow*. On the strength of this fragment, and the fact that this adventure and this only (with the exception of the unimportant Periphetes exploit) is now missing, I have ventured to restore the next exploit as—

(5) The sow of Krommyon, immediately followed by the exploit with which the joint fragment couples it, *i.e.*

(6) The Minotaur.

With reference to these conjectures I feel bound to state that I have not, as in the remaining groups, received any confirmation from others who had independently examined the fragments. The interior group of Kerkyon, and the group of Athene and the bull, Sinis and the tree had in all essentials been previously placed in their present position by Prof. Percy Gardner. Dr. M. Mayer in addition to these groups had put together Theseus and the Minotaur, a group about which, owing to the smallness of the figures, I had previously had some misgivings, but for the identification of the sow's tail I alone am responsible, and with this of course for the juxtaposition of the Minotaur and Krommyon groups.

The importance of what I may provisionally call the 'Phaia fragment' is

not yet exhausted. It gives the sole and much needed clue to *the position of the handles*. The small triangular portion at the extreme top of this fragment, of lighter colour than the rest, was seen by Mr. Anderson in the course of his drawing to be not, as I had supposed from the photograph, a fracture but a portion of red colour; this immediately suggested to him that it might form a part of the *space between the handles* usual on a red-figured vase. An examination of the actual fragment in Paris showed by the thickness of the fracture that there was no doubt it impinged on the handle. Taking this for certain, and granting that the tail belonged to the sow, it follows that the space below one handle was in part occupied by the exploit with Phaia, and that immediately opposite this must be the other handle, the remaining designs being necessarily accommodated so as to suit it. Up to this point the *sequence* only of the designs could be indicated; now, the handles once fixed, it is possible to suggest their *actual place*. Adopting the sequence already indicated, and fixing Phaia's sow beneath one handle, it will be seen that the six exploits arrange themselves quite conveniently, as in the drawing. On one side, which for convenience' sake may be called the obverse, the centre place is occupied by the most prominent exploit—the Marathonian bull: to its left the Minotaur, to the right Sinis; his almost prostrate figure fits well beneath the second handle, balancing Phaia's sow. The reverse is occupied by the figure of Theseus belonging to Sinis, Skiron, Prokrustes, and part of the Phaia exploit. The exploits, it is true, are thus unevenly divided between obverse and reverse; this however is not merely possible as a general rule, but in this particular case *necessary*, as the Marathonian bull occupies about double space.

This arrangement of the obverse receives incidental confirmation from the relation it turns out to have with the interior design. Place the bull on this central obverse position, and turn the vase and it will be found that keeping it on the same vertical pose, we have the interior design roughly in the right position, *i.e.* the heads of Theseus and Kerkyon one the right way up, and the hanging drapery nearly vertical. In order that this may be evident the position of the interior fragments has been given in dotted lines on the exterior drawing.

Having roughly established the sequence and position of all the exploits, it remains to examine them one by one, and justify, so far as may be, the restorations adopted.

I begin with the centre design, *Theseus and Kerkyon*. Here, fortunately, enough of the border remained to give the circumference, the diameter of which is exactly nine inches (23 c. mètres). The fragments with the head of Theseus, back and left leg of Kerkyon, drapery and sword and sheath, fit absolutely, and so far there is no possibility of mistake. The elbow fragment with the letters EPKVA, as both the arms of Theseus are accounted for, could only belong to Kerkyon: as it has a fragment of border, its position is fixed within narrow limits. The same applies to the left foot of Theseus: that it is a left foot is seen by the toes. The position of the left leg of Kerkyon is fixed: that of the right foot cannot, I think, vary much from the place where it

is drawn in the plate. The two figures might be shifted a little nearer or farther apart, but that is all. I have chosen the position that seemed to fill the allotted space satisfactorily. Just the fragments absolutely necessary seem to have been spared by fate, one less, and anything like certain restoration would have been impossible. I am not aware of any instance in which Kerkyon occupies the interior design of a cylix, except the unpublished Harrow cylix (Milani, *op. cit. v*).¹ The exact pose of the figures is chosen no doubt to fill the space; the nearest analogies, though they are distant ones, are the Duris group, (*op. cit. d*) and the Bologna cylix (Milani, *op. cit. n*).

As to the inscriptions, OEZEVZ remains intact, but EPKVA leaves us in some doubt, not as to the meaning happily, but as to the precise form. The last letter is clearly not O, as we should have wished, but A. The form *Κερκυαν* is unknown. I am greatly tempted to restore *Κερκυα/νευς/*. I am not aware that this form occurs anywhere in literature, but on the fragment of a vase in the Louvre² an inscribed design occurs which seems to suggest it. The design consists of two wrestlers, and over their heads are the letters KVANEX. There can, I think, be no mistake about the A. The tracing in my hands gives it quite distinctly, and Heydemann (*Pariser Antiken*, p. 58) restores 'Αλ/κυανευς. This is, I think, quite out of the question. The typology of the exploit of Herakles with Alkyoneus is quite well determined; the hero shoots the giant while asleep. The Louvre vase fragment is certainly (to judge from the tracing) rather late in style, and a vase-painter may have forgotten all about the type of Alkyoneus; but I do not think this likely. Moreover the hero wrestling is young and beardless, and the second design represents Skiron and Theseus, the adventure being unmistakably characterised by the presence of a podanipter. It seems reasonable to conclude that the whole vase concerned itself with the cycle of Thesean exploits. Considering the relation of Alkyon to Alkyoneus, the form Kerkyon might easily have a second form Kerkyoneus, and Kerkyaneus is then not far away.

Turning to the exterior designs, I begin with the Marathonian bull. The type adopted is as novel as its position is prominent. In all previously known representations of the scene, Theseus is, so far as I am aware, victor or equal combatant; here to our astonishment he is supine on the ground, and in a moment will be trampled to death, did not Athene with outstretched aegis intervene. In fact we have an ἀθλον, not of Theseus but of Athene. It is not unusual to have Athene present as guide and protector, as *e.g.* on the Duris vase, but to have her in the rôle of chief combatant is unique. I venture to think this would only be possible in the case of the Marathonian

¹ This vase—long supposed to be at Siena—is noted by Mr. Talfourd Ely (*J. H. S.* ix. 2, p. 276) as having passed into the collection of Harrow School. It is No. 52 in Mr. Cecil Torr's 'Catalogue of Classical Antiquities' at Harrow.

² For a knowledge of this fragment, which I have not myself seen, I am entirely indebted to the kindness of Dr. M. Mayer, who placed his tracing of the fragment at my disposal and suggested the restoration.

bull, an exploit more especially Athenian in character, the bull having been led to the Acropolis as a special offering to Athene. The artist must have been a man of daring; he boldly takes the type of the Calydonian boar with its constant factor of the prostrate hero, and adapts it, with the addition of Athene in a familiar warlike pose, to the Theseus exploit. Some years back it would have been customary in a case like this to look for some variant literary version to account for such a deviation. I know of no such version, and, though I do not deny the possibility of its existence, I prefer to attribute this startling type to the artist's own invention.

Some small points remain to be noted. The bull is restored with all four feet in the air. It is possible, but I think not probable, that the hindlegs may have been supported by a rising hillock, such as often appears on vase-paintings. On the fragment with the body of Theseus there is a clear indication of a rope with a hook attached, but I cannot undertake to say exactly how the rope was continued; the restored figure of the bull generally is *adapted* from the bull in the British Museum cylix (Milani, *op. cit.* *t*). The uncertain object that appears to the left of the fragment containing the bull's tail I leave for consideration to the exploit of Theseus and the Minotaur. Athene is clearly inscribed, (A)IΔMΘΔ. The fragment of drapery covering the right arm must, I think, belong here, as the folds are so exactly similar to those of the certain portion of the drapery; the hand must have held a spear, of which the three diagonal lines passing through the drapery must be, I think, the trace.

2. Sinis. This group is in its main outlines certain. It is restored chiefly in accordance with the type of Sinis in the Duris vase, where the pose of the giant with a slight variation for the right leg is exactly the same. The length allowed for the tree branch will surprise no one who remembers the length of the Sinis tree-branch in the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*). In the present case the branch must pass partly out of sight; the exact position of the twigs in sight is fixed by its juncture with the next exploit. The only room for slight variation of pose is on the fragment of the right arm of Theseus, with the inscription ΣN. This forms undoubtedly a part of the name ΣNIΣ, but whether the first half or the last cannot be decided. As the space between Sinis and Athene is unfilled, I think it quite likely that the tree branched both ways.

3. Skiron. This group is almost complete; it is easily restored by the help of the very similar group in the Duris vase. It is noticeable that there is no trace either of tortoise or podonipter. The letters ΣE belong of course to (ΘE)ΣE(VΣ)

4. Procrustes. But little of this exploit is left, and yet the restoration is easy. The Tricoupi cylix (Plate I.) gives a design that fits in easily with all the fragments discussed, and it is clearly paralleled by the Procrustes design on the Bologna vase (Milani, *n*). It is most fortunate that the foot of Procrustes is preserved on the Skiron fragment: this fixes which of the two Procrustes types—the type with the bed or the simple prostrate type—has been

adopted. It is clearly the simple type without the bed. I may note here that it was natural to suppose that the type with the bed, which appears *e.g.* in the late British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*), was the later as it was the more complex of the two; this notion has been put an end to by the publication of the Chachrylîon vase, the earliest of the series (Milani *a*) in which the bed appears. It is also specially fortunate that the fragment of the body of Theseus includes the end of the pelekus. Such details as the exact position of the upper part of the body of Procrustes, and the action of the left hand of Theseus are of course purely conjectural.

5. *The sow of Krommyon.* I now come to the difficult portion of the restoration. It has been shown before that the next adventure must in all probability be that of Phaia, and that immediately below the first handle, to which we have now come round again, is the fragment of a tail which I hold must be the tail of the sow. Add to this we have a fragment still remaining to be placed, with part of the body of Theseus, a spear point, and a hand opposing it, which may quite well be the hand of a woman. This is all. Above the shoulder of Theseus are the letters $\text{V}\varsigma$, which I should greatly like to restore $(\text{H})\text{V}\varsigma$, after the fashion of the Archikles vase; but as they may equally well be restored $(\text{O}\text{E}\text{S}\text{E})\text{V}\varsigma$, I can base nothing on this—in fact, as the sow of Krommyon is never in any known instance inscribed, I feel the latter restoration is far the more probable. The tail fragment it has been urged upon me is not like the tail of a sow, as seen *e.g.* in the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*) or in the Duris vase. Taken however in conjunction with the facts that the Krommyon adventure is otherwise missing, and that the tail cannot be the tail of the Marathonian bull, I still hold to my theory and venture to restore the group. The figure of Phaia is taken from the Duris vase; the sow mainly from the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*). The related position of hand and sword may be compared with the inside design of the Bologna cylix (Milani, *u*). That Phaia is present is certain from the hand, the sow could not be absent: whether Phaia was in front of or behind the sow is quite uncertain.

6. *The Minotaur.* Of all the groups this is most difficult. The general attitude of the lower parts of the two combatants and the action of the sword may be paralleled from the Berlin amphora (*A.V.* CLXI.), but here the resemblance ends. The arrangement of the head of the Minotaur, the mode of attack of Theseus, is full of difficulty—so full that I have only ventured to indicate a possible restoration by dotted lines. At the top of the Minotaur fragment is a manifest piece of drapery, through which are vertical lines which must indicate the limb of a body. One thing is, I think, certain: the drapery must in some way belong to Theseus, the Minotaur was the last person to wear either cloak or veil. The left arm therefore of Theseus (the right could not reach) must have passed near the right arm of the Minotaur, and must have supported a piece of drapery. Further, if we examine closely the fragment which contains the tail of the Minotaur, it is clear that there are other lines not belonging to the tail, but forming the

end of some piece of drapery; and this is presumably the piece over the arm of Theseus. It is not uncommon for Theseus to fight with a piece of drapery over his arm, as *e.g.* on the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*) the figure of Theseus advances against the sow, though here the drapery is *motivé* by the Harmodios and Aristogeiton group. But the actual arrangement of the drapery is here very difficult as, though it lies over the arm of Theseus, the arm of the Minotaur intercepts the vertical lines. Probably the vase-painter himself had got confused.

The difficulty is not yet at an end. We are back at the fragment with the bull's tail: on it there is a small but clearly drawn object, which, if the proposed restoration be correct, must fit on to the Minotaur group. It is a circle with a dot in the middle, backed by a curved line. The round object at once suggests the ring of a sword sheath, through which the belt was passed. Excellent instances of these may be seen on the interior design, where the sheath is suspended. The difficulty is, however, to associate the sword sheath with the Minotaur combat. In the dotted line restoration it is supposed that Theseus holds the sheath in his left hand, over the arm of which falls the drapery, partly concealing the sheath. The action of the right hand of the Minotaur hurling the stone is of course purely conjectural. But I confess the action does not seem to me satisfactory. The left arm of Theseus must pass in front of the Minotaur because of the drapery. Its natural action would be to hold the monster's horn: simply to extend the sheath seems cumbersome and feeble. The only at all analogous case is the scabbard in the left hand of Theseus in the combat with Phaia on the Duris vase.¹ If, however, the restoration adopted be not the right one, I am quite at a loss to suggest another. On the fragment with the bull's tail is the single letter ζ. It would be satisfactory if it could be shown that this represents (MINOTAVPO)ζ, as this would prove that this particular exploit came in this particular place, but it may quite as well be a part of (ΘΕΣΕΥ)ζ.

Briefly to resume, I consider the *sequence* and general restoration of (1) The Bull of Marathon; (2) Sinis; (3) Procrustes, to be *certain*; while the existence of the Phaia exploit, its juxtaposition with the Minotaur group, and, from the fixing of the handles, the *actual position* of all the other groups depends mainly on the somewhat slender evidence of the tail of Phaia's sow.²

Four fragments remain which I have not been able to place to my own satisfaction. *A* and *a* it will be seen are obverse and reverse of the same fragment. *A* has a piece of drapery on it which I feel almost certain must be fitted on to the drapery of Athene, as it is precisely similar in folds and arrangement. *a* has a portion of border upon it, which of course must bring

¹ This scabbard does not appear in the publication of the Duris vase by Gerhard (*A. V.* ccxxxiv.), but is clearly visible in the vase itself, and is given by Mr. Cecil Smith in his list of corrections, *Jahrbuch* III. 1888, p. 143.

² I should like to say here that if the restora-

tion given should appear unsatisfactory to any archaeologist, it would interest me greatly to know the grounds of objection, and I should be glad to forward prints of the original photographs of the fragment to any one who would be disposed to make a different restoration.

a down to the lowest part of the exterior design. Here a portion of the drapery of Athene is missing, but not a portion large enough to admit of the introduction of this fragment.

As to *B*, it contains the two letters OM, and a portion of an object, clearly a sword sheath. It also has border lines on it, which show it must be placed at the rim of the cylix. I am much tempted to place it above the exploit of Phaia, and in connection with the preceding (H)VS, restore with some form of Κρ(ομ)μυνώνιος or (H)VS Κρ(όμ)ου, as Pausanias (ii. 1, 3) says the country Krommyon was called after Kromos, son of Poseidon. But there is no precedent whatever for any such form on vase-paintings. It is possible also that the letters may be part of a love-name, *e.g.* (Ἐπίδρ(ομ(ος) καλός, but enough does not remain to make conjectures of this kind of much value.

As to the fourth fragment *C*, I am in great doubt as to whether it belongs to the rest at all. It forms part of a rim: on it is manifestly a fragment of drapery which might quite well be suspended between one or other of the exploits, as is so often the case on designs of this kind. The letters inscribed are, I think, undoubtedly INO?. The slightly less bold character of the drawing and the smaller size of the letters make me hesitate, and anyhow I can offer no explanation of them. Though I am doubtful as to the fragment belonging at all, I think it best to publish it with the rest, as it has always been kept with them. On the other hand, another fragment hitherto regarded as belonging I have rejected altogether as the *technique* was manifestly incongruous.

It remains to say a word as to the date of the vase. Though so much of it has perished, enough remains to show that both in general composition and in the drawing of details it was quite worthy to have come from the workshop of a great master. So much is lost that it is possible it was signed, and I should not have been surprised to find the signature of Euphronios. Euphronios has left us one Thesean cylix (Louvre, Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 194, 195), which in point of composition and drawing is perhaps the nearest analogy to the present vase we have. Anyhow it may safely be said that the De Luynes fragments are later than the Chachrylion vase (Milani, *a*) and earlier than the British Museum cylix (Milani, *t*).

JANE E. HARRISON,

ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN PAINTINGS FROM CAERE.

THE British Museum has lately acquired five terra-cotta slabs on which are Etruscan paintings of an archaic and interesting character such as have not hitherto been seen in this country. These slabs were found at Cervetri in 1874 inside a small tomb to which they had served as wall decorations. The only measurement that is given of the tomb is the size of the entrance which was forty inches in height. As that corresponds with the height of the three principal slabs we may perhaps assume that they had been placed against the walls so as to rest on the ground and reach up to the height of the doorway. The surface of the slabs has been first covered with a white slip which converts them into *πίνακες λελευκωμένοι* such as were used by Craton of Sikyon, one of the oldest painters in Greece.

On this white slip the designs were sketched in with an ivory or wood point and then filled in with reds and blacks, the white ground being allowed to stand for the faces and arms of the women and for dresses which were meant to be white, whereas the flesh of the men is always painted red. In this use of white to distinguish women from men we have an artifice familiar in the Greek black-figure vases. But there the white is specially laid on and becomes a conspicuous feature on the vases. Here we have an older stage of the process, more natural, less conspicuous, yet quite effective enough. It is said by Pliny that the painter Eumaros was the first of the Greeks to distinguish men from women, and it has often been thought that this distinction consisted in white colour for the flesh of women. But as this use of white had been traditional from very early times, possibly long before Eumaros, we may perhaps assume that his peculiar name had given rise to the story of his having first made the distinction in question.

As was befitting a tomb the paintings represent scenes of mourning. This was not always so in Etruria as we know from the banqueting and other festive scenes on the tombs at Corneto. But the more archaic the art the more likely was it—whether vase-painting or tomb-painting—to have this sepulchral character. I have taken the slabs in a different order from that of Sig. Brizio who described them at the time of the discovery.¹

No. 1 contains three figures, two of them being men standing face to face, the one holding a branch, the other carrying over his shoulder a standard surmounted by the figure of a bull; both men wear curious hats to which

¹ *Bullettino dell' Inst. Arch.* 1874 p. 128.



EGYPTIAN PAINTING. No. 2.

reference will afterwards be made. The third is a female figure carrying a spear and a wreath; she herself wears a wreath (Pl. VII.).

No 2, three female figures, two of whom follow on after the last figure on slab No. 1; they hold each a branch of pomegranate in the right



ETRUSCAN PAINTING, No. 3.

hand, while with the left they carry the skirt or the upper robe gathered up over the forearm. The third figure is turned in the opposite direction, *i.e.* to the right and carries a circular vase or pyxis with a lid, such a vase as may be seen among our archaic black ware from Etruria.

No. 3, three female figures, two of whom continue the movement of the last figure on slab No. 2. They each hold an alabastos and wear a mantle drawn up over the head in the manner of mourners. The third figure is turned nearly to the front, her head in profile to the right. Signor Brizio describes her as in the act of fastening round her waist a metal girdle the end of which is coiled round her limbs. One would think it more likely that she is unfastening the girdle. A strip of metal might readily in being unfastened throw itself in a coil round the body.

Nos. 4—5 each represent a sphinx, drawn on a considerably larger scale than the other figures. Apparently these two slabs had been placed on either side of the doorway. They have suffered a good deal from the damp of the tomb.

For the moment we may pass over some details indicative of nationality in these paintings, and endeavour by other considerations to arrive at an approximate date for them.

To begin with the two sphinxes just mentioned, it is obvious that they have been drawn with a strong firm hand. Compared with the human figures on the other slabs they suggest an earlier period of art in which the drawing of animals, including sphinxes and such-like, had reached through much practice, a bold decorative manner, while the drawing of the human figure still betrays the want of experience. That is much the same as what Brizio means when he says that the sphinxes seem to exhibit a more archaic style than the other figures. To illustrate this difference of skill in the rendering of animals as compared with men by another instance I would refer to two vases found in the Polledrara tomb at Vulci, and now in the British Museum, which vases from having been very inadequately published by Micali¹ have never been duly appreciated. The one is a large amphora of coarse red ware which did not call for other than the ordinary traditional decoration. Accordingly it is painted chiefly with figures of animals, more or less fantastic. The other is a hydria of a nearly black ware and of finer shape, with a polished surface which plainly invited a more ambitious method of decoration. The subject chosen is the Greek legend of Theseus and the Minotaur, a subject which could not have been invented in art but by a Greek. The drawing of the figures is quite consistent with what we know of early Greek art. Nor can we take refuge in the thought that after all this particular vase may have been a local Etruscan product in which some known Greek vase had been imitated. Because ware of this particular kind not only does not occur in Etruria, but is found at Naucratis in Egypt, and places like Rhodes which stood in intimate relationship with Naucratis. We have therefore from our tomb in Etruria two vases, one of which, with figures of animals chiefly, represents generally speaking the end of an old-established decorative system of art, while the other illustrates the beginning of a new stage where invention and originality were needed rather than conventional training. We thus see that both systems had for a time existed side by side. So far as

¹ *Mon. Ined.* pl. 4.

concerns the Polledrara tomb we can approximately define that time from the existence in it of a scarab of Psammetichos I., who established in Naucratis the Ionian and Carian mercenaries who had served him so well. The scarab may have been produced after his death, it is true, and a small allowance of years could be made for that if it were thought necessary—I do not think it is. Somewhere in the actual reign of Psammetichos I. (656—611 B.C.) seems to me to suit best the general contents of the tomb.

A comparison between the figures of Ariadne and Theseus on the Polledrara hydria and our new paintings will show that there need not have been much difference of time between them. It seems to me that our paintings are later, and that we may accept 600 B.C. as nearly applicable to them. That date takes us to a period when the Etruscans had enjoyed for some time the stimulus to art that had been given by the settlement among them of those artists who had emigrated from Corinth to escape the rule of the Kypselidae. It is assumed that the advent of these artists had given a stimulus to art in Etruria, and I think there is good reason for believing so. But we must remember also that those Corinthian artists would hardly have chosen to settle in a place which was not already well in the way of artistic development.

Helbig with general consent, I believe, has taken certain wall-paintings on a tomb at Veii¹ as the oldest existing examples of the art, and no doubt these paintings at Veii do represent a stage of art which in its spirit at least was much older than our paintings. The designs consist chiefly of animals, wild or fantastic, very high on their legs and slender in their limbs, as are also the few human figures. But these Veii paintings though older in spirit were not necessarily older in practice for this reason, that in the Polledrara tomb, as we have seen, were found along with the more highly painted hydria an amphora with designs which in the closest manner resemble the paintings of Veii. These paintings may therefore either represent the end of an older stage of art, when new lines were being struck out, or they may actually, as Helbig assumed, represent that older stage of art at its prime. It would not matter much either way but for the fact that this older stage was essentially Oriental, and not a natural growth in Etruria or among the Greeks. It is quite possible that this Oriental style may have reached the Etruscans simultaneously with the later style, and that being purely decorative it had been adopted for decorative purposes at the same time as the later and more ambitious style was being taken up by more ambitious artists, or for higher purposes.

Our paintings have been compared with certain slabs in the Louvre² which also were obtained from Caere and have long been celebrated. The comparison is just so far as concerns the thick heavy limbs of the figures, the high boots, the system of colouring and even the vertical stripes underneath

¹ Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pl. 58, figs. 1-3; Helbig, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1863 p. 337.

² *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi.-vii. pl. 30;

Annali, 1859 p. 325. See also a fragment from Caere in Berlin, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, pl. 68 p. 96.



ETRUSCAN PAINTING, No. 4.



ETRUSCAN PAINTING, No. 5.

the figures. Nevertheless the heads and faces of the Louvre paintings are of a much more advanced type than ours, the profiles are more nearly vertical, the beards are more formal and more like those of later art, as is also the drapery. It has been suggested that these differences may have arisen from our paintings having been the work of an artist of a more local character, and there is something to be said for this view considering the curiously local or at least national costume worn by the two men on slab No. 1. In particular the hats which they wear are the same as those on the famous bronze situla at Bologna,¹ the designs of which it is allowed have a strong provincial character. But even if our paintings have something of a provincial character, it would be safe to say that the profiles of the figures and the markedly conventional rendering of the knees would alone be enough to prove them older than the Louvre paintings.

The Louvre paintings have been much discussed but not, I think, fixed down to a narrow date. They have been compared with certain vases found in Etruria and painted in a style which has been described as an Etruscan imitation, more or less contemporary of Corinthian art as it was practised towards the end of the seventh century B.C.² But the vases found at Naucratis in Egypt, the fragments of a painted sarcophagus from Clazomenae and other evidence have gone to show that Corinth was not the only and perhaps not the original centre from which the Etruscans were influenced in their painting whether on vases or on walls. The source of that influence is to be looked for also among the Greeks of Asia Minor and in particular among those Asiatic Greeks who had settled in the Delta of Egypt in the latter part of the seventh century B.C. That influence we may consider to have been represented by the person whom Pliny calls Philocles, the Egyptian, placing him at the head of his list of the oldest painters; elsewhere a native of Samos, named Saurias is reckoned among the oldest painters. Even in the later Etruscan paintings at Corneto which can hardly be earlier than the middle of the sixth century B.C., we have a banquet scene in which appear painted vases of a type found in numbers at Daphnae, and at a place called Fikellura in Rhodes.

One technical point may be noticed which is common to much of the Daphnae pottery, to the Clazomenae fragments, to the Louvre paintings, to our new slabs and to much of the very archaic pottery of Etruria,³ the habit of indicating borders to dresses and such like by a row of white dots between two black or red lines. I am inclined to think that this which became so pronounced a habit in these quarters and not always confined to borders of drapery, may have had its origin in an attempt to indicate a border of small rosettes such as are seen constantly in Assyrian art. Many rosettes made of

¹ Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, pl. 35. The hat worn by the first figure on our slab No. 1, is the same as that worn by warriors on the situla, while the hat of the other figure is the same as that worn by civilians or perhaps priests.

² *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi.-vii. pl. 77: *Annali*, 1863, p. 229, the subjects being Europa on the bull and the Hunt of the Calydonian boar.

³ See for example, *Gazette Arch.* vii. pls. 33-34.

glass and pierced for attachment to dresses were found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Ialysos, Spata and elsewhere, while on the pottery of those localities only a beginning is made in the painting on of rosettes, a beginning which afterwards was developed to excess at Camiros and Corinth. The rich border of guilloche along the tops of our slabs is strongly suggestive of Asia Minor, ultimately of Assyria, and considering how the older paintings of Tiryns and Mycenae had followed rather the models of Egypt we may conclude that this new element of Assyrian design in the Caere paintings indicates a change of the source of influence from Egypt to Asia Minor, or at least a junction of the two. A painted terra-cotta slab given by Perrot (*Assyrie*, pl. 14) is one of many instances of the guilloche pattern in Assyria: this slab is further interesting because one of the figures has a profile resembling the female figures on our slabs; indeed the form of the nose and nostril on our slabs and the manner of indicating the eye (as best seen in the first female figure on the right) have a strongly marked Assyrian character. So also the branch of three pomegranates carried by one of the Caere figures is just the same as the branch carried by Sargon in a relief given by Perrot (*Assyrie*, p. 513 fig. 235). Among the early pottery of Naucratis—that in which the figures are painted on a white ground, we have a number of fragments on which a very similar profile, the same hook on the nostril, and the same formation of the inner corner of the eye are to be found. As for the pomegranate it abounds on these painted vases from Naucratis. The bones of the knees in our paintings are rendered quite differently from anything I have seen in Assyrian or Egyptian art—though as far as they form a conspicuous mass they are like the Assyrian.

I am inclined to compare our new paintings with these early fragments from Naucratis while the Louvre paintings may be compared with the pottery of Daphnae which latter has been assigned to about 550 B.C.

Apart from these questions there are in the new paintings one or two things to be noticed; for instance, the standard surmounted by a bull which one of the men carries over his shoulder. It is stated that the regal insignia of Rome had been derived from Etruria, and it is known that in triumphal processions the insignia of triumph were the wreath and the ivory sceptre surmounted by an eagle.¹ For such a sceptre there was an archaic name *scipio*, and if that word is derived from the Greek as is supposed, then the idea of the sceptre also would have come from Greece. But one is inclined to go to the East for its origin.

'In Assyria,' says Herodotus (I. 195), 'every man of position had a sceptre surmounted by an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle or something else, the rule being that no sceptre should lack an *episcemon*.' One of the oldest examples of Assyrian art, the fragment of a stele from Tello in the Louvre, represents a standard surmounted by an eagle with spread wings.² In Egyptian art also similar standards are to be seen, and it might have been better for the argu-

¹ Marquardt and Maass, *Handbuch Röm. Alterth.* 1898, p. 542.

² Perrot, *Assyrie*, p. 32.

ment as to an artistic influence reaching the Etruscans from the residents in the Delta of Egypt to have appealed to the instances of Egyptian standards; but I am anxious to keep the way open also for a probable influence coming from Asia Minor and primarily from Assyria and Chaldaea. The Etruscans themselves claimed to have come originally from Lydia, and at present there is an inclination to believe that at least they had been in early times much influenced in their art from that quarter. To a large extent the influence that reached Etruria in the 7th century B.C. would be much the same whether it came from the Greeks of Asia Minor or from the Asiatic Greeks settled in Egypt. It would still in the main be an Asia Minor influence.

Only this is to be borne in mind that in Egypt there were resident Phœnician craftsmen also whose wares would find their way to Etruria along with the Greek productions and would have had an effect of their own. Something similar to the ostrich eggs in the Polledrara tomb must have served as a model for the Veii paintings. Not only that but Caere itself had been a Phœnician factory, its old name Agylla being a Phœnician word meaning it is said the 'round town.' I have already remarked that the vase carried by one of the women mourners is quite Etruscan in its shape; but when we come to the alabasti, or 'tear bottles' as they used to be called carried by two others, we are in this difficulty that vases of this shape occur very rarely if at all in native Etruscan pottery. They do occur in the Polledrara tomb where they had been imported, without any manner of doubt as the decoration of them testifies. The women mourners remind one of the grief at the funeral of Hector (*Iliad*, xxiv, 722, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες).

The male figure on slab No. I. who carries a branch wears a toga thrown over his left shoulder in the manner described as that of the old Roman Cinctus Gabinus.¹

A. S. MURRAY.

¹ Cinctus Gabinus est cum ita imponitur toga ut lacinia quae prostrinsecus reicitur attrahatur ad pectus ut ex utroque latere picturae (?) pen-

deant. Isidor. *Orig.* xix, 24 quoted in Müller's *Etrusker*, ed. Deecke i. p. 252.

A SMALL ARCHAIC LEKYTHOS.

[PLATE V.]

WE publish on Plate V. two photographic views, in the same size as the original, of a beautiful lekythos recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan. We give on the same plate enlarged reproductions of the designs with which it is adorned, from drawings by Mr. F. Anderson.

We hope to print in our next issue a full description and discussion of the vase by Mr. Cecil Smith. Meantime it may be sufficient to give a brief summary of a notice of it which he has already published in the number of the *Classical Review* of May last (p. 237). He classes it with the 'protokorinthian' lekythi published by Furtwängler in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1883, Pl. 10, p. 154. The following are the main features, following the order in which they appear in our Plate. The head and neck are carefully modelled in the form of a lion's head. The handle is adorned with a plaited pattern and Gorgon-head; the shoulder with a palmette pattern. On the body of the vase are three friezes which represent (1) warriors fighting, several of them kneeling and being speared from behind; (2) a horse-race, an ape and a swan beneath the horses; (3) a hunting scene, the hunter crouching behind his net. 'Below this scene is a band of alternate purple and black rays, and then two brown lines surrounding the foot. On the under surface of the foot is a tiny rosette of eight petals, alternating purple and black.'

[ED.]

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1888-89.

[PLATE VIII.]

YET another year has passed during which the Acropolis at Athens has been the centre of interest: and the past season has been successful enough to bear comparison with any of the previous years which have astonished by their results not only archaeologists and scholars, but all who have been fortunate enough to visit Athens during this epoch of discoveries. It must seem to many as if the Acropolis would go on indefinitely yielding its treasure of architecture sculpture and inscriptions, and ever increasing and changing our knowledge of early Athens and its arts and history. But even the Acropolis is not inexhaustible; it has now been searched to the native rock in almost every part; and unless some other site, perhaps the long-promised, long-delayed Delphi, come to succeed it, we must expect a lull in the astonishing rush of discoveries that has been almost of a nature to bewilder those that have sought to follow its course. Such a lull will almost be welcome in some respects to those who have to arrange or to study the new finds as they follow one another in rapid succession. It will enable the museums to settle into a final and orderly arrangement, and the students to arrange within their minds the new facts that have been thrust in one upon another, till the brain of the archaeologist has been as much a stranger to order or stability as the rooms of the Acropolis Museum. Meanwhile, for the present season a series of discoveries has to be reported which has dealt in the marvellous, if not in the beautiful, as extensively as that of any previous year.

The first section of the present report will deal with excavation and other archaeological work, according to localities; the second with Museums and administration, and the third with Byzantine antiquities. It is a great satisfaction to be able to record an awakening interest in these last on the part of the official administration as well as of foreign students. Happily the time is at length almost past when interesting and beautiful Byzantine churches could be pulled to pieces without a protest, on the chance of finding an inscription in their ruins, or in order to use their material for other buildings. But a good deal still remains to be desired.

Mention of the official *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, edited by M. Cabbadias, must be made under the head of administration, &c. But I must here at once acknowledge my obligation to that invaluable publication. Any account

such as the present must owe to it what completeness it may attain; and if I do not refer to it oftener, it is only because such references would have to recur every few lines. It is better once for all to state that both the actual facts here recorded and their significance are in great part to be found in the *Δελτίον*, though I have endeavoured whenever it was possible to verify or supplement them by my own observation.

I. *Excavation and other Archaeological Work.*

Here the first place is naturally taken by the Acropolis. The excavations, which last spring had reached the neighbourhood of the Museum and the space between it and the Parthenon, have been continued to the west: pits have also been sunk within the Museum itself, where it proved that the earth had not been thoroughly searched through when the Museum was built. Between the basis of the Parthenon and the south wall of the Acropolis the whole accumulation of earth has been searched through right down to the solid rock; it has then been replaced, up to a higher level than before, pits, surrounded by walls, being left to show the most important foundations, junctions of walls, &c. It is to be regretted that the remarkable measuring points cut in a course on the south of the Parthenon basement have thus been buried; for if Mr. Penrose's connexion of these with the earlier Temple of Athena be denied, all the more reason is left for exposing them to the investigation of other archaeologists, that their real use may be discovered. However, his measurements will probably be accurate enough for any successor: but the form and appearance of the cuts will have to be taken on trust, or else made the object of new excavations.

The space farther west, usually known and marked in plans as the temenos of Athena Ergane, has also been completely cleared, and filled up again over its southern portion, where the rock sinks rapidly away. The temenos of Artemis Brauronia has also been thoroughly explored, and so the excavations have come round again to the Propylaea, from which they started. All that remained was to search through the space north of the Parthenon, where there was no depth of soil, but only slight accumulations here and there in hollows of the rock, which is everywhere close to the surface, and for the most part quite bare. For this purpose it has been necessary to move slightly the numerous blocks that have fallen over this area from the ruin of the Parthenon and other buildings. But all who care for the appearance of the Acropolis and also for the evidence to be found in the position of the fragments as they fell will be glad to hear that these blocks are only being slightly shifted, and left in their old position as far as possible. Thus the north side of the Parthenon will still retain its appearance of picturesque confusion, and will escape the painfully regular and orderly arrangement of drums and blocks that has disfigured the southern and western parts of the Acropolis.

With the exception of the two Museums, and the modern rebuildings of the temple of the wingless Victory, the Erechtheum, and some of the

Parthenon columns, the only post-classical structures that have escaped the hand of the destroyer are two bits of the Parthenon; the Byzantine casing of the great west door, and the tower that supported the Turkish minaret. These two have been condemned; for the Byzantine casing, which narrows the great door by nearly two feet each side, is known to contain inscriptions with their face inwards, and the tower obscures the plan of the opisthodomus of the Parthenon. Now that almost all the mediæval relics upon the Acropolis have gone, probably there are not very many who will regret that these two last scanty remains, quite void of artistic interest, are to follow. But the few who would regret their disappearance may be consoled by the statement that the undertaking has proved more serious than was at first supposed, and that therefore at least a temporary respite has been granted. In any case the Christian wall-paintings on the Parthenon will remain, and will be religiously respected.

At the west end of the Acropolis the work of demolition has been rapid. It began early last summer with the bastion built by Odysseus Andritsos to protect the staircase to the well called the Clepsydra, and so to ensure the water-supply of the Acropolis after it was captured by the Greek insurgents from the Turks, in 1822. One might have expected that, even if all records of Turkish occupation were to be effaced, a monument of the Greek war of independence such as this bastion, with the inscription recording its erection, would be preserved. But sentiment—or history—has not been allowed to prevail over the purely classical objects of the work, and this bastion has disappeared for the sake of a few inscriptions, and in order that the rock may stand bare as in the days of Pericles. The walls round the 'Beulé' gate, and the later casing of the towers of the gate itself have been or are being removed; so also are the Turkish vaulted gate that long served as the chief entrance to the Acropolis, and the walls around it. So far Roman work, however late, has been allowed to remain; though, if the age of Pericles is the standard, it is not easy to see why the Roman gate or the pedestal of Agrippa are worthy of more respect than the Frankish tower or the bastion of Andritsos. It has been necessary to replace part of these walls by an unsightly, but temporary, railing. The ultimate intention of the authorities is to enclose the theatres, the Acropolis, the Areopagus, and the Theseum in one continuous fence, and so to have the whole area properly guarded—an improvement that will meet with universal welcome.

Exception may be taken to the somewhat narrow view of archaeology that has led to the destruction of monuments of all later periods for the sake of finding more of that period which is undoubtedly the most interesting and important for Athens. But, after all, the amount of destruction in the recent excavations has been but small—completely insignificant compared with what had before been done, and in some degree supplementary to it. The loss being irreparable, the best thing possible in the eyes of many was to make the utmost of the resultant gain. And this certainly has been done with a thoroughness and care which deserve the thanks of all who are interested in Greek history or art. The excavations on the Acropolis during the last

season as well as before, deserve to rank among the most important in their results and the most admirably conducted that have ever taken place; it would be difficult to speak too highly of the energy with which they have been planned and directed by M. Cabbadias and Dr. Kawerau. Nor must we forget to mention the liberality of the Greek Archaeological Society, which has defrayed the expenses of the excavations up to the middle of December, 1888. Since then they have been continued at the expense of the Greek Government.

So far as to the progress of the excavations; we must now turn to their results, which naturally fall into three heads: (1) Topography and architecture, (2) Sculpture and other arts, and (3) Inscriptions.

(1) *Topography and Architecture.* An excellent account of the results in this department is given by Dr. Dörpfeld in the numbers of the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, to which I am indebted for the description of several walls and buildings mentioned below—especially such as were discovered last summer during my absence from Athens, and have since been buried again under thirty feet of earth. No complete description will be possible till Dr. Kawerau's great plan of the Acropolis, with all the results of the recent excavations, has appeared. Meanwhile a smaller sketch-plan from his hands has for some time been promised, but is not yet to be seen.¹ For the sake of clearness a rough sketch-plan by Mr. Schultz (Pl. VIII.) is here added, not to anticipate in any way the publication by those who alone are qualified and entitled to publish an accurate plan, but simply in order to make intelligible a description which would otherwise be confusing and difficult to follow.

New fragments of the 'Cyclopian' or 'Pelasgic' wall have come to light in several places, so that it is now possible to obtain some notion of the manner in which the Acropolis was fortified in primitive times. It must of course be understood that the names 'Cyclopian' or 'Pelasgic,' often applied to rude and primitive walls of large and rough stones, are merely conventional terms: the mere word pre-historic would perhaps be less misleading, as not pretending to assert the race of the builders. There can be no doubt, from the position in which this wall has been found, beneath accumulations of the classical period, that it belongs to the primitive citadel of Athens. It follows closely the conformation of the crag itself, unlike the later fortifications, which are built in straight lines, and filled up with earth behind. Hence the earlier wall is in many places preserved some yards within the lines of the Cimonian and other later walls, where these project beyond the natural boundary of the Acropolis. Where the natural and artificial boundaries coincide, the primitive fortification wall has been destroyed to make way for the later one. The fragment of the 'Pelasgic' wall previously visible on the top of the Acropolis was that abutting against the south-east corner of the Propylaea, and bounding the temenos of Artemis Brauronia—the wall which enforced Mnesicles to curtail his plan of the Propylaea, and even to cut off a corner of his work so as not to infringe on it. This piece of wall has now

¹ This plan has appeared in June, after this report was written.

been completely laid bare, and has a breadth of nearly twenty feet; it was doubtless carried to a great height on this the only accessible side of the Acropolis. Considerable portions of a similar, but narrower wall have been found close to the Museum, rounding the angle and continuing up the east end of the rock; another piece may still be seen in a deep hole left purposely to show it, opposite the south-west angle of the Parthenon, where it is joined by a later wall we shall afterwards have to refer to. Besides the great walls of fortification, others of similar age have been found, belonging to the houses of the primitive inhabitants. Some such traces were found south-east of the Parthenon, and thinner walls abut against the great wall of the Brauronian temenos. Graves with pottery of the so-called Mycenae type have also been discovered, both within the Museum and elsewhere on the south of the Acropolis: their contents have in no case been of much intrinsic value, but are valuable as a confirmation of the early date of the rough walls. It will be remembered that both houses and graves of primitive period had been found before both to the east and to the west of the Erechtheum.

There does not seem to be any topographical discovery of importance to chronicle between these primitive walls and the time following the Persian invasion. It has been found that when the great basis on which the Parthenon rests was being constructed, a plan was adopted on the south side, where its height above the rock on which it is founded is very great, to avoid the difficulty and expense of an extensive scaffolding. A limestone wall of irregular construction (about twelve metres distant from the basis of the Parthenon at the eastern end, and somewhat nearer at the west) was built between the outer wall of the Acropolis and the structure in course of erection. Thus without too great expenditure of earth, the space between the wall and the basis could be filled up as every few courses were added to the latter. Thus we find at the bottom here a few feet of very early undisturbed earth, containing finds of the 'Mycenae' period; above this is a succession of layers of pottery, fragments, and rubbish, alternating with chips from the construction of the great basement of Piraeus limestone. The articles contained in these layers seem to belong without doubt to the period immediately following the Persian invasion. Most important of all is a thick layer composed of fragments of sculpture in rough stone, with extensive remains of colour; to the interesting groups that have been reconstructed out of these fragments we shall have to recur later. But to their material a few words must be given here, because these fragments, the walls, the basis of the Parthenon, and early architectural fragments are all commonly described as of 'porus' stone. I am not sure whether the material is in all cases the same; but in any case the name is an unfortunate one. The ancient *πῶρος* is by some identified with tufa, by others described now as 'an inferior white marble, lighter than Parian,' now as a 'rough siliceous limestone.' Where a term is so confusing, would it not be better simply to say limestone, if limestone be meant? At present almost every stone on the Acropolis not marble is at once named porus—a description which is neither scientifically accurate nor popularly intelligible.

Where the long supporting wall of polygonal stones joins the fragment of early wall already mentioned, opposite the S.W. corner of the Parthenon a rough staircase is left between the two : this must have served for convenience of access to the various terraces while they were still at different levels—that is to say, before the great ‘Cimonian’ wall was made the boundary of the terrace around the Parthenon, and the whole surface was levelled up to the bottom step of the temple. That this was done later is proved by the fact that to the south of the intermediate supporting wall, between it and the outside wall of the Acropolis, numerous fragments of marble and other materials have been found, which come from a slightly later era in the architectural history of the Acropolis than the filling close to the basis of the Parthenon. Other supporting walls are found to the west of the S.W. angle of the Parthenon ; one of these continues the line of the rock-cut steps, and contains several blocks from the stylobate of the early temple south of the Erechtheum, which has already given rise to so much discussion. These blocks are of the same breadth as the one that remains *in situ*, and are a little too narrow for the columns which Dr. Dörpfeld places on them in his reconstruction. It follows either that none of the blocks were among those on which columns rested, or that Dr. Dörpfeld is mistaken in associating with these foundations the architrave and drums found in the walls and on the top of the Acropolis, or that he has made too large an estimate of the lower diameter, which is only an inference from the preserved upper diameter of the columns.

Between the Parthenon and the S. wall of the Acropolis an oblong building has also been discovered, of rough construction, partly built of rejected drums of the earlier Parthenon. The erection of this building seems to have been contemporary with that of the Parthenon, and it was covered with earth as soon as the Parthenon was finished. The very probable suggestion has been made that this was a workshop used during the construction of the Parthenon. Farther to the west, discoveries have been made in the space formerly called the temenos of Athena Ergane which seem sufficient to show that name to be erroneous. No traces of a temple of any sort were found : but the foundations were discovered of a large building, which backed against the south wall of the Acropolis, and occupied the whole breadth of the terrace, from the rock-cut steps to the edge of the temenos of Artemis Brauronia. It consisted of a great chamber, about 130 feet by 50 feet, with a portico in front, on the north. This was almost certainly a storehouse of some sort, and it has been suggested by Dr. Dörpfeld that we have here at least the true Chalcotheca. When one considers the vast quantities of stores and arms of various kinds which are enumerated by inscriptions as lying in the Chalcotheca, this new building certainly seems far better fitted to contain them than any of the other buildings which have previously been suggested : and there is now no chance of another yet more probable claimant for the name.

In the temenos of Artemis Brauronia, remains have been found of the foundation of porticoes bounding it upon the south and east sides. No trace

of any temple has been found; but anything existing in the middle of the temenos must have been completely destroyed in mediaeval times, when the Propylaea were closed, and the chief path on to the Acropolis was brought round to the south of them, over the primitive wall and through this temenos.

Before leaving this purely topographical portion, we must mention the results of the excavations that have taken place inside the Parthenon. Where the ancient pavement had been moved, a search has been made underneath, and some Christian tombs have been found. The object of these excavations was to discover, if possible, whether the basis of the Parthenon is one solid mass built up of stone, or consists, like the foundations of most other temples, merely of walls of foundation to bear the various walls and rows of columns of the temple, filled in between with rubble. This question cannot yet be said to be finally decided. But it is at least clear that the solid stone structure extends some depth below the pavement of the temple, as at least five layers of stone can be seen in some of the pits—and this in the back chamber, or 'Parthenon' proper, where no especial solidity was required. In the cella a line of foundation has been found beneath the pavement, just south of the northern row of internal columns, and nearly parallel to it. It would serve very well for the foundation designed to bear the interior columns of the earlier Parthenon, which, as is well known, was intended to stand slightly to the south of the position occupied by the present temple.

In the way of architectural fragments there is not very much to chronicle. Portions of various early temples, destroyed doubtless by the Persians, have continued to be found: but they do not differ essentially from those discovered on other parts of the Acropolis, and referred to by Mr. Penrose upon p. 271 of the 1887 volume of this *Journal*. In particular may be mentioned various large capitals, of rough stone covered with stucco, which were found west of the Parthenon, and another portion of a column with spiral flutes, this time from a top drum with the necking, showing that the capital was of the Doric order. Various ionic fragments, of Roman work but obviously copied from the forms of the Erechtheum, have been grouped around the basis of the temple of Roma and Augustus, east of the Parthenon, to which they belong. Some importance attaches to a marble drum prepared for the earlier Parthenon; that is to say, for the building, usually attributed to Cimon, for which the solid basis was originally prepared. This was the bottom drum of a column, and has the flutes, 20 in number, already worked on it at the lower end, the rest being rough: its diameter is nearly the same as that of the columns of the present Parthenon. Thus this drum not only gives us the relative dimensions of the two buildings, but also shows us how far the construction of the earlier temple had progressed before it was superseded. It is of course well known that the flutes were first measured and finished only at the base and capital of a column, and that they were not completed by joining the points thus taken until a later stage, often not until the rest of the building was finished: thus the risk of damage to the sharp and delicate edges of the flutes was avoided.



FIG. 4.

(2) *Sculpture, &c.* Reference has been already made to the so-called 'porus' stratum lying to the south of the basis of the Parthenon—a stratum consisting entirely of pre-Persian fragments of architecture and sculpture, mostly of coarse stone, but a few also of marble and of bronze. The first place among these fragments is taken by the remains of certain large groups, mostly of architectural sculpture, which have been or are still being pieced together. The two small pedimental groups, about 18 feet long, already discovered and published, representing the fights of Heracles with the Hydra and with Triton, have attracted considerable attention: these new groups represent similar subjects, but on a far larger scale. One of these pediments, which, when complete, must have been about 24 feet long, contains, in its right-hand half, a strange monster (see Fig. 4). This creature consists of three human bodies, which at the waist pass into snaky coils, and the coils of the three, inextricably entwined, fill the extremity of the pediment: though each body has its two arms, the whole creature has only two wings, on the outside shoulders. The whole composition, as pieced together and restored by Dr. Brückner, is so interesting as to be worth description, though some details of it are as yet uncertain. All three heads have been joined to the monster; two certainly belong, and I think there can be little doubt about the third, though it does not fit exactly, the neck being lost. Two of the heads had already been found last year, and one is figured in this *Journal*, 1888, p. 122, fig. 2; they are remarkable for the colour preserved upon them, especially for their dark blue beards. This monster is probably rightly called Typhon: corresponding to him in the opposite angle is a gigantic snake, with gorgeous scales, carved and painted in brilliant colours. Fragments of other figures, some of them not certainly belonging, show that Zeus with his thunderbolt faced the Typhon, while Heracles attacked the snake. The left-hand half of another pediment shows Heracles wrestling with Triton. The two pediments are remarkable for their vigorous, if grotesque, designs, and for the remarkably short and muscular forms of the body; the colouring too is well preserved, red and blue being chiefly used, the former for the flesh, the latter for hair and drapery. The tails of the various monsters, which afford a fine field for the decorative ingenuity with which their scales are arranged and coloured, serve excellently to fill up the corners of the pediments—always a great difficulty in these architectural groups. This may partly explain the predilection shown for snake-tailed or fish-tailed monsters; but subject and style alike recall the art of Asia Minor, and a similar 'Ionic' influence may be seen in a gigantic group of similar material and colouring, which is now being pieced together, representing two lions, one on each side, devouring a bull which they have pulled down. This composition is about 18 feet long; the lions red, the bull blue, with green hoofs, and red touches inside his ears and elsewhere. Streams of blood, also painted red, flow from the wounds in which the claws of the two lions are fixed. Yet another group represents, on a smaller scale, a lion tearing a bull. All these, and many others, are being ingeniously pieced together in the Acropolis Museum by M. Kalludis.

These great groups were, some of them at least, designed to adorn the

temples of which numerous fragments have also been found, in similar rough stone. The reference of so many of these groups to the exploits of Heracles has led to some surprise, as no special shrine or worship of Heracles on the Acropolis is recorded. The probability of dedications by some distinguished foreigner, himself especially a devotee of Heracles, is at first sight considerable. But we must not anticipate the publication of Dr. Brückner, who has made a special study of these groups and their affinities with some very interesting results.

Beside these great groups the portions of single statues in the same material attract less attention. But some of them are interesting both for their subject and their colouring. Among these may be mentioned a torso of a figure in a tight fitting tunic covered with a skin—possibly an Amazon. The tunic is blue with a red border, and the skin is red. One or two other statues are remarkable for the treatment of the borders of their drapery: the pattern is incised, and portions of it cut out and coloured blue, so as to give the effect of enamel work, and to remind us of various oriental and other early systems of ornamentation.

But for single statues rough limestone is the exceptional, marble the usual material. It would be neither interesting nor profitable to enumerate all the fragments discovered, without a detailed description and discussion which would extend far beyond the limits of a report like the present. Here only the more important can be mentioned. In the first place, important pieces have been added to some well known statues. The Moschophorus has some portions of his thigh recovered: to the colossal Athena from the great archaic pediment with a gigantomachy a shoulder has been pieced on. Thus the connexion of the well-known head, found long before, and first joined on by Dr. Studniczka, is confirmed; but a careful examination of the joint at the back did not leave room for doubt before, though the join was not at first sight a probable one. The feet and lower part of the flying drapery, which very probably belong to the same statue, have also been found. Fragments have also been found of the largest of the now famous female statues, joining her knees to her feet, and thus showing that, as Dr. Studniczka had ingeniously inferred from a fragment of the pattern on the drapery, those feet do belong to the statue. Whether the feet should be joined to the basis with the name of Antenor is quite another matter; the evidence for and against this, as being too controversial for a general report, is added in a note at the end. Another join, made in the Acropolis Museum, at the suggestion of an article published in the German *Mittheilungen*, of 1880, is now proved to be wrong: a head of distinctly later style had been affixed to the torso of a boy found near the museum. Now the true head, which fits exactly, has been found in the same region (between the museum and the south wall), and the other head has been removed to make room for it. Fortunately the surface of the break had not been cut away. This instance affords a practical warning against joins and restorations not absolutely certain, which will, it may be hoped, have a good influence in the future. The new head is in itself interesting, the eyes are hollowed out, and the hair rolled back in a



FIG. B.

peculiar manner over the forehead, and there is much individuality about the style.

Bodies have also been found to fit two of the most interesting heads previously discovered. One of the statues thus nearly completed is very remarkable for the preservation of the colouring on the drapery; here, as in all other cases, we find the colour upon borders and spots of the dress, or upon the whole of a garment when only a small piece of it shows. But in hardly any cases do we find such a mass of colour as to obscure the beautiful colour and texture of the marble itself, which are only enhanced by the addition of colour to details. Another torso, which has been found in the most recent excavations (21st May), inside the so-called Pinacotheca in the north wing of the Propylaea, fits exactly a small head which had been found before, but had hardly attracted the attention it deserved (see Fig. *B*). While it has not lost the archaic smile so characteristic of the early Attic statues, it has perhaps more than any other developed it into an expression which gives a remarkable individuality and attractiveness to the face. The treatment of the hair too shows the transition from convention to freedom. But details of style must not here detain us. Two or three more of the well-known female statues have either been found or pieced together, so that a goodly array of them now nearly fills two large rooms of the Acropolis Museum. Especially interesting is a head of the more advanced archaic style, which wears instead of the usual simple band upon the hair a high diadem or *polus*, ornamented below with *maeander*, and above with a band of lotus and palmetto, both painted. The torso of another floating victory has been found, of a type similar to those previously known, and discussed by Professor Petersen in the *Mittheilungen* of 1887. An Athena, headless, has an archaic type of aegis with a bearded gorgon's head affixed to it. Another gorgon's head in coarse marble is flattened at the back and is remarkable for its size and preservation (see Fig. *C*). It has been supposed to belong to a metope; perhaps more probably it was merely an independent architectural ornament. The eye-balls, like those of some of the rough stone heads, are indicated by a circle traced with a compass, and then doubtless coloured. A marble bearded head, doubtless early, but strongly resembling the well-known type of the archaistic and conventional bearded *Hermæ*, has the beard coloured green, perhaps once blue. This reminds us of the other early works, in which the flesh is usually coloured red, the hair and other adjuncts blue. Of very primitive appearance is a round basis on which stand six draped figures facing outwards. The upper part of them is not preserved, but they doubtless supported a table or vessel of some sort; one is inevitably reminded of the crater resting on three statues made by the old Samian bronze-founders; though size and material were different enough, the use of statues as supports to a vessel is common to both. Last, but not least, among archaic works must be mentioned a marble relief, which represents three draped female figures advancing hand in hand in dancing rhythm; before them walks a man piping, and the last of them is followed by a child, whom she leads by the hand. It is easier to suggest interpretations for this group than to fix upon the right one. The colouring

is well preserved; the back-ground is blue; the hair of all is red, except that of the first of the three dancers, which is brown. Brown and red also alternate in the dress, the three dancers all wearing a long brown chiton, and a red scarf thrown over their shoulders. This scarf is only sculpturally represented by a flat surface, the wavy lines of the under garment being discontinued; the rest is left to colour. This is an indication that may help us



FIG. C.

to distinguish the drapery in other cases where the colour has totally disappeared.

While this year has not fallen behind its predecessors in archaic finds, it has certainly surpassed them in works of the finest period; two of the great architectural sculptures of the great period of Athens have been enriched by important additions. To the Erechtheum frieze has been added another seated female figure, with rich drapery; the head is unfortunately

lost; at the back this figure shows the usual flat surface for attachment to the background of black Eleusinian marble. To the Parthenon frieze, as is already well known, has been added the head of Iris from the block with the seated figures of Zeus and Hera. The wing beside the head on the fragment points it out as undoubtedly belonging to the only winged figure in the frieze; and the head exactly joins the shoulders preserved on the block in the British Museum, as was found by adjusting it to the cast in Athens; a cast of the head has been sent to London, so that it will now be possible to enjoy the study of the complete block in London also. Dr. Waldstein was the first to recognize the head after its discovery and to fit it into its true place, though M. Cabbadias had assigned it to the Parthenon frieze, as he has the other figure to the frieze of the Erechtheum. Another very beautiful work is a relief of which the significance is and is likely to remain an unsolved problem. It is of the severe style of the latter part of the fifth century, and represents Athena, clad only in a chiton with diplois and a Corinthian helmet (see Fig. *D*). She leans upon her spear and looks down, as if in mourning, upon a plain square pillar. Some addition, probably in painting, must have shown what this pillar represented. To our modern notions, it would seem natural enough that the people should be represented in its patron goddess, mourning over a tomb-stone; and such a representation would seem peculiarly appropriate to the disasters of the later years of the Peloponnesian war—the probable period of this relief. But it may be seriously doubted whether such a mode of representation would commend itself to the taste or the reverence of a Greek artist of the fifth century. Neither does the goddess appear, as has been suggested, to be guarding a battlement. Her attitude rather suggests dejection than watchfulness, and a more conventional and less realistic battlement would probably have been made, if such was the meaning. It is safest to leave the interpretation uncertain, and to content ourselves with appreciating the beauty of the relief. Another relief, found close to the last, forms the head-piece of a decree between Athens and Samos to which we must recur in speaking of the inscriptions. It represents Athena grasping in solemn league the hand of a dignified and matronly figure with a sceptre, who is probably Hera, the patron goddess of Samos. This is one of the best and best preserved reliefs of its kind, and is important because it can be dated to the year 403 B.C. Of later and inferior work is a statue of a crouching youth, with a chlamys over one shoulder.

Some interesting bronzes have also been found. Among these the largest and most interesting, though certainly the most hideous, is a gorgon cut out of a flat plate of bronze, about 15 inches long, affixed to a bar that forms the diameter (about 36 inches) of a ring of thin bronze plate: the whole appears to be the remains either of a shield or of some circular vessel. The treatment of the gorgon is remarkable; it is a mere flat piece of metal cut out, with all details added in incised lines. Thus, merely in technique, it is transitional between the remarkable relief, or rather cut out plate, of a criophorus and another figure from Crete, now in the Louvre, and the Athena in very flat relief on both sides of a thin plate which is now in the Acropolis

Museum (the legs of a precisely similar companion figure to this Athena have now been found). Among other small bronzes are an archaic centaur



FIG. D.

and a youthful charioteer in a vigorous and natural posture, restraining his horses and leaning forward over them; the work on his body is remarkably

fine; in style and in attitude he strongly resembles the bronze representing perhaps an older charioteer (sometimes called Baton) now at Tübingen.

The numerous vase fragments found in the recent diggings must not be altogether passed over here, though they can only be mentioned. The importance of a careful record and study of those found in strata that could be positively dated has been fully recognized; and the results, which are somewhat startling, will soon be published by Dr. Gräf, of the German School. It is disconcerting to many preconceived notions to hear that not only black-figured fragments of careless work, such as are often called archaistic, but also red-figured fragments of the rough and careless style usually assigned to later and provincial factories, have been found in strata that cannot have been disturbed since shortly after the Persian invasion. I may add that a portion of a vase certainly manufactured at Naucratis has been found—the only one of the finest Naucratic style—that I know to have been found outside Naucratis itself.

(3) *Inscriptions.* Here, even more than in the case of sculpture, it would be unprofitable to give a mere enumeration, or even to give the text of the more important inscriptions. For these the *Δελτίον* itself must be consulted, where the inscriptions are admirably edited by Dr. Lolling. Here only the substance of a few of the most interesting can be noticed. Some excitement was caused last summer by the announcement that parts of two new inscriptions relative to the building of the Erechtheum had been found. Their chief importance lies in the distinction made between the two pediments of the building; the western one is called *ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου αἰετός*. Thus it is proved also that the west end did terminate in a gable. Otherwise not much new is learnt from the inscription, beyond the technical names of several stones, of which the architectural position can be inferred; the wages paid to stone-masons and to carpenters are recorded. Another inscription which contains regulations and also orders for the repairs of the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos is important not only for its subject-matter, but because its discovery at the west end of the Acropolis, in the wall between the Victory bastion and the 'Beulé-gate,' may give an additional clue to the position of the temple to which it refers. Other inscriptions found in the same region refer to the Thesmothesion and the grotto of Pan.

Inscriptions referring to artists or works of art are, as before, numerous. A fragment has been found joining on to C. I. A. iv. 2. 373-7, showing the names of Endoeus and Philermus as artists on the same basis, and both in the Ionic alphabet. Thus the Ionic origin of Endoeus is confirmed. Another inscription is almost certainly to be restored—*Περικλέους, Κρησίλας ἐποίει*. The basis of the statue is small; and the character seems to show it is a private dedication. An inscription with the name of Hegias as artist omits the H in his name.

The most interesting in this department is an inscription giving an account of the gold and ivory bought for the great statue of Athena Parthenos in one year. Portions of similar annual accounts had been found before, but none with the figures clearly enough preserved for many inferences to be

drawn from them. In this year the gold bought was of the weight of 6 talents 1518 drachmas, and of the (silver) value of 87 talents 4652 drachmas. The ivory cost 2 talents 743 drachmas. Hence may be deduced the proportion of silver to gold, 1 : 14·037; and the total value of the gold upon the statue, which weighed 44 talents (according to Philochorus; 40 in Thucydides), must have been worth about £155,000. It is also clear that the buying of the materials and also probably the making of the statue must have extended over several years. Several inscriptions of political importance may be briefly mentioned; among these are portions of the treaty between Athens and Perdiccas in 423 B.C., and some lists of tributaries, one including those from Thrace, another giving for the first time a list of the cities in the Cnidian Chersonese. A fragment of the important decree concerning the Salaminian cleruchs affects the reading of the first two or three lines. The decree which is headed by the relief already noticed is most interesting. It grants various privileges to the Samians, who remained faithful to Athens during the disasters that closed the Peloponnesian war. The decree immediately below the relief must have been passed between the battle of Aegospotami and the capture of Athens, and it grants to the Samians right of citizenship, allows them to use certain triremes left at Samos, and otherwise endeavours to make up to them for the great dangers and difficulties that surrounded the last allies of a losing cause. To this decree are appended two others previously found: the whole was inscribed after the expulsion of the 'thirty tyrants,' the earlier copy having probably been destroyed by them. Fragments of treasure lists, &c., need not here detain us. A very archaic block with *ὁ δέῖνα ἀνέθηκεν ταμειύων* seems to have stood in front of the treasury. Of special interest is a fragment of an inscription referring to Phayllus, thrice victor at the Pythian games. This is the very man said to have done the marvellous record of 55 feet for the long jump and 95 for throwing the discus. Unfortunately the stone makes no reference to these feats. It would be easy to lengthen this list of inscriptions; but it is fully time for us to leave the Acropolis, and pass on to Athens and the rest of Greece.

In the great Theatre of Dionysus, pits and trenches have been sunk by the German Institute. The results, which do not appear to be considerable, have not yet been published; some curious square shafts cut in the solid rock have been found in the upper part of the cavea; they appear to be either wells or early tombs. The position of the Roman agora is confirmed by the discovery, near the 'Agora gate' of a marble arch with an inscription, from the front portico of the Agoranomium of Herodes Atticus.

In laying out the new gardens between the Olympicum and the Palace Gardens, in front of the exhibition building, where some discoveries, including dedications to Hadrian and a Roman mosaic were found last year, a nude statue of a youth has also been discovered, of the type usually recognised as Pasitelean.

A discovery of tombstones in a house in the Street of the Muses, west of the Place de la Constitution (*Σύνταγμα*) seems to prove, as Dr. Dörpfeld has pointed out, that in Greek times the wall of the town must have passed

still farther to the west, and that the region of the *Σύνταγμα* was included in the part added by Hadrian. The tombstones may, as Dr. Dörpfeld suggests, have been placed just outside the Gate of Diochares. A portion of the long walls near the Piræus has also been laid bare.

At the Piræus, the discovery of the year has been the site of the Asclepiæum. In some works near the summer theatre Tsocha, was found the upper part of a large statue of Asclepius. The face, which has the eyes hollowed out, is a fine example of the mild and benevolent type usually given to the god. In consequence excavations were undertaken upon the site in July by the Greek government, under the direction of M. Dragatsis. In the course of a week various fragments of statues and reliefs of Asclepius and Hygieia were found, as well as more fragments of the first statue, including his hand with portions of the snake. Inscriptions were found to Asclepius *ὑπήκοος*, and Zeus Philios. These indications are topographically important: the statue of Asclepius has been removed to the National Museum in Athens. At Eleusis, yet more space has been cleared by the Greek Archaeological Society, under the able direction of M. Philios. It has at last been possible to remove the private house that occupied the space south-west of the Great Propylæa; and under it has been found a building, probably for public purposes. Its chief interest lies in the frescoes upon its walls, which, though broken in parts, have the colours excellently preserved. In one panel is Zeus seated upon a throne, in two others cattle and pigs, drawn with considerable spirit. These frescoes are interesting from the extreme scarcity of mural paintings found in Greece itself, though they do not, in the opinion of their discoverer, belong to an earlier time than that of Hadrian. They are excellently reproduced from drawings of M. Gilliéron in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* of 1889. In the extreme south of the sacred enclosure, between the angle and the museum, the ground has also been cleared, showing the foundations of porticoes and also of a building with a semi-circular apsis, identified as the Buleuterium. M. Philios has published a short account and a plan of Eleusis which will prove of the greatest service to all who visit the site. Among the antiquities from Eleusis recently transported to the National Museum in Athens are a fine architectural ram's head, with traces of colour, and a very interesting set of small marble figures. One group of these, a seated man with his arm round the neck of a kneeling girl, is an unmistakable copy from the well-known group still remaining on the western pediment of the Parthenon. Another is a seated draped figure, holding a child in her lap; it is tempting to identify this figure too, with one in Carrey's drawing. In any case the interest of these figures is extremely high, both for the record they give and the expectations which they raise that copies of the Parthenon pediment are not beyond hope. Fortunately these figures were discovered under proper supervision; and so their authenticity is beyond suspicion.

At Tanagra a very large number of tombs has been opened by M. Koromantsos, under the direction of the Ephorate: the description of the various graves is given with abundant detail in the *Δελτίον*, but does not seem to offer any new or striking results. Of course a vast quantity of

statuettes has been found, of all styles, qualities, and periods, and also many vases; the most interesting bears the signature Μῦς ἔγραψεν, and this Mys has been not improbably identified with the famous *τορευτῆς* of the shield of the Athena Parthenos. The vase is a red-figured lecythus of the finest style, with figures of Artemis, Apollo, Hermes, and Leto. A phiale with a crouching hoplite has the signature of Phintias.

At Mycenae, M. Tsountas has been excavating for the Greek Archaeological Society. His results in graves of the Mycenae period are very remarkable. From July to November the work has continued with the varying success that usually attends a search for early tombs. Cylinders, 'island gems,' ivory carvings, vitreous plaques, and bronze articles, including a fibula, have been found in considerable numbers. This fibula is the first proved exception to the commonly made statement that such articles are not found in 'Mycenae' graves. A vase with dark glaze, and incised ornaments filled in with a white substance, is also new, and seems to form a connecting link between the early pottery of Mycenae and those of Hissarlik and Cyprus. The most interesting of all is a silver phiale with one handle, ornamented with gold inlaid patterns; round the rim too are a number of gold bearded masks in profile, inlaid by a kind of damascening work; two of these masks were found attached to their original places, and four others were in the tomb. A cylinder of black stone has four figures, three of which are the peculiar 'horse-headed' monsters that have attracted so much attention; on a gem of vitreous paste are two monsters, lion-bodied and with nondescript heads, with their fore-paws on a basis like the lions over the gate at Mycenae. Some excavations have also been made with a view to clearing completely the very important pre-historic house upon the top of the hill at Mycenae.

At Old Epidaurus, M. Stais also has been opening pre-historic tombs, at the expense of the Government. They consist of round chambers cut in the rock, with the entrance built up. Where the graves were undisturbed, one 'Mycenae' vase and one spear head were found with each body. One grave seemed to have been used repeatedly in these early times. A bronze fibula was found also in one of the early tombs at Epidaurus.

Next to the Greek Government and Archaeological Society, the chief share in the excavations of the year has been taken by the French School at Athens. It has not only continued its excavations at Delos, Acraephium (Apollo Ptous), and Mantinea, but has also discovered and partly explored the Hieron of the Muses on the slope of Mount Helicon. In Delos one or two more statues and inscriptions, including more of the sacred archives, have been found. One of the portrait heads found by M. Deschamps in Amorgos, that of a woman with an ivy wreath, of very fine Roman work, has been brought to the National Museum at Athens, as also have two heads from the same island, supposed to represent Asclepius and Hygieia.

At the temple of Apollo Ptous, a circular building, supposed to be the Tholus of Apollo, and some more parts of statues and bronzes have been found; but M. Holleaux' discovery of the year is an inscription, found in the church of St. George at Karditza. This contains a decree embodying a copy

of the speech made by Nero at Corinth, conferring freedom upon the Greeks; it has been already published in the *Bulletin* for December, 1888; the stone has now been taken to the museum at Thebes.

At Mantinea, M. Fougères has found the base of a semi-circular building thirty-eight metres in diameter, called in an inscription previously discovered *Κύκλος ὁ πρὸς τὸ γυμνάσιον*, a double portico probably belonging to the gymnasium, and various inscriptions and theatre tickets; in June also the foundation of a temple 19.50 m. × 7 m. was found. The work was stopped for the summer and resumed in November; a marble statue of Telesphorus was then discovered and sent to the National Museum at Athens; the rest of the discoveries remain at Tripolitza.

In the Valley of the Muses, near Thespieae, a theatre and several temple sites have come to light; one of these seems to be the Temple of the Muses; architectural fragments show it to have been of the Ionic order. The theatre, which is situated higher up the hill, so that the seats commanded a splendid panorama, is of interest from the preservation of its proscenium, consisting of fourteen Doric columns, doubtless joined by panels as in the theatre at Oropus. Here again there can hardly have been any raised stage. The columns are too high to be the supports of one; and a low structure raised in front of them would be very unsightly. The work, which was stopped for the winter in December, was resumed at the end of April, when the rest of the theatre and temple sites were to be explored; the excavations are in charge of M. Jamot.

The American School has been working in Attica and Boeotia. Some supplementary excavations at Dionysos (Icaria) led to no important results; but at Old Stamata, on a site suggested by Mr. Buck, inscriptions of the decree of Plotheia were found and also a female draped statue, archaic or possibly archaistic. Trials have also been made at Anthedon, where a large building of uncertain purpose, perhaps a warehouse or market, was found close to a harbour and extensive quay, and outside the town several grave inscriptions and an interesting set of bronze tools were discovered. Trials were also made at Thisbe, and at Plataea. The last is said to be a promising site; an inscription has already been found there containing a portion of the Edict of Diocletian.

Smaller excavations have taken place upon various sites. On Mt. Lycone M. Kophiniotos thinks he has discovered the temple of Artemis Orthia. Excavating with a grant from the Government, he found a peribolus, clay tiles with anthemias, lions' heads of clay and marble, parts of the arm and thigh of a large statue, and also a small female statue; these have all been sent to the Argos Museum. At Korythium in Arcadia, on the road from Tripolitza to Myloi (Lerna), on the slopes of Mt. Artemisium, have been found a stela, bases, statues and statuettes of Artemis, within the parallelogram of an ancient building; these have been taken to Tripolitza. I copy these two statements from the *Δελτίον*. They look like two records of the same fact; but apparently are not so.

This is not the place to give a complete catalogue of isolated discoveries;

those that are of sufficient importance to be chronicled may be found in the list of antiquities brought into the National Museum during the year, included in the *Δελτίον*.

It will be noticed that the British School is not among those that have excavated in Greece this year, its resources in this direction have again been spent upon Cyprus, where the tomb-site of Poli tes Chrysochou and the temple, if it be such, at Limniti have been explored; of these excavations a full account will be given in the proper place. In Greece the important work of making a fairly complete set of accurate drawings to full scale of Greek mouldings of the best period has been undertaken, and in great part carried out, by Mr. Schultz, who has been sent out by the School for this purpose.

II.—*Museums and Administration.*

The museums of Athens are now passing through a change which will ultimately greatly add to their excellence, though it does not at present conduce to facilities of study: but one ought to be thankful for the great improvements that are being made, and not to complain of the temporary inconvenience that is inevitable. On the Acropolis, the opening of the new museum will be a great advantage to students. At present it is the receptacle for unarranged, or only roughly arranged fragments of all sorts; but doubtless such of these as are of interest to others than specialists will be mounted and exhibited in the open museum; and then the new museum will fulfil the purpose for which it was built and which it partly performs at present, and will become a place for students to enjoy special facilities for the study of the numerous 'minor antiquities' that have been found. Stability has not yet found its way into the arrangement of the larger Acropolis Museum; but now that the whole of the space has been excavated, and no more acquisitions are to be looked for, we may hope that some final disposition will be made. Great progress has already been made in piecing together and mounting the great groups that have been discovered. Those who last year regarded the museum as a mine of archaeological wealth would indeed be astonished at the acquisitions that have still farther increased it. The numerous cases of vase-fragments offer a most fascinating field for study, which is as yet only to a small extent occupied. The arrangement of the early architectural fragments, mostly in the new museum, has been undertaken by Dr. Kawerau, and his results will be awaited with the greatest interest. In piecing together statues and groups much has been done, but much still remains; it is only to be hoped that a due caution will be observed in joins and restorations.

Of special importance and difficulty are the measures to be taken for the preservation and cleaning of bronzes and coloured sculpture in the Acropolis Museum. As that collection is in one at least of these respects absolutely unique, it is of the highest importance to archaeology that these measures should be the most efficient attainable. M. Cabbadias has fully realized this,

and has referred the question to a commission of chemical specialists, who have experimented upon fragments, and given the following replies. They are given in detail in the *Δελτίον* for December, 1888; but seem of sufficient importance to be at least summarised here, both for the guidance of others and for criticism of any defective points in the system adopted.

"1. *Question*.—How can we preserve bronze statues from oxidation?

"*Answer*.—Clean as below, and protect surface from the air by a resinous solution, as below.

"2. *Question*.—How can we clean them, so as to avoid all oxidation in future?

"*Answer*.—If they are in fair condition, they will only have a green or blue incrustation; if bad, they will have red also.

"In the first case, immerse for some time in tepid water or a solution of soap (1:20) or potash, and clean with brush and water. When dry, anoint with resinous solution (15 parts of resin to 130 of pure benzol, and add 20 parts white poppy-oil and 180 parts turpentine).

"For bronzes in bad condition, weak hydrochloric acid is necessary (1:10 of water); immerse repeatedly, and wash between with water and brush; then place in solution of potash (1:100); after six to twelve hours clean with water and clean brush, immerse again, and so on. Then put in solution of soap (1:20), dry, and anoint with resinous solution (sandarach 50, spirits of wine 400, turpentine 80, oil of turpentine 10).

"The soap produces a chestnut-coloured surface, which is however necessary to preservation, though changing the appearance of the object."

Be it remarked here, that the bronzes thus treated in the Acropolis Museum have a very unpleasant sticky-looking surface; this may be an improvement, with a view to preservation, on the methods used in other museums where there are bronzes; whether it be so, experts or time alone can decide. In any case it at present greatly disfigures them.

"3. *Question*.—How can we clean coloured marble and 'porus' statues, and preserve the colour retained by them?

"*Answer*.—Clean only with a brush, and a sharp bit of wood for corners, &c.

"For preservation, materials must be considered. Red is usually oxide of iron; a lighter and finer colour is cinnabar, or red sulphide of mercury.

"Blue is basic carbonate of copper. Green is hydroxide of copper with traces of oxide of iron.

"Of these cinnabar is affected by light.

"For fixing to the surface, use 'hydrohyalus,' *i.e.*, solution of calcined soda, applied by a syringe. This makes the colours a little darker. It should be applied to the whole of 'porus' sculptures; only to the coloured portions of marble.

"The hydrohyalus used is a solution of calcined soda (*πυριτικὸν νατρίον*) of the German pharmacopoea, in the proportion 1:2 of water."

(I must apologize to chemists if my translation of the technical parts of the above is inadequate.)

As regards the Acropolis generally, a commission especially summoned of the Directors of Foreign Schools, in consultation with M. Cabbadias, was of opinion that the Acropolis should as far as possible be left in its present condition, without farther arrangement, &c. The demolition of all the later walls at the western end of the Acropolis had already been almost completed. It was approved by a similar commission in 1884, when, however, the British School had not yet a representative. After one or two smaller pieces of clearing or alteration have been completed, it may be hoped that the Acropolis will once more regain its appearance of picturesque ruin, and become again an object not only for the study of the archaeologist, but for the admiration of all that pass by.

The Central Museum (*Κεντρικὸν Μουσεῖον*) has officially changed its name to the National Archaeological Museum (*Ἐθνικὸν Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Μουσεῖον*), and will be known in future by that title. It is being very extensively enlarged; not only has the whole quadrangle been completed, but a central wing, with side galleries, has been built across from the main entrance to the back; this is designed to serve as an antiquarium, for lesser antiquities, bronzes, terra-cottas, vases, &c. All important inscriptions are also being gathered together in the National Museum, under Dr. Lolling, who has entered the service of the Greek Government to take charge of them. The coins in the same collection have been arranged and examined by Dr. Pick, who was sent for from Berlin expressly for this purpose. Meanwhile the only rooms open even to students without special permission are those of the front to the left of the entrance and the adjoining left wing. The acquisitions of the museum for the past year are considerable; besides those already referred to may be mentioned two sepulchral stelae from Thespiac, both of which have inscriptions of Roman period; but the style shows the finest Greek period, so that they obviously must have been adapted and used a second time. One of an athlete standing to the right, with only a chlamys hanging back over his shoulder, in low relief, distinguishes itself even in this museum by the excellence of its work, which can hardly be later than the fifth century. The sculptures from the Asclepieaeum in Athens have also been removed from the temporary guard-house to the National Museum.

The Polytechnic Museum has been enriched by the discoveries from Mycenae already enumerated; the collection has also been made even more interesting by the exhibition of the frescoes from the prehistoric palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns. The vase collection fully retains its unrivalled position, especially for the primitive classes of Greek pottery, Attic, Boeotian, &c. The great Melian amphorae are also mounted now in conspicuous positions. The arrangement of the whole, under the able direction of M. Koumanoudes, remains a model, to which one may hope that in time the other museums of Athens may attain, as soon as they have digested their ever accumulating acquisitions.

Reference has already been made in several places to the restless and indefatigable activity of M. Cabbadias, the general ephor of antiquities.

The numerous excavations undertaken by the Government, and the wonderful progress made in the construction and arrangement of museums, would alone be sufficient to testify to the excellence of his administration; and all who have been working in Athens or elsewhere in Greece must record their thanks to him for the liberality with which he has always granted them every help and facility.

The invaluable *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* has already been mentioned and quoted; but under this head it must once more be praised. It leaves hardly anything to be desired in completeness and accuracy, under the editorship of M. Cabbadias, with the help of Dr. Lolling for the inscriptions. If one improvement be possible, it would be that the *Δελτίον* might appear near to the end of each month it records, instead of two or three months later. Such an improvement is doubtless difficult, but it would greatly increase the value of such a publication.

III.—*Byzantine Art and Antiquities.*

This is practically a new branch of archaeology in Athens, so far as official recognition by the Government and the Foreign Schools is concerned. But many, especially in England, will be glad to hear that it is at last taking its due place. The Greek Government has made grants, inadequate indeed, but still showing a wish to do what is possible, towards the repair of two of the finest Byzantine buildings in Greece—the monasteries of Daphne and St. Luke of Stiris. The Church of St. Andreas in Athens has also been railed in and protected from further dilapidation, though the refectory attached to it, with the finest frescoes, still remains a third-rate eating-house, and is in great danger of damage; the walls are covered with whitewash. At Daphne the dome has been temporarily repaired, but architects will not yet pronounce it safe in case of more earthquakes, and so the splendid mosaics which it contains are still in danger. The authorities intended their removal bodily to the National Museum, to escape this risk; it may be hoped that some measures may be found to ensure their safety without their removal from the position for which they were designed. Meanwhile the scaffolding erected in the dome has afforded exceptional facility for study and reproductions both by photography and drawing; advantage has been taken of this both by Dr. Strzygowski and by members of the British School. At St. Luke of Stiris the outer narthex, a later addition, has been removed: the two churches there, which are of wonderful beauty, are in great need of repair both inside and out, to prevent their becoming yet more dilapidated. It is to be hoped that this will be done in a satisfactory manner. This seems the fitting place to mention also another undertaking of the British School—a set of plans and elevations of the principal Byzantine churches in Greece, with copies of their frescoes and mosaics. These buildings, many of which are very beautiful, and all of them interesting, have been hitherto undeservedly neglected, no correct plans or drawings of them having been published.

Two students of the British School, Mr. Schultz and Mr. Barnsley, have

already done one year's work at this subject, and it is hoped that another season will see the undertaking completed, when an adequate publication will follow.

A collection of Byzantine antiquities is now being also made in the National Museum at Athens; on all sides it is becoming clear that Byzantine as well as classical art is to be recognized as one of the studies of which Athens is the centre.

E. A. GARDNER.

May 28th, 1889.

NOTE.—The connexion of the basis with the name of Antenor and the statue set upon it by Dr. Studniczka is now generally accepted, and further theories are being built upon it. It has even been defended in the official section of the Athenian *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute, 1888, p. 226, against the doubt expressed in the *Bilder*, 1888, p. 261, and it has been confirmed by the addition of fragments joining indisputably the feet and the body. It is stated that here only was there before any room for doubt, for it is proved that the feet belong to this basis 'by the size and shape of the socket, the thickness of the plinth, and the size and position of the vertical dowel-hole.'

I am in no way responsible for the statement in the *Bilder*, but I fully agreed with its writer, and I hope I shall not be considered a captious critic if I state once more two or three facts, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, and which must at least be explained before the connexion is beyond doubt. It is the very importance of the discovery which makes it doubly necessary to test thoroughly the evidence on which it is based.

I adopt the above excellent summary of Dr. Studniczka's arguments. It was not the connexion of the feet and torso that I previously doubted, especially as I understood that a fragment of the same pattern appeared on both: but for the connexion of the feet and the pedestal I saw no sufficient evidence. I will briefly state the evidence for and against this.

(1) The size of the socket. It is true that this socket is the only preserved one big enough for this statue: but many statues lack sockets, and many sockets lack statues on the Acropolis. So all gained by this is a remote probability.

(2) The shape of the socket. For this I cannot do better than refer to Dr. Studniczka's own drawing in the *Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 136, which gives an adequate representation of the shape of the socket and of the feet. It will be seen that there is no question of fitting even approximately. The fragment with the two feet stands quite clear of the edge of the socket on every side; but as there placed, the feet can be fitted into the shape required. Now where the plinth of a statue does belong to a pedestal, as in several cases on the Acropolis, the fit is always perfectly exact. Of course as the plinth here is broken away on every side, its not fitting is no argument against its belonging; but on the other hand the argument from the shape of the socket becomes a very weak one.

(3) The thickness of the plinth. This is equal to the depth of the socket; but this is a very slight indication; many sockets and many plinths could be found of the same depth: and moreover, in several preserved instances the thickness of the plinth is much greater than the depth of the socket.

(4) The size of the vertical dowel-hole. This does correspond in both cases: but the size of a dowel-hole for fixing a statue is not very variable.

(5) The position of the dowel-hole. This would be the strongest indication of all, if the holes on the plinth and the basis really were opposite one another. But as the statue is now mounted the holes are not opposite, but an inch and a half distant from one another: and this is not merely a mistake in mounting. Of this more anon.

I think I have stated fairly all the arguments for the connexion. They were enough to make me think before that the association of the statue with Antenor, though not sufficiently proved to base further arguments upon, was at least possible, or even probable. But my attention having again been called to the matter by the assertion of a friend that the connexion was impossible, I again investigated it with the following results.

Though the statue has been mounted on the basis, casts of the plinth with the feet and of the top of the basis have been left in the museum for the study of the evidence; this is a proceeding that cannot be too highly commended; if it be done in every case when a doubtful joint is made up, there will be comparatively little objection to mounting the statues thus. I inserted a vertical stick into the two dowel-holes, so as to fix one above the other in the only admissible position, if they do belong, and the result was startling. There is only room, measuring from the heel to the edge of the socket, for a foot 10 inches long, and there certainly is not room for the rest of the feet of which the heels are preserved. Now the statue is 80 inches high, and the proportion 1 : 8 for the foot of an archaic statue is absurd; the proportion is usually greater than 1 : 7; thus a statue—the only one of this set with its feet perfect—40 inches high, has feet 6 inches long: at the same rate we should expect feet 12 inches long for this statue. Or if 10 inches were enough, the argument from the size of the basis disappears. At least one other basis with feet 10 inches long attached to it remains.

But I need not repeat indications like this. If any unprejudiced observer will set the plinth with the feet on the cast of the socket, so that the vertical holes coincide, he will see that there is not room for the feet to be completed. The best proof of this is that in mounting the statue on the basis it has been found necessary to set the feet an inch and a half farther back: even then there is no room to spare in front of the toes. And now that new fragments of the front of the basis with the inscription have been found and fitted in, it cannot be suggested that the socket was cut away farther in front.

In spite of this, I should hardly like to assert that the connexion of statue and basis is quite impossible. The dowel-holes may never have been used for fixing, or their failure to correspond may be in some way explicable.

But the evidence that the statue belongs to the Antenor basis is so much weakened that the connexion, even if possible, is hardly probable ; above all, it certainly cannot be used as an established fact on which to base farther discussion.

I greatly regret, as must all who are interested in the early history of art, if it be necessary to give up what appeared to be a fixed point gained amidst so much vagueness and uncertainty. But I think that, after making the above measurements, I should not be advancing the cause of archaeology if I suppressed them.

E. A. G.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

‘Das Gräberfeld von Marion auf Cypern.’ (*Achtundvierzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der archaeol. Gesellsch. zu Berlin.*) PAUL HERRMANN. Berlin, 1888.

DR. HERRMANN has attempted the difficult task of publishing the results of an excavation in which he took no part, on a site to which he is a stranger, and with the products of which he has only a partial and imperfect acquaintance. Had he kept himself more strictly within the limits of his information, had he been more careful to recognize and point out the tentative character of his conclusions, had he more clearly set forth the exact data on which they are based, he might have claimed credit for a work less novel perhaps and pretentious, but more practically useful. As it is, we fear the essay before us may tend to the worse confusion of the already too perplexed archaeology of Cyprus.

The first section aims at corroborating and supplementing, from the evidence of the excavations and topography, the literary evidence which goes to show that in the immediate neighbourhood of Polis tes Chrysochou lay not only the ancient Arsinoe, but also the more ancient Marion. Dr. Herrmann rightly reduces the three necropoleis of his informant to two, a western, immediately adjoining the modern village on the S.E. and an eastern, about three quarters of a mile to the E. The tombs are divided into three classes by certain distinctive varieties of form. The first class, extending in date into the fifth century B.C., is found to lie *exclusively* in the eastern necropolis, the second, which begins in the fourth century, is distributed between the two necropoleis, but is especially typical of the western, the third, of Hellenistic-Roman date, also appears in both, but mostly in the eastern. Moreover in the eastern necropolis the tombs of the first class lie farthest to the east, those of the third class to the west, for the former bear uniformly high numbers in the register, the latter low, and according to Dr. Herrmann's fixed preconception the excavation progressed always from west to east. On p. 7 the conjecture is hazarded that the two necropoleis may have been really continuous, and by p. 12 the conjecture has assumed the authority of a *priori* truth. Herr Richter is now invoked to vouch for the existence at the N.W. corner of the eastern necropolis of the remains of a settlement distinct from that to the north of Polis tes Chrysochou, and bearing ‘an essentially older character.’ Here, Dr. Herrmann argues, we have the site of Marion, the necropolis of which spread westwards until the destruction of the city at the end of the fourth century. A few years later, for the continuity of development in the finds precludes a longer interval, Arsinoe was founded farther to the west, and accordingly (*danach*) the ruins north of the village represent Arsinoe, the necropolis of which worked back

over that of Marion in the reverse direction. Let us work back over Dr. Herrmann's argument. (1) The site north of the village is known by epigraphical evidence to be Arsinoe. Dr. Herrmann's inference is as needless as it is illogical. (2) To detect a gap of two or three generations in Cypriote pottery is beyond the resources of present archaeological knowledge, and it is curious that Dr. Herrmann notices (on p. 36) a total lack of the later red-figured Attic imported vases which are so prominent in South Russia, of a date, that is to say, dangerously near the period of the destruction of Marion. (3) Herr Richter's older settlement can be nothing else than a group of house-foundations of poor construction, discovered at the point specified not in a 'Trummerfeld' but below the surface, else they might have been taken for the remains of a modern Cypriote village denuded of its mud upper-walls. They are fringed by Roman tombs and possibly represent a Roman suburb of Arsinoe, the site of which, by the way, ought to extend considerably farther to the east than it does on Herr Richter's map. (4) Dr. Herrmann does not realize that his conjectural connexion of the two necropoleis skips nimbly over two valleys and a ridge, a full half mile of ground, in which a tomb has never yet been discovered. He is led to it by his misconception of the lie of the necropoleis, which is not east and west, but north and south. (5) This misconception also accounts for his false inference from the numbers assigned to the tombs in the eastern necropolis; the excavation here progressed from north to south. (6) Dr. Herrmann does not tell us how he dates the three classes of tombs. On p. 13 the chronological grouping according to *Anlage* seems spoken of as something independent of grouping by *Inhalt*. It sounds a little odd that whereas the first class lasts into the fifth century, and the second begins in the fourth the two run parallel for a time (p. 9, cf. p. 26), but it is perhaps enough to remark that tombs of the first class are found at Poli of all periods down to an extremely late date. (7) It is twice stated, and on the express authority of Herr Richter, that the tombs of class 1 lie without exception (*sämmtlich*. p. 8, *ausnahmslos*, p. 11) in the eastern necropoleis, yet on p. 12 some, although comparatively few, are admitted to occur in the western. Here again Dr. Herrmann's exception is better than his rule, for the tombs of this class in the western necropolis probably outnumber those of the other two classes put together. (8) To overturn the last stone of Dr. Herrmann's elaborate construction, it suffices to note that tombs containing black-figured vases of the sixth century, and red-figured of the early part of the fifth, have been found not only in the eastern but also in the western necropolis.

Lack of space forbids us to deal fully with Dr. Herrmann's in many respects valuable account of the Find. It is unsatisfactory to observe that no adequate explanation is given of how the 'precise chronologically distinct groups,' into which it is divided, are arrived at, but that each section begins with an appeal to the history of Cyprus which is found to be mirrored in the contents of the tombs, a procedure savouring of the *a priori* method so disastrously employed at the outset. No sufficient appreciation is shown of the facts that tombs side by side are often (so mixed are the sites) separated by centuries in date, that early tombs were sometimes used again in a late period, and that the work of robbers may introduce confusion. The highly dangerous method of dating from the style of Cypriote pottery and terra-cottas, which often preserve a seemingly primitive crudeness from first to last, is constantly employed. Dr. Herrmann proceeds uniformly by the illustration of his chronological groups in particular tombs, and although many of his instances carry with them their own confirmation of his attribution, there are

others with which the reader might quarrel, and obviously such statements as that the black glazed ware with little impressed patterns begins in the sixth century, that transparent glass is found in fourth century graves, and that Hellenistic Roman tombs contain no imported Greek pottery, need the confirmation of detailed evidence. On the other hand, the profusion and excellence of the pictorial illustration is deserving of all gratitude.

The above criticism, coming from superior local knowledge, may seem harsh and unfair, and it is not to be denied that most of Dr. Herrmann's errors are due rather to the difficulty of his subject and the lack of full and trustworthy information, but it is absolutely necessary that the tangled thread of the history of Cypriote civilization should be no longer and no further complicated by reckless theorizing.

J. A. R. M.

Naukratis. Part II. by ERNEST A. GARDNER, with Appendix by F. L. GRIFFITH (Sixth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund). London, 1888. Pp. 92. With 24 Plates.

MR. ERNEST GARDNER, the author of this scholarly record of most carefully-conducted excavations, proceeded to Naukratis at the end of 1885 in company with Mr. Flinders Petrie. After some joint work, Mr. Gardner was left, from 5th January 1886, in sole charge of the excavations; and the nature of his work, including the important discovery of the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Athenaeus, may be gathered from the following summary of the various chapters of *Naukratis*, II.—

Chap. II. *The Cemetery.* The site is marked by some low mounds to the north of Naukratis. Only a portion of the cemetery, that dating from the later and least prosperous times of the city, has at present been exhumed. Most of the graves discovered are not much earlier than the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, though some are of the fourth century B.C. There was an almost entire absence of sepulchral stelae and tomb-chambers; burials seem to have been prepared for simply by making a new pit to receive the coffin. The terra-cotta coffins were usually plain, but the wood coffins were decorated with pretty terra-cotta ornaments (gorgoneia, griffins: Pl. xvi.) of the fourth and third centuries B.C. In the graves were found an iron comb, a rouge pot, strigils, alabastra, plain bronze mirrors and one mirror case, bone-beads, shells, and numerous small lekythi, one (Pl. xvi. 20) with a polychrome design. In two or three graves terra-cotta statuettes were found.

Chap. III. *Temple of the Dioscuri.* *Circ.* B.C. 450. Built of unbaked mud-brick, covered by a plaster coating. Fragments of stucco from the inner walls of the cella are painted with decorative patterns in red and blue.

Chap. IV. *Temple and Temenos of Aphrodite.* The earliest temple of Aphrodite and the great altar that stood in front of its eastern door were founded upon the hard mud underlying the town of Naukratis. The altar was made of mud-brick walls filled inside with ashes, probably of the victims. Within the temenos were two wells. This first temple was probably built *circ.* B.C. 600. On its destruction a new temple was erected on its walls (*circ.* B.C. 400), and a third temple (*circ.* B.C. 300) afterwards rested upon the second temple.

Chap. V. *Pottery from the Temenos of Aphrodite.* Numerous vases were found,

but all in fragments, which have been most carefully sorted and put together by Mr. Gardner. A careful analysis of the different kinds of pottery found is here given. A good deal is of local manufacture. Mr. Gardner points out that the Greeks of Naukratis, judging from their vase-paintings, did not work solely under Egyptian influence but were also influenced—through the Phoenicians—by Assyria. The influence of Rhodes is also very great. Mr. Gardner assigns most of this pottery to *circ.* B.C. 570. The pottery known as 'Cyrenaic' was found, and is quite distinct in style from the local Naukratite pottery. 'The pottery of Naukratis does not so much represent a stage in [the] transition from Oriental to purely Hellenic form,' but is rather 'the most perfect and complete development of the decorative Oriental style.' (p. 53).

Chap. VI. *Statuettes from the Temenos of Aphrodite.* These, like the vases from the same temenos, had been intentionally broken up. The Cypriote influence is visible in them, and they are interesting as early examples of types afterwards frequently repeated, *e.g.* male figures of the early 'Apollo' or 'Athlete' type, and female figures holding some object (flower, animal &c.) in front of the breast.

Chap. VII. *Temenos of Hera.* Identified by vases inscribed with dedications.

Chap. VIII. *Inscriptions.* Mostly in the Ionic alphabet, and consist chiefly of dedications on vases to Aphrodite (*e.g.* ὁ δέῖνα ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ). No. 778 is a dedication to Aphrodite by Rhoecus, 'probably the famous early sculptor' of Samos. Eight of the inscriptions are perhaps Lesbian.

Chap. IX. *Conclusion.* Mr. Gardner shows that there was a Greek colony at Naukratis founded before the time of Amasis, perhaps *circ.* B.C. 650. Mr. Gardner further maintains, in opposition to Hirschfeld and Kirchhoff, that certain inscriptions found at Naukratis by Petrie (*Naukratis*, Part I. chap. vii.) are the earliest representative specimens of the Ionic alphabet, dating from the seventh century B.C. when the Greek alphabet was still a new and unfamiliar adaptation from the Phoenician.

Appendix (by Mr. Griffith), 'Egyptological Notes from Naukratis.'

W. W.

Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa. BENNDORF AND NIEMANN. Vienna, 1889.

THIS costly and elaborate work brings before us the reliefs and details of the Heroon at Trysa, which have now for some years been one of the treasures of the Museum of Vienna. The plates, 34 in number, are executed not by photography but in line-engraving, a process not in favour with archaeologists now, but in this case rendered advisable or necessary by the poor preservation of most of the reliefs. The text is not complete, but contains only descriptions and discussions of some of the reliefs, together with a short but interesting account of the travels of Schönborn, the discoverer of the tomb. Prof. Benndorf's archaeological account of the friezes is at once learned and lucid. He begins with the royal groups of persons over the gate without and with the dwarves who stand over the gate within; *à propos* of the latter we have a full discussion of the history of the god Besa by J. Krall. Next is discussed the very interesting scene of the slaughter of the Suitors by Odysseus and Telemachus, and its close correspondence with the descriptions of the *Odyssey* is clearly brought out. Then we have a detailed discussion of the frieze representing a battle raging over a plain bounded by ships on one side and

a beleaguered city on the other ; beyond the city is a conflict between Greeks and Amazons. Prof. Benndorf is inclined to see in the whole a representation of the great siege of Ilium, mainly inspired by the Aethiopis, in which the advent of the Amazons as allies of the Trojans and the death of the Queen Penthesileia by the hand of Achilles was narrated. The fate of Thersites was connected with that of Penthesileia in legend, and Benndorf identifies with that ugliest of the Greeks a bald-headed figure who appears on the relief near the ships. This whole explanation must however be considered as uncertain. Benndorf says that he himself hesitated long before accepting it, and it seems possible that he would not have received it if he had allowed greater weight to the analogy of the well-known Nereid monument in which the besieged city seems clearly to be in or near Lycia. It may be only a local siege which is recorded at Trysa. For the explanation of the numerous other scenes of these reliefs we must wait until the rest of the text appears. In these days of hasty writing and cheap illustrations, books like that under notice do good service in keeping up an ideal of archaeological dissertation.

P. G.

Le Cabinet des Antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale. ERNEST BABELON. Ser. 1,2. Paris, 1887-8.

THIS is an *édition de luxe*, in which the most remarkable of the art treasures of the Bibliothèque at Paris are reproduced in plates executed by the most skilful processes known in France, in heliogravures (some of which by a new process are coloured), coloured lithographs and engravings. The text is by M. Babelon, *attaché* of the museum. Among the works figured in the first two issues are the great cameo of Tiberius (pl. 1), the archaic kylix of Arcesilas (pl. 12) and the (so-called) Weber head (pl. 20) formerly supposed to belong to a pediment of the Parthenon. We have but one fault to find, but that fault is serious. The order of the representations is quite fortuitous, works ancient, mediaeval and modern being mingled in dire confusion. This fact goes far to destroy the scientific value of the work, and injures it even from the drawing-room-table point of view.

P. G.

Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and O. KELLER. Leipzig, 1889.

By collecting in twenty-six quarto plates, admirably executed in photography, all important representations of animals and plants to be found on ancient coins and gems, the compilers of this work have rendered excellent service. They have thus made a sort of dictionary, which will greatly abridge the labours of many investigators for the future, through the perfect ordering of a province of research. Imhoof's work on the coins is characterized by his usual accuracy and comprehensiveness : the gems could scarcely be surveyed in the same methodical way ; yet they seem to be successfully treated. The text contains only descriptions of the 1352 monuments figured in the plates.

P. G.

Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder. THEODOR SCHREIBER. Leipzig, 1889.
Erste Lieferung.

THIS is the beginning of a most important work undertaken by Dr. Schreiber, supported by the Saxon Ministerium des Cultus. Few classes of monuments of antiquity are less accessible than these reliefs, for which when published we have to trust to drawings such as those of Zoega and Clarac: and yet they are of the greatest importance, not only for the history of myths in antiquity, but also for the study of the development of sculpture and painting in later Hellas. The present part includes no text, but contains ten excellent plates in heliogravure by Dujardin of reliefs at Vienna and in the Palazzo Spada at Rome. Each plate is accompanied by a sketch indicating which parts of the sculpture are restorations, an admirable plan which cannot be too strongly recommended to future editors. Dr. Schreiber's text, when it appears, must needs be of an interest quite unusual: meantime we would commend this great work to the notice of archaeologists and artists.

P. G.

Wiener Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Uebungen. 1888. OTTO BENNDORF. Vienna, 1889.

THE great value of the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter* to teachers and students of ancient vases and painting was proved by the rapidity with which the first edition was disposed of: in fact, without them, it is impossible to study Greek vases except in a museum or an extensive archaeological library. The second edition differs from the first in various ways, each set is bound in a cover and can be purchased apart, and the arrangement is altered. The present issue comprises outline drawings of the principal works of the earlier black-figured potters down to Exekias (pls. 1-7), including the wonderful François vase of Florence; Greek and Roman representatives of marriage ceremonies (pls. 8, 9); and a collection of the proposed restorations of the Iliupersis painted at Delphi by Polygnotus (pls. 10-12). Some of these last were scarcely worthy of record or perpetuation.

Like all of the important German archaeological publications, this work is carried out at the cost of a public body,—the Austrian Ministry of Cultus and Education.

P. G.

P. Paris—la Sculpture Antique. Paris, 1888.

THIS is the first small hand-book which attempts to give in a concise and popular form the results of recent excavation and research. Its illustrations are admirable, many of them the best that have ever appeared on such a scale: but there are one or two exceptions; fig. 53 gives hardly any notion of its original, and fig. 69 is wrongly restored. The text is mostly concerned with Greek art; and in this the earlier periods are the most fully treated. The development of types is followed, but no attempt is made to mark distinctions, local or other, among archaic works, even where this is possible. A clear and accurate statement of the evidence of literature and of excavation would have been more valuable to the elementary student than many of the generalities here included. But in spite of all defects, the merits of the work will make it a great acquisition to all students of sculpture. We understand that Miss Harrison will edit an English translation.

E. A. G.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum:—Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, &c. By BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.C.L., Ph.D. edited by R. S. POOLE, LL.D. London, 1889. 8vo.

A VALUABLE contribution to the British Museum Catalogue, giving full scope for Mr. Head's well-known mastery in dealing with long and uniform series of coins, such as those of Boeotia, Attica and Ephesus. The work is very fully illustrated by thirty-nine autotype plates, and Mr. Head has written a most interesting Introduction (pp. xvi—lxviii) which may here be, in part, summarized. The difficulty of arranging the Corinthian coinage chronologically arises from the uniformity of its type (Pegasos and the head of Pallas) throughout the fifth, fourth and third centuries. Period I. B.C. 650—500. Corinth, as a great trading city, doubtless began to coin early like Athens and Aegina, and its first coinage (*obv.* Pegasus, *rev.* Aeginetan incuse) perhaps belongs to the time of Cypselus. This is succeeded about the beginning of the sixth century by coins of flat fabric with the Swastica pattern—found especially on vases of the same century—on the reverse. The weight-standard of Corinth is the Euboic, but the stater (weight 135 grains) is divided by three and not by two. It is noteworthy that the Aeginetan half-stater or drachm of forty-eight grains was practically interchangeable with the Corinthian third-stater or drachm of forty-five grains. Period II. B.C. 500—431. The introduction of Pallas as a type takes place, to judge by style, about 500. Period B.C. 431—400 is the period of early fine art. Period IV. B.C. 400—338. Corinth is now the chief silver-coining state in Greece and her staters are abundant. The female head—that of Aphrodite and perhaps of some other goddesses—on the drachms and half-drachms is treated with much variety. The staters bear a symbol, probably a magistrate's signet. Period V. B.C. 400—243. Initials begin to appear as well as symbols. As the symbol is often varied while the initial remains constant, it may be inferred that 'the magistrate who signs his name is the superior magistrate and that the symbol...stands for mint-officials of lower rank who were replaced at frequent intervals.' The coins of this period are catalogued alphabetically, but in the Introduction (p. xxv. ff.) Mr. Head proposes a chronological arrangement. In B.C. 243 Corinth was freed from Macedonian rule by Aratus, and it then probably ceased to strike coins except those of the Achaean Federal type. The bronze coinage of Corinth—like that of Athens—begins about B.C. 400. Of Corinth as a Roman Colony, from B.C. 46 to the time of Galba, there is a series of bronze coins bearing the name of Duoviri, the chief annual magistrates of the place. These names have often been read erroneously on badly-preserved coins, and some, even after Mr. Head's corrections, remain doubtful. The position of the Duoviri is discussed, p. xxviii. ff. The exceptionally interesting Imperial Coinage of Corinth (cp. Imhoof and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*) ends in the time of Geta. The second part of the Introduction deals with the money of the colonies of Corinth, and of those localities that for commercial reasons adopted the Corinthian coin-types.

W. W.

The 'Horsemen' of Tarentum. A. J. EVANS. London, 1889.

THIS paper (of 242 pp. and 11 plates) is mostly a reprint from the *Numismatic Chronicle*. We briefly notice it, contrary to our custom in such cases, on account

of its very great importance. The 'Horsemen' are the well-known staters of Tarentum, bearing a horseman as type. The abundant coinage of Tarentum has never hitherto been classed in a satisfactory way. Mr. Evans has succeeded in so interweaving it with the history of the city, and so closely fixing the dates of its issues by the study of types, inscriptions, and the evidence of finds, that he has produced what must be regarded as a grammar of Tarentine archaeology. It is the first time, if we exclude Rome, that the numismatic history of an Italian city has been thoroughly and scientifically worked out, but no doubt now other cities will follow. From the general archaeological point of view, perhaps the most important results of the work are two. First we are now furnished with a series of representations of the horse reaching in uninterrupted succession from the Persian wars to the time of Hannibal, each specimen dated within narrow limits, and hundreds of them of admirable design. Secondly, Mr. Evans maintains, and appears to prove, that the great majority of the coins of Tarentum are signed by the artists who made the dies for them: thus our list of Greek artists will be greatly lengthened.

P. G.

(1.) **Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia**, von Dr. GEORG BUSOLT. 2 Teil.

(2.) **Griechische Geschichte**, von ADOLPH HOLM. 2ter Band.

THOSE who are acquainted with the first instalment of Dr. Busolt's learned work will welcome heartily this second part, in which they will find all the difficult questions connected with the Persian Wars and the Athenian supremacy discussed carefully and impartially in the light of all the most recent results of literary criticism and of archaeological research.

To take one instance out of many that might illustrate the use Dr. Busolt makes of archaeological discoveries: we may notice that *à propos* of the appeal made by Arkesilaos of Cyrene to the Samians for help against Persia, he points to the measure by which, in the middle of the fifth century, the Cyreneans abandoned the Euboic for the Rhodian standard of coinage, and facilitated thereby their trade relations with Samos. The use of archaeological material by Dr. Busolt is of importance in the part of his history which treats of Sicilian affairs, and yet more so in that which describes the subsequent relations of Athens with her allies and tributaries. In the use of the literary sources Dr. Busolt has no sympathy with any attempts to diminish the authority of Herodotus. He has not much trust in statements which are supposed to come from Ephorus, and does not follow the chronology of Diodorus. Among the points as to which Busolt's insight or his caution leads him to differ from other modern historians may be remarked his opinion as to the settlement of Messenians in Naupactus by Talmides after his expedition round the Peloponnesus, which he regards as a pure fiction of Ephorus; his refusal to allow the existence of *νομοφύλακες* as a part of the Athenian constitution before the Macedonian supremacy; and his defence of the character of Aspasia, the wife of Pericles. Dr. Busolt has, we may remark, entirely rearranged the chronological sequence of events for a great part of the Pentacontetia. It is to be regretted that the arrangement of the work,—with digressions on sources prefixed to each section and copious foot-notes—is not such as to make reference always easy.

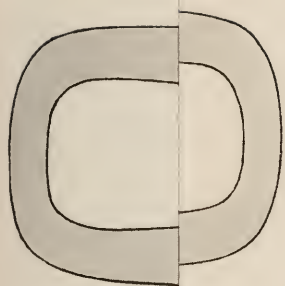
Dr. Holm's work was written after Busolt's, to which he often refers, and the results of which, as to chronology and in the main as to the value of authorities, he generally adopts. Yet the existence of Busolt's history by no means diminishes the value of Holm's, which appeals to a larger public and has many merits peculiar to itself. Learned without a touch of pedantry, imaginative without any capricious fancy, Holm uses his archaeological knowledge to bring before his eyes and those of his readers a vivid picture of the times he is describing, so that with him, a list *e.g.* of the allies and subjects of Athens becomes as full of character and colour as the Homeric catalogue. Some of his sketches of character (as that of Cleomenes) are powerful and terse. His picture of life in Periclean Athens is as bright as his sketch in the preceding volume of the pursuits of those who dwelt around the palaces of Mycenæ and Tiryns. The social side of history is that in which he most excels, but he also pays careful attention to the development of political institutions, and makes some original and suggestive remarks as to the practical working of some measures, such as the choice of archons by lot. (The scope allowed for manipulation is not always considered). In his account of the Athenian democracy, he lays especial stress on the heavy responsibility incurred by the proposer of any change. He examines carefully the relations of Athens to the cities of her empire in the light of the inscriptions and of coins, and shows the great diversity that prevailed among those relations, and some of the curious anomalies to be found, such as the extremely small amount of tribute paid by some important cities. In spite of his admiration for the Athenian spirit and his sympathy with the aims of Pericles, he points out the fact—so strangely slurred over by Grote—of the inferiority of Athens to many other states as an abode of freedom of thought and toleration of speculative originality. The narrative and the disquisitions are frequently enlivened and enriched by apt illustrations from modern history and politics, without ever making us feel that modern politics or party prejudices are being imported into ancient history. We hope that this book will soon be translated into English, as it would form an excellent text-book for our universities and public schools.

Since the above notice was written, we have received the last portion of the second volume of Holm's work, which brings us down to the restoration of the Athenian democracy in 403. This part is certainly not inferior, either in careful work, or in sustained interest, to any of the preceding. In treating of so well-worn a subject as the state of culture in Athens during the latter portion of the fifth century, our author throws fresh light upon it by distinguishing the streams of influence from at least six different regions that met in Athens, some of which found less free scope there than elsewhere. His use of widely scattered material, both archaeological and literary, tends here to counteract the over centralizing influence of writers to whom Athens is the culminating point of all that is worthy in Greek life. Among the special points of interest in these chapters we would note the tendency of Pericles to Ionianism in habits and thought, the probable collusion between Demosthenes and Cleon in the affair of Sphacteria, the comparative easiness of the terms finally imposed by Sparta on Athens, the reaction of natural feeling against the artificiality of the newer culture, shown at the restoration of the democracy, the attitude of the comic writers towards older and newer developments of the national mind,—and the fallacy of taking, as Curtius seems sometimes inclined to do, the aristocratic party in Athens as representing

liberal education, the democratic as that of the rude and vulgar. Dr. Hohn esteems highly the value of Xenophon as an authority, and does not regard him as a partial witness against the democracy. In those parts where topographical knowledge is of service, Dr. Hohn's studies make his work more valuable. This applies especially to the part that treats of Sicily.

A. G.







LABOURS OF THESEUS.



BASE OF COLUMN FROM THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE
OF ARTEMIS AT EPHESES.



FRAGMENTS FROM THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEOS.



2



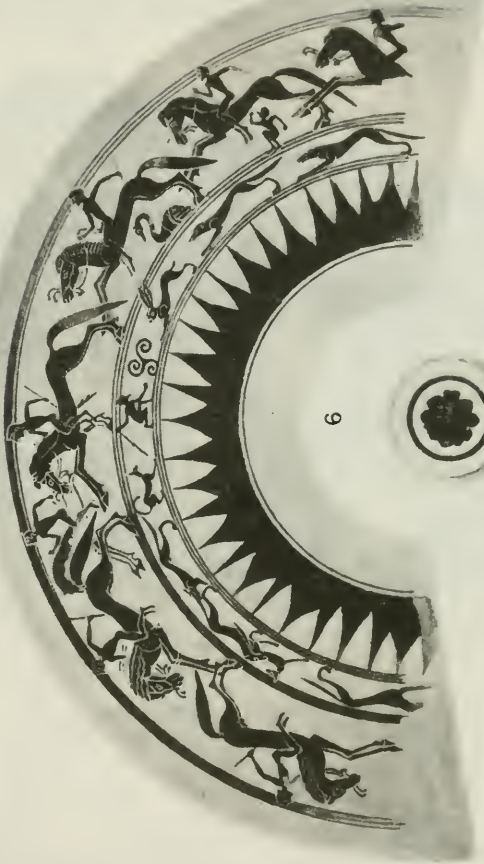
3



4



1



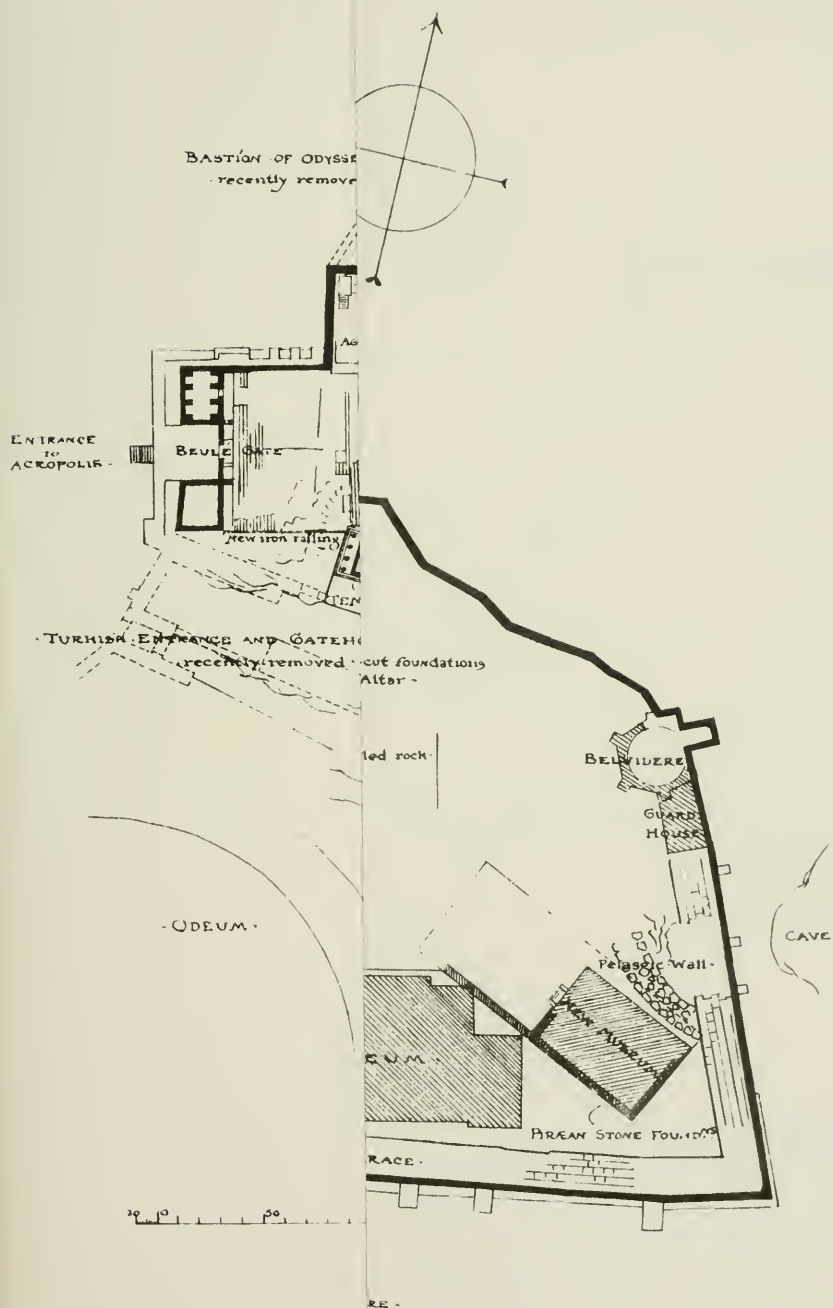


EAST PEDIMENT OF TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.



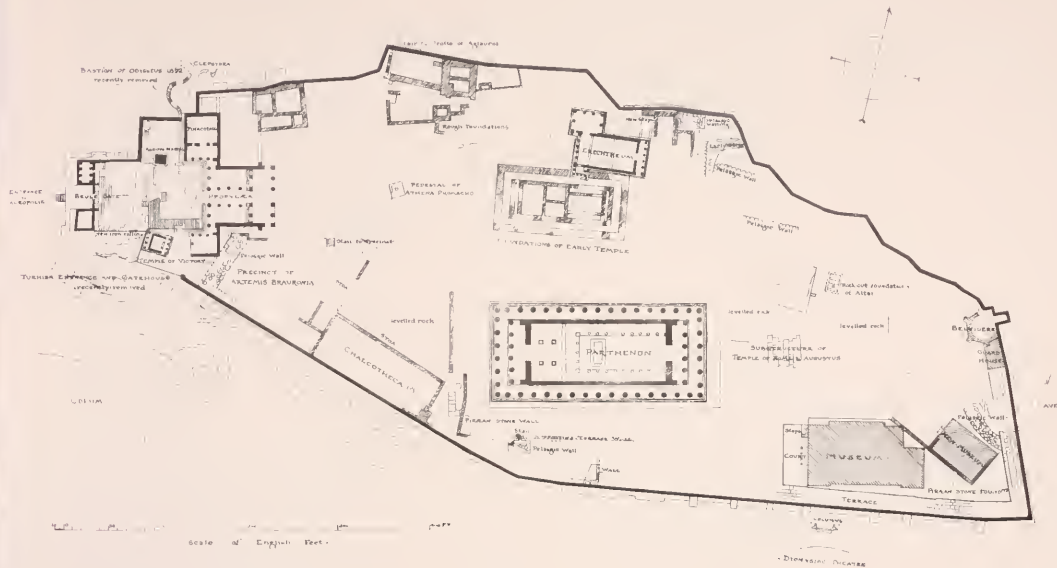
ETRUSCAN PAINTING ON TERRACOTTA.

ATHEN



R.W.S. del'd From Penrose's Plan
with Additions - May 1889.

PLAN OF THE
ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS IN 1889.



THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME XI.

1890

KRAUS REPRINT

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1971

Reprinted by permission of
THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

KRAUS REPRINT

A Division of
KRAUS-THOMSON ORGANIZATION LIMITED

Nendeln/Liechtenstein

1971

Printed in Germany

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rules of the Society	ix
List of Officers and Members	xv
Additions to Library	xxxii
Transactions of the Society, 1890	xxxv
1. Excavations in Cyprus, 1889. Polis tes Chrysochou, Limniti. (Plates III., IV., V.)—J. A. R. MUNRO and H. A. TUBBS	1
2. Two Fourth Century Children's Heads.—E. A. GARDNER	100
3. Ceramus and its Inscriptions.—E. L. HICKS	109
4. The Processes of Greek Sculpture as shown by some Unfinished Statues at Athens.—E. A. GARDNER	129
5. Τραπεζῶ and Κοσμός in the Frieze of the Parthenon.—C. WALDSTEIN	143
6. A Stele Commemorating a Victory in a Boat Race.—P. GARDNER... ..	146
7. Notes in Phrygia Paroreus, and Lycaonia.—D. G. HOGARTH	151
8. A Protokorinthian Lekythos in the British Museum. (Plates I., II.)—CECIL SMITH	167
9. Various Works in the Pergamene Style.—L. R. FARNELL	181
10. Archaeology in Greece, 1889—90.—E. A. GARDNER	210
11. The Alkmene Vase formerly in Castle Howard. (Plates VI. VII.)—A. S. MURRAY... ..	225
12. Recent discoveries in Eastern Cilicia. (Plate VIII.)—J. T. BENT	231
Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia.—E. L. HICKS	236
13. The Collection of Ancient Marbles at Leeds. (Plate XIII.)—E. L. HICKS	255
14. The Egyptian bases of Greek History. (Plate XIV.)—W. M. F. PETRIE	271
15. The making of Pandora. (Plates XI., XII.)—A. H. SMITH... ..	278
16. Two Greek Reliefs.—G. C. RICHARDS	284
17. Fourteenth Century Tachygraphy. (Plates IX., X.)—T. W. ALLEN	286
18. The Theatre at Megalopolis.—E. A. GARDNER ; W. LORING ; G. C. RICHARDS ; W. J. WOODHOUSE	294
19. A New Portion of the Edict of Diocletian from Megalopolis.—W. LORING	299
20. Orphic Myths on Attic Vases.—C. H. SMITH	343

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

	PAGE
Harrison and Verrall's 'Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens'; Schuchhardt's 'Schliemann's Ausgrabungen'; Studniczka's 'Kyrene'; Hauser's 'Neu-Attische Reliefs'; Robert's 'Antike Sarkophagreliefs'; Haigh's 'Attic Theatre.'	218
Ramsay's 'Historical Geography of Asia Minor'; Conze's 'Attische Grabreliefs'; Wernicke's 'Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen'; Imhoof-Blumer's 'Griechische Münzen'; Svoronos' 'Numismatique de la Crète ancienne'; Holm's 'Griechische Geschichte III.'; Bury's 'History of the later Roman Empire'	352

LIST OF PLATES.

- I., II. 'Protokorinthian' Archaic Lekythos in the British Museum. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.
- III. Plan of the Neighbourhood of Polistes Chrysochou.
- IV. A Red-figured Lekythos from Polistes Chrysochou. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.
- V. Jewellery, &c. from Polistes Chrysochou. Photographic Plate.
- VI., VII. The Alkmene vase formerly in Castle Howard. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.
- VIII. Map of Cilicia Compestris.
- IX., X. Facsimiles of Fourteenth Century Tachygraphy.
- XI., XII. The Making of Pandora: Vase in the British Museum. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.
- XIII. An Attic Sepulchral relief at Leeds. Photographic Plate.
- XIV. Early Aegean Vases from Excavations in Egypt. Drawn by F. ANDERSON.

LIST OF WOOD-CUTS, &c.

	PAGE
Fragment of Sepulchral Stele ; Kaparga, Cyprus	14
Capitals of Columns, Cyprus	28
Forms of Vases ; Polis, Cyprus..	35, 39
Platter ; Subject, Sphinx	41
Lekythos ; Subject—Winged female figure	43
Fragment of Kylix ; bearded Dionysos	44
Kylix ; Horseman and man on foot	45
Scarab ; King and Sphinx	54
Neighbourhood of Limniti... ..	83
Plan of Excavations at Limniti... ..	85
Bronze Statuette ; Limniti	89
Male and Female Heads ; Limniti	92—94
Female Terra-cotta Statuette	97
Stele of Cephisodotus ; Argos	101
Unfinished Male Statues : Athens	130, 136, 140, 141
Forms of Tools	137
Terra-cotta Figure of Trapezo	144
Reliefs from Stele commemorating a Victory in a Boat-Race ; Athens... ..	147, 149
Fragment of Pinax ; Naukratis	178
Protokorinthian Lekythos... ..	179
Statue of Zeus from Pergamon ; Berlin	191
Terra-cotta Mask from Tarentum	198
Fragment of Gigantomachy : Relief at Athens	205
Giant ; Statuette at Carlsruhe	207
Alkmene Vase ; British Museum	227
Plan of Hieropolis—Castabala	(to face) 235
Sepulchral Stele ; Leeds	267
Two Marble Doors ; Leeds	269
Map of Lower Egypt	272
Pseud-amphora ; Egypt	274
Terra-cotta Figure ; Egypt	275
Krater ; Making of Pandora	280
Relief of Pillar ; Ephesus	280
Theatre at Megalopolis	295, 296
Attic Vase with Representation of Orphic Myth	343, 344

RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed

and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER.
 REV. H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D.
 MR. WALTER LEAF.
 MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN (*Hon. Sec.*).
 MR. ERNEST MYERS.
 REV. W. G. RUTHERFORD, LL.D.
 MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.
 REV. W. WAYTE (*Hon. Librarian*).

Assistant Librarian, MISS GALES, to whom, at 22, Albemarle Street, applications for books may be addressed.

SESSION 1890—1891.

General Meetings will be held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., for the reading of Papers and for Discussion, at 5 P.M. on the following days :—

1890.

Monday, October 20.

1891.

Monday, February 23.

Monday, April 13.

Monday, June 22 (Annual).

The Council will meet at 4.30 p.m. on each of the above days.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR 1890—1891.

President.

PROFESSOR R. C. JEBB, LLT.D., LL.D.

Vice-Presidents.

THE LORD JUSTICE BOWEN.
THE REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D., *Master of*
Trinity College, Cambridge.
MR. SIDNEY COLVIN.
PROF. PERCY GARDNER, LLT.D.
MR. W. D. GEDDES, *Principal of Aberdeen*
University.
MR. J. K. INGRAM, LL.D.

RT. HON. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M.P.
MR. D. E. MONRO, *Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.*
THE EARL OF MORLEY.
SIR CHARLES T. NEWTON, K.C.B.
REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.
MR. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, D.C.L.
REV. H. F. TOZER.
PROF. R. Y. TYRRELL.

Council.

MR. J. THEODORE BENT.
MR. J. B. BURY.
PROF. S. H. BUTCHER, LL.D.
MR. INGRAM BYWATER.
MR. TALFOUR D'ELY.
MR. ARTHUR J. EVANS.
MR. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM GREGORY,
K.C.M.G.
MR. A. E. HAIGH.
MR. F. HAVERFIELD.
MR. D. G. HOGARTH.
REV. H. A. HOLDEN, LL.D.
REV. PROF. HORT, D.D.
MR. WALTER LEAF, LLT.D.
MR. W. WATKISS LLOYD.

MR. REGINALD W. MACAN.
PROF. J. H. MIDDLETON.
MR. A. S. MURRAY.
MR. ERNEST MYERS.
MR. R. A. NEIL.
PROF. H. F. PELHAM.
SIR F. POLLOCK, BART.
PROF. R. S. POOLE.
PROF. W. M. RAMSAY.
MR. J. E. SANDYS, LLT.D.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD SAVILE.
MR. H. BABINGTON SMITH.
MR. CECIL SMITH.
MR. R. ELSEY SMITH.
MR. A. HAMILTON SMITH.
REV. W. WAYTE.

Hon. Treasurer.

MR. JOHN B. MARTIN.

Hon. Secretary.

MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN.

Assistant Secretary.

MR. W. RISELEY.

Editorial Committee.

MR. INGRAM BYWATER.
PROF. PERCY GARDNER.

REV. PROF. HORT.
PROF. R. C. JEBB.

Auditors for 1890-91.

MR. DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD.

MR. ARTHUR J. BUTLER.

Bankers.

MESSRS. ROBERTS, LUBBOCK & CO., 17, LOMBARD STREET

CAMBRIDGE BRANCH
OF
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION
OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE FOR 1890-1891.

Chairman.

Vice-Chairman.

MR. J. E. SANDYS, LITT.D.

Committee.

MR. OSCAR BROWNING.
MR. HENRY JACKSON, LITT.D.
REV. S. S. LEWIS.
PROF. J. H. MIDDLETON.
MR. J. S. REID, LITT.D.

REV. E. S. ROBERTS.
MR. ARTHUR TILLEY.
MR. A. W. VERRALL.
MR. C. WALDSTEIN, LITT.D.

Hon. Secretary.

MR. M. S. DIMSDALE, KING'S COLLEGE.

HONORARY MEMBERS

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES.

Mr. Alfred Biliotti, C.P., *H.B.M. Consul for Crete*.

Prof. H. von Brunn, *Munich*.

Prof. D. Comparetti, *Istituto di Studii Superiori, Florence*.

M. Alexander Contostavlos, *Athens*.

Geheimrath Prof. Ernst Curtius, *Matthai Kirchstrasse 4, Berlin*.

Mr. George Dennis, 21, *Queen's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.*

Herr Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Ph.D., *Director of the German Archæological Institute, Athens*.

Monsieur P. Foucart, *Director of the French School, Athens*.

His Excellency Monsieur J. Gennadius, *Envoy Extraordinary for Greece, 5, St. James' Street, S.W.*

Prof. W. Helbig, *Casa Tarpeia, Monte Caprino, Rome*.

Prof. A. Kirchhoff, *University, Berlin*.

Dr. H. Köhler, *The University, Berlin*.

Prof. S. A. Kumanudes, *University, Athens*.

Mr. Charles Merlin, 10, *Observatory Gardens, Campden Hill, W.*

Prof. A. Michaelis, *University, Strassburg*.

Monsieur A. R. Rangabé, *Ministère Hellénique, Berlin*.

His Excellency Monsieur W. H. Waddington, *Membre de l'Institut, French Embassy, Albert Gate, S.W.*

Mr. Thomas Wood, *H.B.M. Consul at Patras*.

His Excellency Hamdy Bey, *Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities, Constantinople*.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

* Original Members. † Life Members.

The other Members have been elected by the Council since the Inaugural Meeting.

Abbott, Evelyn, *Balliol College, Oxford*.

*Abercromby, Hon. John, 21, *Chapel Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.*

†Abrahall, Rev. J. H., *Combe Vicarage, Woodstock*.

Abram, Edward, 1, *Middle Temple Lane, E.C.*

*Acland, Sir H. W., Bart., K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S., *Broad Street, Oxford*.

Adam, James, *Emmanuel College, Cambridge*.

Adam, Mrs., *Brookside, Cambridge*.

Addinsell, W. Arthur, 16, *Bennett's Hill, Birmingham*.

Ainger, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor*.

†Ainslie, R. St. John, *The School, Sedburgh*.

Aitchison, G., A.R.A., 150, *Harley Street, W.*

Alford, Rev. B. H., *St. Luke's Vicarage, Nutford Place, W.*

Allbutt, T. Clifford, M.D., F.R.S., 3, *Melbury Road, Kensington, W.*

Amherst, W. A. Tyssen, M.P., *Didlington Hall, Brandon*.

Anderson, J. R., *Lairbeck, Keswick*.

- Anderson, W. C. F., 4, *Barton Street, Westminster, S.W.*
- *Antrobus, Rev. Frederick, *The Oratory, S.W.*
- Apostolides, S., 4, *Lansdowne Mansions, Lansdowne Place, Brighton.*
- Archer-Hind, R. D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- Armstrong, Prof. G. F., *Queen's College, Cork.*
- Bagley, Mrs. John, *Washington Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.*
- Bailey, J. C., 2, *Tanfield Court, Temple, E.C.*
- Baker, Rev. William, D.D., *Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.*
- *Balfour, G. W., M.P., 32, *Addison Road, W.*
- *Balfour, Right Hon. A. J., M.P., 4, *Carlton Gardens, S.W.*
- Ball, Sidney, *St. John's College, Oxford.*
- Barclay, James W., M.P., 5, *Clarendon Place, Hyde Park Gardens, W.*
- Barlow, Miss Anne, *Greenethorne, Edgworth, Bolton.*
- Barlow, Mrs., 10, *Wimpole Street, W.*
- Barnewall, Sir Reginald A., Bart., 6, *Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.*
- Barnsley, Sidney H., 3, *Raymond's Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.*
- Bath, The Marquis of, *Longleat, Warminster.*
- Bather, Arthur George, *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Bayfield, Rev. M. A., *Christ College, Brecon.*
- †Beaumont, Somerset, *Shcre, near Guildford.*
- Belcher, Rev. Henry, *High School, Duncedin, N.Z.*
- Belcher, Rev. T. Hayes, *The College, Brighton.*
- Bell, Rev. William, *The College, Dover.*
- Benachi, L. A., "Ortygia," *Livingstone Drive, Sefton Park, Liverpool.*
- †Benn, Alfred W., 70, *Via Cavour, Florence.*
- Benson, C. F., *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Benson, W. A. S., *Montague Square, W.*
- Bent, J. Theodore (Council), 13, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
- Bent, Mrs. Theodore, 13, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
- Bickford-Smith, R. A. H., 1, *Elm Court, Temple, E.C.*
- †Bikelas, Demetrius, 4, *Rue de Babylone, Paris.*
- Birdwood, Sir George C. M., C.S.I., 7, *Apsley Terrace, Acton, W.*
- Blackier, C., 12, *Sussex Square, Hyde Park, W.*
- Blomfield, Sir A. W., A.R.A., 6, *Montagu Place, Montagu Square, W.*
- Blore, Rev. Dr., *St. Stephen's, Canterbury.*
- Boase, Rev. C. W., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
- Bodington, Prof. N., *Principal of the Yorkshire College, Leeds.*
- Bond, Edward, C.B., LL.D., 64, *Princes Square, Bayswater, W.*
- Bond, Edward, *Elm Bank, Hampstead, N.W.*
- Bone, John W., 26, *Bedford Place, Russell Square, W.C.*
- Bosanquet, B., 7, *Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
- Bosanquet, Rev. F. C. T., *Enfield Cottage, Sandown, I. of W.*
- Bousfield, William, 33, *Stanhope Gardens, S.W.*
- Bowen, Lord Justice (V.P.), 14, *Albert Hall Mansions, S.W.*
- Bowen, Rt. Hon. Sir George F., G.C.M.G., D.C.L., LL.D., *Athenæum Club, S.W.*
- Boyd, Rev. Henry, D.D., *Principal of Hertford College, Oxford.*
- Bradley, Very Rev. G. G., D.D., *The Deanery, Westminster, S.W.*
- Bramley, Rev. H. R., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
- *Bramston, Rev. J. T., *Culvers Close, Winchester.*
- Branteghem, A. van, 28, *Rue des Buisson, Bruxelles.*
- Brinton, Hubert, *Eton College, Windsor.*
- Broadbent, H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
- *Brodie, E. H., *H.M.I.S., Grassendale, Malvern.*
- Brooke, A. E., *King's College, Cambridge.*
- Brooke, Rev. Stopford A., 1, *Manchester Square, W.*

- Brooks, E. J., *St. John's College, Cambridge*.
- Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, *The University, Edinburgh*.
- Brown, Harry, 36, *George Street, Portman Square, W.*
- *Browning, Oscar, *King's College, Cambridge*.
- *Bryce, James, D.C.L., M.P., 54, *Portland Place, W.*
- *Burn, Rev. Robert, *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
- Bury, J. B. (Council), *Trinity College, Dublin*.
- Butcher, Prof. S. H., LL.D. (Council), *The University, Edinburgh*.
- Butler, Arthur J., *Wood End, Weybridge*.
- *Butler, The Rev. H. M., D.D. (V.P.), *Master of Trinity College, Cambridge*.
- Buxton, F. W., 42, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
- Buxton, Mrs. Alfred, 5, *Hyde Park Street, W.*
- Bywater, Ingram (Council), 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
- †Bywater, Mrs., 93, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
- Calvert, Rev. Thomas, 15, *Albany Villas, Hove, Brighton*.
- †Calvocoressi, L. M., *Messrs. Rulli Bros., Mellor's Buildings, Exchange Street East, Liverpool*.
- Cameron, Dr. James, *Registrar of the University, Capetown*.
- *Campbell, Rev. Prof. Lewis, *St. Andrews, N.B.*
- Campion, Rev. W. J. H., *Keble College, Oxford*.
- †Canterbury, The Most Rev. His Grace the Lord Archbishop of, *Lambeth Palace, S.E.*
- Capes, Rev. W. W., *Bramshott, Liphook, Hants*.
- Carápanos, Constantin, *Deputé, Athens*.
- Carey, Miss, 13, *Colosseum Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- *Carlisle, A. D., *Haileybury College, Hertford*.
- Carlisle, Miss, *High Lawn, Bowdon, Cheshire*.
- †Carr, Rev. A., *St. Sebastian's Vicarage, Wokingham*.
- Carstens, C. C., *Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, U.S.A.*
- Cates, Arthur, 12, *York Terrace, Regent's Park*.
- Cave, Lawrence T., 13, *Lowndes Square, S.W.*
- Cavendish, Miss, 19, *Chester Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.*
- Chambers, C. Gore, *The Grammar School, Bedford*.
- Chambers, Rev. F. C., *Howard House, Fulford Road, York*.
- Chance, Frederick, 51, *Prince's Gate, S.W.*
- Chavasse, A. S., *University College, Oxford*.
- †Chawner, G., *King's College, Cambridge*.
- †Chawner, W., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge*.
- Cheetham, J. C. M., *Christ Church, Oxford*.
- Chettle, H., *Stationers' School, Bolt Court, E.C.*
- *Christie, R. C., *The Elms, Roehampton, S.W.*
- Christian, J. Henry, 18, *Mansfield Street, W.*
- Christian, Rev. G., *Redgate, Uppingham*.
- †Clark, W. Gilchrist, *care of Miss Talbot, 42, Grosvenor Road, S.W.*
- Clarke, Henry, 121, *Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.*
- †Clarke, Hyde, 32, *St. George's Square, S.W.*
- Clarke, Joseph Thacher, *College Road, Harrow, N.W.*
- Clauson, A. C., *St. John's College, Oxford*.
- Clay, C. F., 38, *Great Ormond Street, W.C.*
- Cobbold, Felix T., *The Lodge, Felixstowe, Suffolk*.
- *Cobham, C. Delaval, *H.B.M. Commissioner, Larnaca, Cyprus*.
- Cohen, Mrs., 3, *Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.*
- Colby, Rev. Dr., *Litton Cheney, Dorchester*.
- Cole, A. C., 64, *Portland Place, W.*
- Colfox, William, *Westmead, Bridport*.
- *Colvin, Sidney (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*

- Compton, Rev. W. C., *Uppingham*.
 Conroy, Sir John, Bart., *Balliol College, Oxford*.
 *Constantinides, Prof. M., 20, *The Avenue, Ealing*.
 Conway, W. M., 21, *Clunricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.*
 Cook, Arthur Barnard, *Trinity College, Cambridge*.
 Cooke, Rev. Canon, 6, *Clifton Place, Sussex Square, W.*
 Cookson, C., *St. Paul's School, Kensington, W.*
 Cookson, C. A., C.B., H. B. M. Consul, *Alexandria*.
 Coolidge, Rev. W. A. B., *Magdalen College, Oxford*.
 Cordery, J. G., C.S.I., 47, *Albemarle Street, W.*
 Corgialegho, M., 21, *Pembridge Gardens, W.*
 Cornish, C. J., *St. Paul's School, Kensington, W.*
 Courtney, W. L., 53, *Belsize Park, N.W.*
 Courtenay, Miss, 34, *Brompton Square, S.W.*
 Covernton, J. G., *St. John's College, Oxford*.
 Covington, Rev. W., *The Vicarage, Brompton, S.W.*
 Covington, W. H. W., *The Vicarage, Brompton, S.W.*
 Cowper, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., *Panshanger, Hertford*.
 Craik, George Lillie, 2, *Halkin Street West, S.W.*
 Crawley, Alfred Ernest, *St. John's School, Leatherhead*.
 Creighton, Rev. Prof. M., *Langdale Lodge, The Avenue, Cambridge*.
 Crewdson, Wilson, 60, *Courtfield Gardens, S.W.*
 Crockett, John D., *Union Place, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone*.
 Crosfield, Miss Margaret C., *The Dingle, Reigate*.
 Cruikshank, Rev. J. A. *Harrow, N.W.*
 Curtis, Rev. Canon, *Constantinople*.
 Cust, H. J. C., *Ellesmere, Salop*.
 Cust, Lionel, 43, *Park Lane, S.W.*
 Dakyns, H. G., 5, *Downleaze Road, Sneyd, Bristol*.
 Danson, J. T., F.S.A., *Grasmere, R.S.O.*
 David, W., 15, *Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.*
 Davidson, H. O. D., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Davies, Rev. Gerald S., *Charterhouse, Godalming*.
 Davies, Rev. J. Ll., *The Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale*.
 Davies, T. Harold, *University College, Oxford*.
 Deibel, Dr., *care of Messrs. Asher, Berlin*.
 *Dilke, The Right Hon. Sir Charles W., Bart., 76, *Sloane St., S.W.*
 Dill, S., *Shaftesbury House, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire*.
 Dillon, Edward, 13, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, W.*
 Dimsdale, M. S., *King's College, Cambridge*.
 Dobson, Miss, 77, *Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.*
 Donaldson, James, LL.D., *Principal of The University, St. Andrews*.
 Donaldson, Rev. S. A., *Eton College, Windsor*.
 Drisler, Prof. Henry, *Columbia College, New York, U.S.A.*
 Drummond, Allan, 7, *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.*
 Drummond, Edgar, 8, *Princes Gardens, S.W.*
 Duchâtaux, M. V., 12, *Rue de l'Echauderie, à Reims*.
 Duhn, Prof. von, *University, Heidelberg*.
 Duke, Roger, 8, *Neville Terrace, Onslow Square, S.W.*
 †Dunham, Miss, 37, *East Thirty-Sixth Street, New York*.
 Dyer, Louis, 68, *Banbury Road, Oxford*.
 Dyson, Rev. Frank, *The College, Liverpool*.
 Earl, Mrs. A. G., *Meadow Side, Tonbridge*.
 Edmonds, Mrs., *Carisbrook, Blackheath, S.E.*
 Edwards, G. M., *Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge*.

- Edwards, Miss Amelia B., *The Larches, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.*
 Egerton, Mrs. Hugh, 11, *Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W.*
 Ekl, Rev. F. J., *The Grammar School, Worcester.*
 Ellis, Robinson, *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Eliot, C. N. E., *British Embassy, St. Petersburg.*
 Elton, Charles, Q.C., M.P.
 Elwell, Levi H., *Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.*
 Ely, Talfourd (Council), 73, *Parliament Hill Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Erichsen, Miss Nelly, *Grove Cottage, Upper Tooting, S.W.*
 Eskrigge, R. A., *Liscard Vale, Liscard, Birkenhead.*
 Eumorfopoulo, A., 1, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 Evans, A. J. (Council), 33, *Holywell, Oxford.*
 Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., *Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.*
 Eve, H. W., 37, *Gordon Square, W.C.*
 Everard, C. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Farnell, L. R., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Farrar, Rev. Canon A. S., *Durham.*
 Farrow, Frederic R., 2, *New Court, Carey Street, W.C.*
 *Fearon, Rev. W. A., D.D., *The College, Winchester.*
 Feetham, T. O., 23, *Arundel Gardens, Kensington Park, W.*
 Fenning, W. D., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
 †Fitzmaurice, Lady Edmond, 9, *Lennox Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
 Fitz-Patrick, Dr. T., 30, *Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
 Flather, J. H., *Cavendish College, Cambridge.*
 Flower, Wickham, *Old Swan House, Chelsea, S.W.*
 †Forbes, W. H., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Ford, His Excellency the Right Hon. Sir Francis Clare, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., H.B.M.
Ambassador, Madrid.
 Fowler, Harold N., Ph.D., *Exeter, New Hampshire, U.S.A.*
 *Fowler, Rev. Professor, *President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 *Fowler, Sir Robert, Bart., M.P., 137, *Harley Street, W.*
 Fowler, W. W., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 Fox, Ernest Long, 18, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
 †Franks, A. W., F.R.S., *British Museum, W.C.*
 Frazer, J. G., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Freeman, C. E., *Parkhouse, Southborough, Tunbridge Wells.*
 *Freeman, Edward A., D.C.L. (Council), *Somerleaze, Wells, Somerset.*
 *Freshfield, Douglas W., 1, *Airlie Gardens, Campden Hill, W.*
 †Freshfield, Edwin, 5, *Bank Buildings, E.C.*
 Freston, Henry W., *Eagle's Nest, Prestwich, Lancashire.*
 *Fry, F. J., *Eversley, Leigh Wood, Clifton.*
 †Furley, J. S., 12, *Kingsgate Street, Winchester.*
 Furneaux, L. R., *Rossall School, Fleetwood.*
 Furneaux, Rev. W. M., *Repton Hall, Burton-on-Trent.*
 Fyffe, C. A., 64, *Lexham Gardens, South Kensington*
 †Gardner, E. A., *British School, Athens.*
 *†Gardner, Prof. Percy, Litt.D. (V.P.), 12, *Canterbury Road, Oxford.*
 Gardner, Miss Alice, 1, *Granchester Meadows, Cambridge.*
 Gardner, Samuel, *Spring Hill, Upper Clapton, E.*
 Gardner, W. Amory, *Groton, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*
 Geddes, W. D. (V.P.), *Principal of the University, Aberdeen.*
 Gibson, Mrs. Margaret D., *Castle-brae, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*
 Giles, P., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
 Gilkes, A. H., *The College, Dulwich, S.E.*
 Gilliat, Rev. E., *Harrow, N.W.*

- Gilman, D. C., *President of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A.*
 Glazebrook, Rev. M. G., *Clifton College, Bristol.*
 Goodhart, H. C., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Goodrick, Rev. A. T. S., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 Goodwin, Prof. A., *University College, Gower Street, W.C.*
 Goodwin, Prof. W. W., D.C.L., *Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.*
 †Gordon, R. G., *King's School, Canterbury.*
 Gore, Rev. C., *Pusey House, 61, St. Giles, Oxford.*
 Gow, James, Litt.D., *High School, Nottingham.*
 Granger, F. S., *University College, Nottingham.*
 Gray, Rev. H. B., *Bradfield College, Berks.*
 Greenwell, Rev. Canon, F.R.S., *Durham.*
 Greenwood, J. G., 34, *Furness Road, Eastbourne.*
 Gregory, Right Hon. Sir William H., K.C.M.G. (Council), 3, *St. George's Place, S.W.*
 Griffith, G. *Harrow, N.W.*
 Grundy, Rev. W., *The College, Malvern.*
 Guillemard, W. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Gwatkin, Rev. T., 3, *St. Paul's Road, Cambridge.*
 Hadley, W. S., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
 Hager, Herman, Ph.D., *Owens College, Manchester.*
 Hagenbotham, Miss, 3216, *Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.*
 Haig, James R., *Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
 Haigh, A. E. (Council), 2, *Crick Road, Oxford.*
 Hall, Rev. F. H., *Oriel College, Ox*
 Hall, Miss S. E., 15, *Brookside, Cambridge.*
 Hall, Rev. F. J., *Wymondley House, Stevenage, Herts.*
 Hall-Dare, Francis, 10, *Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.*
 Hallam, G. H., *The Park, Harrow, N.W.*
 Hamerton, P. G., *Pré Charmoy, Autun, Saône-et-Loire, France.*
 †Hammond, B. E., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Hammond, W. A., *King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.*
 Harcastle, Wilfrid, *Beechenden, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Hardie, W. Ross, *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Hardinge, Miss, 3, *Norfolk Crescent, Hyde Park, W.*
 Hardwicke, Philip, 2, *Hereford Gardens, W.*
 *Harrison, Charles, 29, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
 †Harrison, Miss J. E., 45 (D), *Colville Gardens, W.*
 Harrower, Prof. John, *The University, Aberdeen.*
 Hartshorne, B. F., 41, *Elm Park Gardens, Chelsea, S.W.*
 Haslam, S., *The School, Uppingham.*
 Haussoullier, B., 37, *Rue Vaneau, Paris.*
 †Haverfield, F. J. (Council), *Lancing College, Shoreham.*
 Hawes, Miss E. P., 89, *Oxford Terrace, W.*
 †Hay, C. A., 127, *Harley Street, W.*
 †Haynes, Miss Lucy, 7, *Thornton Hill, Wimbledon.*
 Hazzopulo, S., *Bella Vista, Manchester.*
 Headlam, Rev. A. C., *All Souls' College, Oxford.*
 Headlam, W. G., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Heard, Rev. W. A., *Fettes College, Edinburgh.*
 †Heathcote, W. E., 114, *Ebury Street, S.W.*
 Heberden, C. B., *Brasenose College, Oxford.*
 Hedcock, Mrs. Harrison, 21, *Caversham Road, N.W.*
 Herschell, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 46, *Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.*
 Heydemann, Dr. Heinrich, *The University, Halle.*
 Hicks, John Power, *Clifton Lodge, Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W.*

- Hicks, Rev. E. L., *Hulme Hall, Manchester.*
 Higgins, Alfred, 64, *Baker Street, W.*
 Hirschfeld, Prof. Gustave, Ph.D., *Mittel Tragheim 29, Königsberg, Germany.*
 Hobhouse, Walter, *Christ Church, Oxford.*
 Hodgson, F. C., *Education Department, Whitehall.*
 †Hodgson, J. Stewart, 1, *Audley Square, W.*
 Hogarth, David G. (Council), *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 Holden, Rev. H. A., LL.D. (Council), 20, *Redcliffe Square, S.W.*
 Holiday, Henry, *Oak Tree House, Branch Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Holland, Miss Emily, 20, *Ridgway Place, Wimbledon.*
 Hollway-Calthrop, H. C., *Stanhoe Hall, King's Lynn.*
 *Homolle, M., *Nancy, France.*
 Hornby, Rev. J. J., D.D., *Provost of Eton College, Windsor.*
 Hort, Rev. Prof. D.D. (Council), *St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.*
 Howorth, Henry H., M.P., *Bentcliffe, Eccles, Manchester.*
 Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, 4, *Holford Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Hughes, Rev. W. Hawker, *Jesus College, Oxford.*
 Hutton, Miss C. A., 52, *Lower Stowe Street, S.W.*
 Inge, W. R., *Hertford College, Oxford.*
 Ingram, J. K., LL.D. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 †Ionides, Alex. A., 1, *Holland Park, W.*
 Ionides, Luke A., 17, *Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.*
 Jackson, Henry, Litt.D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Jackson, Rev. Blomfield, 19, *Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.*
 Jackson, Rev. W. W., *Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.*
 James, A. C., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 *James, The Rev. H. A., *Principal of The College, Cheltenham.*
 James, Rev. S. R., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Jeans, Rev. G. E., *Shorwell, Newport, Isle of Wight.*
 *Jebb, Prof. R. C., LL.D., Litt.D. (President), *Springfield, Newnham, Cambridge.*
 Jenkinson, F. J. H., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Jenner, Charles, *Easter Duddingston Lodge, Portobello, Mid-Lothian.*
 Jenner, Louis Leopold C. A., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., *The Palace House, Bishop's Waltham, Hants.*
 Jevons, F. B., *The Castle, Durham.*
 Jex-Blake, Miss, *Girton College, Cambridge.*
 Jones, H. Stuart, *British School, Athens.*
 Keep, R. P., Ph.D., *Free Academy, Norwich, Conn., U.S.A.*
 Keltie, J. S., 52, *Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, N.*
 Kemp-Welch, Mrs., *The Red House, Campden Hill, W.*
 Kennedy, Rev. John, *Grammar School, Aldenham, Elstree, Herts.*
 Ker, Prof. W. P., 95, *Gower Street, W.C.*
 Kieffer, Prof. John B., 232, *Lancaster Avenue, Lancaster Pa., U.S.A.*
 King, J. E., *Grammar School, Manchester.*
 King, Rev. J. R., *St. Peter's Vicarage, Oxford.*
 Lacaita, Sir James, K.C.M.G., *Florence, and Athenaeum Club, S.W.*
 Lambros, Spiridion, *Athens.*
 Lang, Andrew, LL.D., 1, *Marloes Rd., Kensington, W.*
 *Lang, R. Hamilton, G.M.G., *Ottoman Bank, 26, Throgmorton St., E.C.*
 Lathbury, Miss Mary, 19, *Lingfield Road, Wimbledon, S.W.*
 Lathbury, Miss Maria, *Somerville Hall, Oxford.*
 Lautour, Miss D., 85, *Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.*
 Lawford, Frederick le Breton, *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Layard, Sir Austen Henry, G.C.B., 1, *Queen Anne's Street, W.*
 Leaf, Herbert, *The Green, Marlborough.*

- †Leaf, Walter, Litt. D., Council, *Old Change, E.C.*
 Leathes, Stanley, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Leeper, Alexander, *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.*
 Leigh, Rev. A. Austen, Provost of *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Leigh, W. Austen, *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Leighton, Sir Frederick, Bart., P.R.A., *Holland Park Road, W.*
 Lewis, Miss Agnes Ellen, *Newnham College, Cambridge.*
 Lewis, Harry, 51, *Holland Park, Kensington, W.*
 *†Lewis, Rev. S. S., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
 †Lewis, Mrs. S. S., 2, *Harvey Road, Cambridge.*
 †Lewis, Prof. T. Hayter, 12, *Kensington Gardens Square, W.*
 *Leycester, Mrs. Rafe, 6, *Cheyne Walk, S.W., or Toft, Cheshire.*
 *Liddell, Very Rev. H. G., D.D., *Dean of Christchurch, Oxford.*
 Lindley, Miss Julia, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*
 Lindley, William, 10, *Kidbrook Terrace, Shooter's Hill Rd., S.E.*
 Lingen, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.B., 13, *Wetherby Gardens, S.W.*
 Litchfield, R. B., 31, *Kensington Square, W.*
 Livingstone, Rev. R. G., *Pembroke College, Oxford.*
 Lloyd, W. Watkiss (Council), 3, *Kent Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*
 Lloyd, Miss A. M., *Caythorpe Hall, Grantham.*
 Lloyd-Roberts, H., 1, *Pump Court, Temple.*
 †Lock, Rev. W., *Kehle College, Oxford.*
 Lockyer, J. Norman, F.R.S., 16, *Pen-y-Wern Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
 Long, Prof. Albert Limerick, *Robert College, Constantinople.*
 Loring, Frederick R., *Markt 11, Weimar, Germany.*
 Loring, William, *St. Mary's Lodge, Ewshott, Farnham.*
 Lowell, J. Russell.
 *Lubbock, The Right Hon. Sir John, Bart., M.P. (V.P.), *High Elms, Hayes, Kent.*
 Ludlow, T. W., *Cottage Lawn, Yonkers, New York.*
 Lushington, E. L., *Park House, Maidstone, Kent.*
 Luxmoore, H. E., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Lyttelton, Hon. and Rev. E., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*
 Lytton, His Excellency the Right Hon. the Earl of, H.B.M. Ambassador, *Paris.*
 *Macan, R. W. (Council), *University College, Oxford.*
 Macdonald, Miss Louisa, 62, *Gower Street, W.C.*
 MacEwen, Rev. Alex. Robertson, 4, *Woodside Place, Glasgow.*
 Macmillan, Alexander, 21, *Portland Place, W.*
 *Macmillan, George A. (Hon. Sec.), 29, *Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.*
 Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 19, *Earls' Terrace, Kensington, W.*
 Macmillan, M. C., 52, *Cadogan Place, S.W.*
 Macnaghten, The Rt. Hon. Lord, 3, *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
 McPherson, Miss Florence, *Bank House, Maghull, Liverpool.*
 †Magrath, Rev. J. R., *Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.*
 *Mahaffy, Rev. Prof. J. P., D.D., *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 Mann, J. S., 6, *Blandford Square, N.W.*
 Manos, Grégoire, *Greek Legation, Vienna.*
 †Marindin, G. E., *Hillbrow, East Liss, Hants.*
 Margoliouth, D. S., *New College, Oxford.*
 †Marquand, Prof. Allan, *Princeton College, New Jersey.*
 Marshall, R., *Broomfield, Duppas Hill, Croydon.*
 Marshall, T., *Highfield, Chapel Allerton, Leeds.*
 Marshall, V. G., *Spanish Consul, Patras.*
 *†Martin, John B. (Hon. Treasurer), 17, *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
 †Martyn, Edward, *Tillyra Castle, Ardrahan, County Galway.*
 Mason, H. C. F., *Haileybury College, Hertford.*

- Mavrogordato, Pandeli, *South Sea House, Threadneedle St., E.C.*
 Merriam, Prof. A. C., *Columbia College, New York.*
 Merry, Rev. W. W., *Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 *Middletton, Prof. J. H. (Council), *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Miller, Sir Alex., Q.C., LL.D., 28, *Gordon Square, W.C.*
 Miller, Thomas, 8, *Geismar Chaussée, Göttingen, Germany.*
 Mills, Rev. W. H., *Grammar School, Louth.*
 Milne, J. G., *Albert Square, Bowden, Cheshire.*
 Milner, Alfred, *Ministry of Finance, Cairo, Egypt.*
 †Misto, John P., *Smyrna.*
 Mitchell, C. W., 28, *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
 †Mocatta, F. D., 9, *Connaught Place, Edgware Road, W.*
 *Monk, C. J., 5, *Buckingham Gate, S.W.*
 *Monro, D. B. (V.P.), *Provost of Oriel College, Oxford.*
 Montague, H., 34, *Queen's Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
 Moore, Mrs. Frank, 7, *Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.*
 Morgenthau, J. C., Ph.D., 17, *Lexington Avenue, New York.*
 Morice, Rev. F. D., *The School, Rugby.*
 *Morley, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of (V.P.), 31, *Princes Gardens, S.W.*
 Morris, J. E., *The Grammar School, Bedford.*
 Morrison, Alfred, 16, *Carlton House Terrace, S.W.*
 †Morshead, E. D. A., *The College, Winchester.*
 Moss, Rev. H. W., *The School, Shrewsbury.*
 Moule, C. W., *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
 Moulton, Rev. W. F., D.D., *The Leys, Cambridge.*
 Mount, Rev. C. B., 14, *Nerham Road, Oxford.*
 Munro, J. A. R., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 Murray, A. S. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Murray, Prof. G. G. A., *The University, Glasgow.*
 *†Myers, Ernest (Council), 31, *Inverness Terrace, W.*
 Myriantheus, The Archimandrite H.
 Neil, R. A. (Council), *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
 Nettleship, R. L., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Newbold, Rev. W. T., *Grammar School, St. Bees.*
 Newman, W. L., *Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.*
 *Newton, Sir Charles T., K.C.B. (V.P.), 2, *Montague Place, W.C.*
 Nicholson, Sir Charles, *The Grange, Totteridge, Herts.*
 Nicolson, Rev. W., *The Bible Society's Dépôt, St. Petersburg.*
 Northampton, The Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G., 44, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
 †Oxford, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *Cuddesdon Palace, Oxford.*
 Page, T. E., *Charterhouse, Godalming.*
 Palmer, Ven. Archdeacon, *Christchurch, Oxford.*
 Park, Rev. Mungo T., *Grammar School, Oundle.*
 Parker, R. J., 27, *Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, W.*
 †Parry, O. H., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 Parry, Rev. R. St. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Paton, J. L. A., *The School, Rugby.*
 Paton, W. R., *Grand Holme, near Aberdeen.*
 Pattengill, Prof. A. H., *Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.*
 Pears, Edwin, 2, *Rue de la Banque, Constantinople.*
 Peile, John, Litt.D., *Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.*
 Pelham, Professor H. F. (Council), 20, *Bradmore Road, Oxford.*
 Pember, E. H., Q.C., *Vicar's Hill, near Lymington, Hants.*
 *Penrose, F. C., *Chapter House, St. Paul's, E.C.*
 *†Percival, F. W., 2, *Southwick Place, Hyde Park Square, W.*

- Percival, Rev. J., D.D., *School House, Rugby.*
 Perkins, Miss Emma Read, *Newnham College, Cambridge.*
 *Perry, Walter C., 7a, *Manchester Square, W.*
 Phelps, Rev. Lancelot Ridley, *Oriel College, Oxford.*
 Pierides, D., *Larnaca, Cyprus.*
 Pollock, Sir Frederick, Bart. (Council), 48, *Great Cumberland Place, W.*
 Pond, C. A. M., *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
 Poole, Reginald Stuart (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Port, Dr. H., 48, *Finsbury Square, E.C.*
 Porter, Miss Sarah, *Farmington, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
 †Postgate, Prof. J. P., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Powell, John U., *Borcham, Warminster.*
 Poynter, Edward J., R.A., 28, *Albert Gate, S.W.*
 Pretor, A., *St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.*
 Prickard, A. O., *New College, Oxford.*
 Prideaux, Miss Sarah, 37, *Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, W.*
 Proctor, R. G. C., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
 Prothero, G. W., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 †Pryor, Francis R., *Home Park Mills, King's Langley.*
 Psychari, A., *Grand Hotel, 12, Boulevard des Capucines, Paris.*
 Radcliffe, W. W., *Fonthill, East Grinstead, Sussex.*
 *Ralli, Pandeli, 17, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
 †Ralli, Mrs. Stephen A., *Cleveland House, Thornton Road, Clapham Park, S.W.*
 †Ramsay, Prof. W. M. (Council), *The University, Aberdeen.*
 Rathbone, Mrs. F., *Woodgate, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.*
 Raven, Miss, *Grove Cottage, Frogual, Hampstead, N.W.*
 Rawlins, F. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Rawnsley, W. F., *Parkhill, Lyndhurst, Hants.*
 Raynor, Rev. A. G. S., 3, *Little Dean's Yard, S.W.*
 †Read, General Meredith, 128, *Rue La Boétie, Champs Elysées, Paris.*
 Reed, Percy R., *Rusholm, Grove Road, Surbiton.*
 Reeve, Henry, C.B., 62, *Rutland Gate, W.*
 Reid, J. S., Litt.D., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
 †Reinach, Salomon, 31, *Rue de Berlin, Paris.*
 Rendall, Rev. F., 82, *Philbeach Gardens, S.W.*
 †Rendall, Prof. G. H., *Principal of University College, Liverpool.*
 Renieri, M. Mario, *Athens.*
 Rich, Anthony, *Heene, Worthing, Sussex.*
 Richards, G. C., *Hertford College, Oxford.*
 Richardson, B. W., M.D., F.R.S., 25, *Manchester Square, W.*
 Richards, H., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Richmond, W. B., A.R.A., *Bevor Lodge, West End, Hammersmith.*
 Ridgeway, Prof. W., *Queen's College, Cork.*
 Ridley, Edward, 48, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
 Rivington, Septimus, *Kilmeny, Arterberry Road, Wimbledon, S.W.*
 Robinson, Sir J. C., 107, *Harley Street, W.*
 Roberts, Rev. E. S., *Caius College, Cambridge.*
 Roberts, Professor W. Rhys, *University College of North Wales, Bangor.*
 Robertson, Charles, *Redfern, Colinton Road, Edinburgh.*
 Robertson, Rev. Archibald, *Hatfield Hall, Durham.*
 Robinson, G. G., *Hill Side, Godalming.*
 Robinson, T. P. G., *Ashfield, Rothsay Place, Bedford.*
 Rome, W., *The Red Lodge, Putney, S.W.*
 †Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, 38, *Berkeley Square, W.*
 Rotton, J. F., 3, *The Boltons, S.W.*

- Roundell, C. S., 16, *Curzon Street, W.*
Rous, Lieut.-Colonel, *Worstead House, Norwich.*
Rudd, Rev. Eric, *Rectory, Freshwater, Isle of Wight.*
Runtz, Ernest, *St. Ronans, 160, Lordship Road, N.*
Rutherford, Rev. W. Gunion, LL.D. 19, *Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
Rylands, W. II., 11, *Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.*
†Ryle, Rev. Prof. H. E., *Meadowcroft, Cambridge.*
Savile, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.B. (Council), 38, *South Street, Park Lane, W.*
*Samuelson, Sir B., Bart., M.P., 56, *Princes Gate, S. Kensington.*
†Sandys, J. E., Litt.D. (Council), *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
Saumarez, Sir James St. V., Bart., *Shrubland Park, Coddenden, Suffolk.*
*†Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., LL.D. (V.P.), *Queen's College, Oxford.*
†Scaramanga, A. P., 18, *Barkston Gardens, S. Kensington, S.W.*
Schilizzi, John S., 93, *Westbourne Terrace, W.*
Schultz, R. Weir, 107, *Albert Street, N.W.*
Schuster, Ernest, 2, *Lancaster Road, Belsize Park, N.W.*
Scouloudi, Stephanos, *Athens, Greece.*
Scull, Miss, *Smethport, McKean Co. Pennsylvania.*
Seaman, Owen, *The Durham College of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Seeböhm, Hugh, *The Hermitage, Hitchin.*
Sellers, Miss Eugenie, 9, *Kensington Square Mansions, Young Street, W.*
†Selwyn, Rev. E. C., *School House, Uppingham.*
Selwyn, Rev. E. J., *Pluckley Rectory, Ashford, Kent.*
†Sendall, Sir Walter J., K.C.M.G., *Colonial Office, S.W.*
Seymour, Prof. Thomas D., *Yale College, Newhaven, U.S.A.*
Shadwell, C. L., *Oriel College, Oxford.*
Sharkey, J. A., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*
Sharpe, Miss, *Harold House, Lansdowne Road, W.*
Shuckburgh, E. S., *Fair View, The Avenue, Cambridge.*
Sidgwick, Arthur, *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
Sidgwick, Henry, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Sikes, Edward Ernest, *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
Simpson, H. B., 45, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
Sinclair, Captain H. M.
*Skrine, H. D., *Claverton Manor, Bath.*
*Skrine, Rev. J. H., *Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perthshire.*
Smith, A. Hamilton (Council), *Riverbank, Putney, S.W.*
Smith, B. Leigh, *Glattenham, Robertsbridge, Sussex.*
Smith, Cecil (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
Smith, H. Babington (Council), *Riverbank, Putney, S.W.*
Smith, Rev. J. Hunter, *King Edward's School, Birmingham.*
†Smith, Prof. Goldwin, *The Grange, Toronto, Canada.*
Smith, Prof. T. Roger, *The Knoll, Putney, S.W.*
Smith, R. Elsey (Council), *The Knoll, Putney, S.W.*
Smith, R. J., 2, *Tanfield Court, Temple, E.C.*
Smith, William, LL.D. 94, *Westbourne Terrace, W.*
Smith, W. G., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
†Snow, T. C., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
†Somerset, Arthur, *Castle Goring, Worthing.*
Sonnenschein, Prof. E. A., *Greenfield Cottage, Harborne, Birmingham.*
†Southwell, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Thurgarton Priory, Southwell.*
Spicer, Rev. E. C., *Colyford Villa, Exeter.*
Spicer, Mrs., *Colyford Villa, Exeter.*
Spoonner, Rev. W. A., *New College, Oxford.*
Spratt, A. W., *St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.*

- Spring-Rice, S. E., 9, *Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W.*
 Stanton, Charles H., 65, *Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.*
 Statham, H. Heathcote, 40, *Gower Street, W.C.*
 Steele, Dr., 33, *Via S. Gallo, Florence.*
 Sterrett, J. R. Sitlington, *University of Texas, Austin, Texas.*
 Stickney, Austin, *care of Messrs. J. S. Morgan and Co., 22, Old Broad Street, E.C.*
 *Stillman, W. J., 44, *Via Gregoriana, Rome.*
 Stillwell, James, 1, *Victoria Park, Dover.*
 Stogdon, J., *Harrow, N.W.*
 Stone, Rev. E. D., *Stonehouse, St. Peter's, Isle of Thanet.*
 Strachan-Davidson, J. L., *Balliol College, Oxford.*
 Strachan, Prof. John, *Owens College, Manchester.*
 Street, A. R., *St. Chad's, Denstone, Uttoxeter.*
 *†Stuart, Sir William, K.C.B., *Sutton Park Cottage, near Guildford.*
 *Sturgis, Julian R., 2, *Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.*
 Sturgis, Russell, 304, *East 17th Street, New York.*
 Sullivan, John, *Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 Surr, Watson, 28, *Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
 Swanwick, Miss Anna, 23, *Cumberland Terrace, N.W.*
 †Tait, C. W. A., *Clifton College, Bristol.*
 Talbot, Rev. E. S., *The Vicarage, Leeds.*
 Tancock, Rev. C. C., *Rossall School, Fleetwood.*
 Tarbell, F. B., *Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.*
 Tarring, C. J., *British Consulate, Constantinople.*
 Theologos, Pantaleon, *Director of the Credit Bank, Athens.*
 Thomas, Rev. T. Ll., *Jesus College, Oxford.*
 *Thompson, E. M. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*
 Thompson, E. S., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*
 Thompson, F. E., *Cotton House, The College, Marlborough.*
 Thorley, G. E., *Warden of Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Thursfield, J. R., 11, *Montague Place, W.C.*
 Tilley, Arthur, *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Todhunter, John, *Orchardcroft, Bedford Park, W.*
 Tottenham, H. R., *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
 *†Tozer, Rev. H. F. (V.P.), 18, *Norham Gardens, Oxford.*
 †Truell, H. P., F.R.C.S., *Clonmannon, Ashford, Co. Wicklow.*
 Tubbs, H. A., 48, *Burlington Gardens, Acton, W.*
 Tuck, Rev. A. J., *Great Munden Rectory, Hertfordshire.*
 *†Tuckett, F. F., *Frenchay, near Bristol.*
 *Tuckerman, Hon. C. K., 12, *Iacopo da Diacceto, Florence.*
 Tudeer, Dr. Emil, *Helsingfors, Sweden.*
 †Turnbull, Mrs. Peveril, *Sandy-Brook Hall, Ashbourne.*
 Tylor, E. B., D.C.L., F.R.S., *The Museum House, Oxford.*
 Tyrrell, Prof. R. Y. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Dublin.*
 *Tyrwhitt, Rev. R. St. J., *Ketilby, Oxford.*
 Upcott, E. A., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
 Upcott, L. E., *The College, Marlborough.*
 Urquhart, Miss Margaret, 5, *St. Colme Street, Edinburgh.*
 *Valetta, J. N., 16, *Durham Terrace, Westbourne Park, W.*
 †Valieri, Octavius, 2, *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 Vanderbyl, Mrs. Philip, 51, *Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, W.*
 Vardy, Rev. A. R., *King Edward's School, Birmingham.*
 Vaughan, The Very Rev. C. J., Dean of Llandaff, *The Temple, E.C.*
 †Vaughan, E. L., *Eton College, Windsor.*
 Venning, Miss Rosamond, 28, *Westmoreland Road, Westbourne Park, W.*

- Verrall, A. W., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Verrall, Mrs. A. W., *Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.*
 Vince, C. A., *The School, Mill Hill, N.W.*
 *Vincent, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., *Imperial Ottoman Bank, Constantinople.*
 †Wagner, Henry, 13, *Half Moon Street, W.*
 †Waldstein, Charles, Ph.D., Litt.D., *King's College, Cambridge.*
 Walford, Edward, 2, *Hyde Park Mansions, N.W.*
 Walker, Rev. F. A., D.D., *Dun Mallard, Shootup Hill, Brondesbury, N.W.*
 Walpole, Rev. A. S., 46, *Glenthorne Road, Hammersmith, W.*
 Walters, Henry Beauchamp, *British Museum, W.C.*
 *Ward, Prof. A. W., Litt.D., *The Owens College, Manchester.*
 Ward, T. H., 61, *Russell Square, W.C.*
 Warr, Prof. G. C., 4, *Pen-y-Wern Road, S.W.*
 †Warre, Rev. Edmond, D.D., *Eton College, Windsor*
 Warren, Col. G. E. Falkland, C.M.G., 57, *Cornwall Road, Westbourne Park, W*
 Warren, T. H., *President of Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 Waterhouse, Miss M. E., 3, *Edge Lane, Liverpool.*
 Waterhouse, Mrs. Edwin, 13, *Hyde Park Street, W.*
 Watson, A. G., *Harrow, N.W.*
 *Way, Rev. J. P., *King's School, Warwick.*
 Wayte, Rev. W. (Council), 6, *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 †Weber, F. P., 10, *Grosvenor Street, W.*
 Weber, Herman, M.D., 10, *Grosvenor Street, W.*
 †Welldon, Rev. J. E. C., *The School, Harrow, N.W.*
 Wells, J., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 Wheeler, James R., Ph.D., *University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.*
 †White, A. Cromwell, 3, *Harcourt Buildings, Temple.*
 White, Prof. J. W., *Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.*
 White, William H., 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
 Whitehead, R. R., *Palazzo Canevaro, Lung' Arno, 38, Florence.*
 Whitehouse, F. Cope, 8, *Cleveland Row, St. James', S.W.*
 Wickham, Rev. E. C., *Wellington College, Wokingham.*
 Wicksteed, Francis W. S., M.D., *Chester House, Weston-super-Mare.*
 Wilkins, George, *High School, Dublin.*
 Wilkins, Prof. A. S., LL.D., Litt.D., *The Owens College, Manchester.*
 Willert, P. F., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Willson, S. B. Wynn, *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
 Wilson, Donald, *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
 Wilson, H. F., *The Osiers, Chiswick Mall, S.W.*
 *Winwood, Rev. H. H., 11, *Cavendish Crescent, Bath.*
 Wiseman, Rev. Henry John, *Clifton College, Bristol.*
 Wither, H. S., *Grammar School, Manchester.*
 Wood, G., *Pembroke College, Oxford.*
 Wood, Rev. W. S., *Ufford Rectory, Stamford.*
 †Woods, Rev. H. G., *President of Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Woodward, Rev. W. H., 13, *St. Domingo Grove, Everton, Liverpool.*
 Woolner, Thomas, R.A., 29, *Welbeck Street, W.*
 †Wren, Walter, 2, *Powis Square, W.*
 Wright, Sir R. S., 1, *Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.*
 †Wright, W. Aldis, *Vice-Master, Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Wroth, Warwick W., *British Museum, W.C.*
 †Wyndham, Rev. Francis M., *St. Charles' College, St. Charles Square, W.*
 †Wyse, W., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson, 43, *Phillimore Gardens, W.*
 *Young, Rev. E. M., *The School, Sherborne.*
 Yule, Miss Amy, care of Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 55, *Parliament Street.*

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The University College, *Aberdeen*.
- The Amherst College Library, *Amherst, Mass.*
- The Andover Theological Seminary, *Andover, Mass., U.S.A.*
- The National University, *Athens*.
- The Peabody Institute, *Baltimore, U.S.A.*
- The Royal Museum Library, *Berlin*.
- The Royal Library, *Berlin*.
- The Mason Science College, *Birmingham*.
- The Bibliothèque Universitaire de Bordeaux, *Bordeaux*.
- The Public Library, *Boston, U.S.A.*
- The Library of Clifton College, *Clifton, Bristol*.
- The University Library, *Breslau*.
- The University Library, *California*.
- The Harvard College Library, *Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
- The Library of Trinity College, *Cambridge*.
- The Library of St. John's College, *Cambridge*.
- The Fitzwilliam Archaeological Museum, *Cambridge*.
- The Girton College Library, *Cambridge*.
- The Library of Canterbury College, *Christchurch, N.Z.*
- The Public Library, *Cincinnati, U.S.A.*
- The Adelbert College, *Cleveland, Ohio*.
- The University Library of State of Missouri, *Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.*
- The Royal Museum of Casts, *Dresden*.
- The King's Inns Library, *Dublin*.
- The National Library of Ireland, *Dublin*.
- The Royal Irish Academy, *Dublin*.
- The University College, *Dundee*.
- The Durham Cathedral Library, *Durham*.
- The University Library, *Erlangen*.
- The University Library, *Freiburg*.
- The University Library, *Glasgow*.
- The Ducal Library, *Gotha (Dr. W. Pertsch)*.
- The University Library, *Halle, a.S. Germany*.
- The University Library, *Göttingen*.
- The Philological Society of the University of *Giessen*.
- The Royal University Library, *Greifswald*.
- The Dartmouth College Library, *Hanover, U.S.A.*
- The University Library, *Heidelberg (Dr. Zangmeister)*.
- The School Library, *Harrow, N.W.*
- The Cornell University Library, *Ithaca, N.Y.*
- The Royal and University Library, *Königsberg*.
- The Public Library, *Leeds*.
- The Philologische Leseverein, *Leipzig*.
- The Bibliothèque Universitaire, 3, *Rue des Fleurs, Lille, Nord*.
- The Free Library, *Liverpool*.
- The University College, *Liverpool*.
- The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *British Museum, W.C.*
- The Library of University College, *London*.
- The Athenaeum Club, *Pall Mall, London, S.W.*

- The Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Savile Row, London, W.*
 The London Library, *St. James's Square, London, S.W.*
 The Reform Club, *Pall Mall, London, S.W.*
 The Royal Institution, *Albemarle Street, W.*
 The Foreign Architectural Book Society (Charles Fowler, Esq.), 23, *Queen Anne Street, W.*
 The Sion College Library, *Victoria Embankment, E.C.*
 The Chetham's Library, *Hunts Bank, Manchester.*
 The Royal University Library, *Marburg.*
 The Königliche Paulinische Bibliothek, *Münster, I.W.*
 The Royal Library, *Munich.*
 The Newberry Library, *Newberry, U.S.A.*
 The Library of Yale College, *Newhaven.*
 The Astor Library, *New York.*
 The Columbia College, *New York.*
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York.*
 The Library of the College of the City of New York, *New York.*
 The University Library, *Christiania, Norway.*
 The Library of Worcester College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of Christchurch, *Oxford.*
 The Library of Exeter College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of St. John's College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of New College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of Queen's College, *Oxford.*
 The Library of University College, *Oxford.*
 The Union Society, *Oxford.*
 The University Galleries, *Oxford.*
 The Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, *Paris.*
 The Bibliothèque de l'Université de France, *Paris.*
 The Bibliothèque des Musées Nationaux, *Paris.*
 The Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, *Paris.*
 The École Normale Supérieure, *Paris.*
 The Bryn Mawr College Library, *Pennsylvania.*
 The Vassar Library, *Poughkeepsie, N.Y.*
 The University, *Prague* (Dr. Wilhelm Klein).
 The Archaeological Seminary, *Prague.*
 The Brown University, *Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.*
 The School Library, *Rossall.*
 The School Reading Room, *Rugby*, care of Mr. A. J. Lawrence.
 The St. Louis Mercantile Library, *St. Louis, U.S.A.*
 The Archaeological Museum, *The University, Strassburg* (per Prof. Michaelis).
 The Imperial University and National Library, *Strassburg.*
 The Public Library, *Melbourne, Victoria.*
 The Free Library, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
 The Sachs Collegiate Institute, *New York.*
 The University Library, *Toronto.*
 The General Assembly Library, *Wellington, N.Z.*
 The Library, *Westminster School, S.W.*
 The Boys' Library, *Eton College, Windsor.*
 The Public Library, *Winterthur.*
 The Free Library, *Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.*
 The Williams College Library, *Williamstown, Mass., U.S.*

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE
JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

- The Transactions of the American School, *Athens*.
 The Parnassos Philological Journal, *Athens*.
 The Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
 The Publications of the Archaeological Society, *Athens*.
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Institute at *Athens*.
 The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, *Athens*.
 Bursian's Jahresbericht für classische Alterthumswissenschaft.
 The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
 The Jahrbuch of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, Cornelintrasse No. 2, II., *Berlin*.
 The Revue Archéologique, *Paris* (per M. Georges Perrot, 45, *rue d'Ulm*).
 The Numismatic Chronicle.
 The Publications of the Evangelical School, *Smyrna*.
 The Revue des Études Grecques, Publication Trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France, *Paris*.
 The Mittheilungen of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute, *Rome*.
 The Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, published by the French School at *Rome*.
 The Journal of the American Archaeological Institute, *Boston, U.S.A.*
 The Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg*.
 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, and the Journal of Philology.
 The Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople*.
 The American Journal of Archæology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham), 29, *Cathedral Street, Baltimore, U.S.A.*
 The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
 Mnemosyne (*care of* Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland*.

ADDENDA

OF

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, &c.

IN THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

JANUARY 1891.

-
- American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. V. (1889) and Vol. VI. Nos. 1, 2 (1890).
8vo. Boston. 1889-90.
- Archaeological Institute of America. Eleventh Annual Report, 1889-90. 8vo.
Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
-
- Papers of the. Classical Series III. No. 1.
Telegraphing among the Ancients. By Augustus C. Merriam. 8vo. Cambridge,
Mass. 1890.
- Architects, Royal Institute of British—
Journal of Proceedings. Vol. VI. and Vol. VII.—Parts 1-5. 4to.
London. 1889-90.
Transactions. Vol. VI. 4to. London. 1890.
Kalendar for 1890-91. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Vol. XIV. Parts 1-4. 8vo. Paris. 1890.
- Bury (J. B.). History of the Later Roman Empire. 2 Vols. 8vo. London. 1889.
- Cambridge Philological Society—
Transactions. Vol. III. Part 3. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Clarke (J. T.). Twenty-eight Photographs taken in Greece, Sicily, and Magna
Græcia. Mounted.
- Covington (Rev. W.). Seventy four Photographs taken in Greece.
- École Française de Rome.—Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Vols. I.-IX.
8vo. Paris and Rome. 1881-1889.
- Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1889 and 1890, Part I. 4to. Athens. 1899-90.
- Frazer (J. G.). The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion. 2 Vols.
8vo. London. 1890.
- Goodwin (W. W.). Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb. 8vo.
London. 1889.
- Gregorovius (Ferdinand). Geschichte der Stadt Athen. 2 Vols. 8vo. Stutt-
gart. 1889.
- Haigh (A. E.). The Attic Theatre. 8vo. London. 1889.
- Herodotus. The History. Trans. by G. C. Macaulay. 2 Vols. Cr. 8vo. London.
1890.
- Hogarth (D. G.). Devia Cypria.—An Archaeological Journey in Cyprus. Roy.
8vo. London. 1889.
- Holm (Adolf). Gesch. Griechenlands. Vol. II. 5^{ten} Jahrhunderts vor Christi.
p. 8vo. Berlin. 1889.

- Holm (Adolf). *Gesch. Griechenlands*. Vol. III. 4^{ten} Jahrhundert. p. 8vo. Berlin. 1890.
- Jahrbuch des Kais. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Band IV. Heft 3, 4 and Band V. Heft 1, 2, 3. 4to. Berlin. 1889-90.
- Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Classischen Alterthumswissenschaft Vol. XVII. Nos. 4, 5, 8-12, and Vol XVIII. Nos. 1-7. 8vo. Berlin. 1889-90.
- Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vols. X. and XI. Imp. 8vo. London. 1889-90.
- Journal of Philology. Nos. 36, 37. 8vo. London and Cambridge. 1890.
- Macmillan (Malcolm) and L. Dyer. Photographs taken in Greece and Cyprus, Jan.-June, 1888. 152, mounted in 4to vol.
- Mahaffy (Rev. J. P.). *The Greek World under Roman Sway from Polybius to Plutarch*. Cr. 8vo. London. 1890.
- *History of Classical Greek Literature*. Vol. II. *The Prose Writers in Two Parts*. Cr. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Vols. I.-IX. 8vo. Paris. 1881-1889.
- Mittheilungen des Kaiserl. deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abth. Bd. 15. Heft 1, 2, 3.
- Römische Abth. Bd. 5. Heft 2. Roy. 8vo. Athens and Rome. 1889-90.
- Mnemosyne. Vol. XVIII. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1890.
- Numismatic Chronicle. 3rd Series. Vol. IX., Parts 3, 4, and Vol. X., Parts 1, 2, 3. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Parnassos. Vols. XI., XII. 8vo. Athens. 1887-9.
- Pausanias. *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, translated from the Attica of P. . . by M. de G. Verrall, with an Essay and Commentary by Jane Harrison. cr. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Pindar. *The Nemean Odes*.—Ed. with Introduction and Commentary by J. B. Bury. 8vo. London. 1890.
- Ramsay (Prof. W. M.). *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. (*Roy. Geog. Soc. Suppl. Papers. Vol. IV.*) 8vo. London. 1890.
- Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques—Texte, Traduction, Commentaire, par R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, et Th. Reinach. 1st fasc. Roy. 8vo. Paris. 1891.
- Revue Archéologique. Vols. XIV., XV., and XVI., Parts 1-2. 8vo. Paris. 1889-90.
- Revue des Études Grecques. Vol. III. Parts 1-2. 8vo. Paris. 1890.
- Smith (R. Elsey). *Eighty-five Photographs taken in Attica and the Peloponnesus in 1888*. Mounted, in box.
- Sophocles. Facsimile of the Laurentian MS. with an Introduction by E. M. Thompson and R. C. Jebb. Fol. London. (*Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.*) 1885.
- Sorel (G.). *Le Procès de Socrate*. p. 8vo. Paris. 1889.
- Thucydides.—*The Fourth Book of*, a revision of the Text illustrating the principal causes of corruption in the MSS. of this author by W. G. Rutherford. 8vo. London. 1889.
- Tozer (Rev. H. F.). *The Islands of the Aegean*. p. 8vo. Oxford. 1890.
- Xenophon.—*Works of*, trans. by H. G. Dakyns. Vol. I. Cr. 8vo. London. 1890.

SESSION OF 1889—90.

The First General Meeting was held on October 21st, 1889, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. CECIL SMITH read a paper on an archaic Greek lekythos, recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan. It was, the writer said, undoubtedly the most beautiful and important specimen yet known of the so-called "proto-Corinthian" class of Greek vases. The form of the body was that of the lekythos, but this body was surmounted by the head of a lion, of which the open mouth formed the spout. The modelling of this head was so spirited as to suggest that the artist had studied it from the life; on another proto-Corinthian vase in Berlin was a realistic scene of a lion hunt; and this reminded one of the statement of Herodotus that in his day lions were still to be found in Macedonia and Northern Greece.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 167.*)

MR. L. DYER, who had been with Mr. Macmillan in Thebes when the vase was bought in June, 1888, gave some account of the circumstances of the purchase.

MR. J. A. R. MUNRO gave an account of the recent excavations on the site of Arsinoe, in Cyprus. After briefly sketching the history of the excavation and topography of the site, he proceeded to deal with the tombs, which are of three main types: (1) One or more chambers opening independently on to a sloping, or perhaps sometimes perpendicular, shaft; (2) similar in all respects except that the sloping approach is replaced by a flight of steps; (3) of superior construction, with regular chambers opening one out of another, and a distinct type of niche. The first and second varieties seem scarcely to be kept apart, and form the bulk of the tombs from the earliest down to a comparatively late date; the third type is confined to the latest period. The difficulty in fixing the date of the various classes of antiquities was pointed out, and the contents of the tombs were described under the heads of stelæ and inscriptions, coarse or plain pottery, Cypriote fabrics, imported Greek wares, terracottas, jewellery, and glass, bronze, and miscellaneous objects. Particular

attention was given to the different kinds of Cypriote pottery, especially the jugs with figurines or animal heads, and to the Greek figured vases. The paper was illustrated by a representative collection of the products of the excavations, impressions of inscriptions, and a plan of the site.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 1.*)

The Second General Meeting was held on February 24th, 1890, MR. S. COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

A paper was read by MR. E. GARDNER "On Children in Greek Sculpture of the Fourth Century." Mr. Gardner described and published a very interesting fragment of a *stèle* found at Lerna, and now in the museum at Argos, which presents us with a portrait of a boy, whose name is given in an accompanying inscription as Cephisodotus. This portrait so closely resembled the head of a boy recently found at Paphos, and now in the British Museum, that the two heads must, Mr. Gardner thought, belong to the same age and school. Some archæologists had attributed the Paphos boy to the Ptolemaic age; but as the date of the Cephisodotus *stèle* was certainly the fourth century, we must now allow it to be of the time of the Praxitelean school. Mr. Gardner showed that in that time children were not always conventionally rendered, but sometimes with an approach to naturalism.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 100.*)

MR. A. J. EVANS cited a gem signed by Phrygillus, with a child driving a hoop, of about the age of Cephisodotus, and giving boyish proportions.

MR. FARNELL read parts of a paper "On Works of the Pergamene Style," in which he first gave an account of his researches among the miscellaneous sculptures from Pergamon now in Berlin, whence, no less than from the great altar, we should form our idea of Pergamene style; and, secondly, discussed a number of works in various museums which show traces of the influence of that style.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 181.*)

The Third General Meeting was held on April 14th, 1890, THE PROVOST OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. A. S. MURRAY read a paper on the Alkmene vase, formerly in Castle Howard, but recently acquired by the British Museum. Mr. Murray agreed in the main with Engelmann in interpreting the principal scene as representing Alkmene taking refuge on an altar to escape the wrath of Amphitryon on his return from the wars, Amphitryon and Antenor setting fire to a pyre erected in front of the altar, and Zeus, in answer to Alkmene's prayer, sending a violent storm to extinguish the fire, the rain

coming down from hydriæ in the hands of two figures, presumably Hyads. But he considered the date of the vase to be at least a century later than the time of Euripides, and on technical grounds he was inclined to refer its production to Southern Italy.—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 225.*)

MISS HARRISON, while accepting Mr. Murray's interpretation in the main, expressed some doubt as to the identification of the Hyads. She regarded the vase as a glorification of Alkmene, and a protest against the prominence of the Amphitruon element in the myth, which element she held to be of Theban, but certainly of non-Argive origin.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD added some words as to the myth in question, and conjectured that there was an attempt on this vase, as in some early Italian pictures, to represent in the same scene successive moments of time.

MR. P. NEWBERRY exhibited some funeral wreaths found by Mr. Flinders Petrie in the course of his excavations at Hawara in the Fayum, and read a paper upon them, partly descriptive of their character and composition, partly as illustrative of funeral customs among the Greeks.

The Annual Meeting was held on June 23rd, 1890, SIR C. NEWTON Vice-President, in the chair.

Professor Jebb was elected President of the Society in place of the late Bishop Lightfoot.

Messrs. J. B. Bury, A. E. Haigh, F. Haverfield, H. Babington Smith, and R. Elsey Smith were appointed to fill vacancies on the Council.—The former Vice-Presidents and other officers were re-elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Mr. G. Macmillan) read the following Report on the part of the Council.

THE Session now ended has been comparatively uneventful. In pursuance of the policy indicated in last year's Report, the Council has thought it wise this year also to refrain from extraordinary expenditure. The result has been to show once more a substantial balance, which should enable the Society to make in the ensuing Session occasional grants in aid of exploration and excavation.

Before however referring in detail to the work done in the past Session, the Council cannot omit to mention the loss sustained by the Society in the death of its first President, the late Bishop of Durham. Although the pressure of his official duties made it impossible for him to take any active part in the administration of the Society (he was only on one occasion able to preside at the Annual Meeting), the Bishop's interest in its operations was

keen and unceasing. That the Society itself was the gainer by having for its President a man so universally honoured for his remarkable gifts of scholarship, for his laborious and blameless life, cannot be doubted. On the death of Bishop Lightfoot, Sir Charles Newton was appointed under Rule 22 to act as President until the Annual Meeting. Members will be aware, from the voting-papers which have been sent out, that the Council have now nominated Professor Jebb to the vacant office. They look confidently to the confirmation of this choice by to-day's ballot, and if this anticipation is justified, they would congratulate the Society upon securing for its President so distinguished a representative of Hellenism in England.

Passing reference is due also to two other eminent members whom the Society has lost by death in the past year—Mr. Robert Browning, whose intimate acquaintance with old Greek life and thought is abundantly shown in his writings, and Mr. J. T. Wood, the untiring excavator, who restored to light the great temple of Diana at Ephesus. It is to be regretted that the lack of adequate funds prevented Mr. Wood from carrying out this important work so completely as he would have desired.

Turning now to the work of the Session, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* naturally claims the first notice. Volume X., which was published complete, is fully equal to its predecessors, both in text and illustrations. Among the contents may be specially mentioned, in the department of archæology, the second part of Professor Ramsay's 'Study of Phrygian Art'; Mr. Murray's paper on 'The Remains of an Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus,' with a partial restoration from the existing fragments; a paper by Dr. Six, of Amsterdam, presenting a new view of the 'Composition of the Eastern Pediment of the Zeus Temple at Olympia'; Mr. Hicks's account of 'Inscriptions found by Mr. Bent at Casarea, Lydae, Patara and Mydae, in Asia Minor'; and Professor Michaelis's paper, specially instructive to English students, upon the Imperial German Archæological Institute. Papers on Vases were contributed by Professor Gardner, Mr. Murray, and Miss Harrison, and Mr. Tozer gave an account of the 'Greek-speaking Population of Southern Italy.'

The promise held out in last year's Report of rendering accessible to members copies of various series of photographs taken in Greece by amateurs has this session been fulfilled. Catalogues have been issued of photographs taken by the following members of the Society:—Messrs. J. T. Clarke, W. Covington, Louis Dyer and Malcolm Macmillan, Walter Leaf, and R. Elsey Smith. Complete sets of these photographs are on view in the Library, and there is reason to believe that their circulation has proved of real interest and value. It is hoped that in course of time other collections may be turned to account in the same way. The Council have the pleasure to announce that Mr. Stillman has kindly allowed enlargements to be made of some very beautiful photographs taken by him in Sicily. These will shortly be issued by the Autotype Company at the

same rate as the well-known series of Athenian photographs, together with a selection from Mr. Leaf's Greek views, which he has placed at the disposal of the Society in the same way. If these are well received it is hoped that enlargements may also be produced of some of the best prints in the other series referred to above, and possibly of some more of Mr. Stillman's views of Athens, the negatives of which are in the hands of the Society. This important part of the Society's work is engaging the constant attention of a Special Committee appointed by the Council. It has been arranged that the Autotype Co. shall pay to the Society a royalty on all copies of the enlargements sold to the general public. A small addition to the Society's income may therefore be looked for from this source.

In last year's Report it was pointed out that during the present Session the Council would have to consider the renewal of the annual grant of £100 to the British School at Athens. Originally the grant was made for three years. It has been decided to renew it for one year only, not with any intention of withdrawing further support from the School, but in order that the case may be considered on its merits year by year. It will be a satisfaction to members to know that the Session now drawing to a close has been the most successful that the School has yet held. The number of students admitted has been greater than in any previous year. Besides the work in Cyprus, which this year has been devoted to the site of Salamis, the School has, by arrangement with the Greek Government, undertaken important excavations on the site of Megalopolis, and has already laid bare great part of the plan of the theatre, which promises to throw much fresh light on the problem of theatre construction in Greece. For both these projects further funds will be required next season, and the Council will have to consider the question of making special grants towards their execution. Two of the students, Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley, have again been devoting much time and labour to the neglected subject of Byzantine Architecture in Greece, with results that are likely to be of the highest interest and value. Full particulars of the work of the School will be presented before long to the Annual Meeting of Subscribers, but enough has been said to show that in supporting it so far the Society has been fulfilling an obvious duty.

As the accounts will show, comparatively little has been spent this year upon the Library. The Council wish members to understand that as no regular sum is set apart for the purchase of books, they do not feel justified in spending much in this department unless it is shown to be the wish of the Society at large. Suggestions for the purchase of particular books will always be considered, and it is proposed to place in the Library a book in which members can enter the names of works which they think should be purchased. Not a few books come in now year by year which are sent by publishers with a view to their being noticed in the *Journal*. To the list of periodicals received in exchange for the *Journal*

have recently been added the *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* published by the French School at Rome.

A request was lately made to the Council to present to the Library of the University of Toronto the first eight volumes of the *Journal*, which had been destroyed in the fire. The circumstances being quite exceptional the Council felt justified in complying with the request.

The Treasurer's accounts show ordinary receipts during the year of £746 compared with £810 during the financial year 1888-9. The subscriptions show a falling off of £13, and the receipts from Libraries and for back volumes a decrease of £26. Excepting for a trifling decrease of £6 in respect of arrears, receipts from other sources were stationary. The sum of £100 was paid to the bankers by Mr. James Vansittart under circumstances which seemed to imply that the donor did not wish special publicity to be given to his donation. The Council have, however, to express their appreciation of this very liberal and acceptable addition to their funds. The advance made some years ago towards the cost of reproducing the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles has this year been entirely repaid, leaving to the credit of the undertaking some £19, with three copies still on hand.

In the matter of ordinary expenditure, the increasing value of the stock of *Journals*, and of the Library, has necessitated an increase of £8 in respect of its insurance, while the expenditure on the Library has been limited to £2 for binding. Stationery and printing show a reduction of £6. The cost of the *Journal* has been considerably less than usual, being £397 as compared with £436 during the preceding financial year, chiefly because it was published complete instead of in two parts, so that the cost of carriage was reduced. It will be remembered that in 1888-9, the *Journal* expenditure was augmented by a sum of £437 for reprinting Volumes IV. and V. The total ordinary expenditure has therefore been £636 as against £686. The loan of £100 borrowed from the bankers in 1888-9 has now been repaid, and the financial year, which began with a balance at the bankers of £42, closes with an effective balance in favour of the Society of £150 19s. This balance remains after making allowance for the grant of £100 to the School at Athens which, by an oversight, was not paid until after the close of the financial year. There are arrears amounting to £165, of which £45 have been received since May 31. The analysis of the annual receipts and expenditure since the foundation of the Society is appended.

Since the last Annual Meeting 50 members have been elected. On the other hand by death, resignation, or the removal from the list of defaulters of many years' standing, the Society has lost exactly the same number of members. The present total of members (including twenty Honorary Members) is 672. To the subscribers five Libraries have been added, bringing the total to ninety-three.

The least encouraging feature in this survey of the past Session is

that for the first time there has been no increase in the number of members. This has been partly due to the wholesale removal of some dozen or more members who were hopelessly behindhand with their subscriptions, and deaf to all appeals on the subject. But the ordinary diminution by death or resignation has this year exceeded the average of twenty-five given in last year's Report, while the supply of new candidates, though larger than last year, has only just sufficed to counteract this inevitable loss. Such a state of things can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. It is not enough for the Society to maintain its ground. What all members must wish is to see it growing steadily in numbers and influence, and thus year by year becoming better able to carry out the various objects which it has in view. But while thus once more inviting all members to use strenuous efforts in bringing in new candidates for admission to the Society, the Council feel that grateful acknowledgment is due to those gentlemen and ladies who have already succeeded in adding, sometimes on a large scale, to the number of members. In two cases of recent occurrence, as many as eight candidates were proposed at once, on each occasion by members of Council resident in Cambridge. Nor have similar efforts been wanting on the part of some Oxford members. More than once large accessions have resulted from archaeological lectures delivered in London by well-known lady members. If such examples as these were more widely followed by those whose office it is to inspire and to instruct, if every member were able even to make one proselyte a year, the resources of the Society would soon be such as to enable the Council to aid substantially all well directed efforts to extend, whether by research at home, or by exploration and excavation abroad, the bounds of knowledge in every department of Hellenic study.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by MR. F. W. PERCIVAL, the Report was unanimously adopted.

MR. E. GARDNER, Director of the British School at Athens, read parts of a paper on "Recent Archæology in Greece."—(*J.H.S. Vol. xi. p. 210.*)

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of previous years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.
Subscriptions	£ 1,328	£ 472	£ *589	£ *679	£ *540	£ 532	£ 537	£ 539	£ 545	£ 532
Arrears . . . . .	...	211	...	...	...	12	35	41	32	26
Life Compositions . . . .	...	...	...	...	115	10	95	79	47	47
Libraries and Back Vols. .	12	19	87	97	133	126	156	119	122	96
Dividends . . . . .	...	...	11	13	14	17	20	30	33	34
Special Receipts—										
Mr. Bent . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	...	...	...
Sir C. Nicholson . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	...
Laurentian MS. . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	53	31	11
Loan from Bankers . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...
Donation—James Vansittart, Esq. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
	1,340	702	687	789	802	697	888	861	910	846
Balance from preceding year	...	873	664	693	901	879	622	489	255	42
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165	888

* Including arrears.

ANALYSIS OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING:—

	June 1879 to 31 May, 1881.	31 May, 1882.	31 May, 1883.	31 May, 1884.	31 May, 1885.	31 May, 1886.	31 May, 1887.	31 May, 1888.	31 May, 1889.	31 May, 1890.
Rent	£ 15	£ 25	£ 12	£ 25	£ 25	£ 12	£ 42	£ 15	£ 30	£ 30
Insurance . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	3	5	13
Salaries	16	20	10	10	20	23	41	46	39	39
Library	33	11	5	44	3	...	4	41	15	2
Stationery, Printing, and Postage	54	32	44	53	52	62	68	54	61	55
Cost of Journal (less sales).	347	383	284	592	574	482	412	583	*873	397
Grants . . . . .	...	50	...	50	†145	150	150	350	100	1100
Investments . . . . .	...	388	...	105	...	220	300	...	...	...
Loan Repaid . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	101
Sundries	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	...	...
	467	911	358	881	824	954	1,021	1,095	1,123	737
Balance	873	664	993	901	879	622	489	255	42	151
	1,340	1,575	1,351	1,782	1,703	1,576	1,510	1,350	1,165	888

* Includes cost of reprinting of Vols. IV. and V. (= £437) less the amount received from sales.

† Includes advance of £95 for printing Sophocles MS.

‡ The grant of £100 to the School at Athens has been paid since the accounts were made up; see Cash Account

EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS, 1889.

SECOND SEASON'S WORK.—POLIS TES CHRYSOCHOU.—LIMNITI.

[PLATES III., IV., V.]

THE following account of the excavations conducted by Mr. E. A. Gardner, Mr. Tubbs, and myself in the spring of this year on behalf of the Cyprus Exploration Fund does not pretend to exhaust all the results of the enterprise. Many questions are raised which are not answered, and more problems are suggested than are solved. The reason is partly to be sought in the necessity, in view of coming engagements, of rapidly completing the account for publication. Time is lacking for prolonged search for parallels and collation of authorities, and the tardy arrival of the antiquities in this country, together with their need of much cleaning and mending, has robbed us of many opportunities for leisurely study of them. So far we may hope that the deficiencies will be speedily made good by supplementary elucidations from more experienced archaeologists, or by our own exertions in the future. But far more is the incompleteness due to the nature of the subject. Sufficient evidence to support general conclusions is scarcely available, and the sceptical distrust engendered by experience on the site has only grown with further reflection and investigation. Here we can only look to the progress of general and especially Cypriote archaeology. We are each of us solely responsible for the sections we have respectively undertaken, but hope that no irreconcilable views are expressed. The parts in this account are distributed thus:—

I. Preliminary Narrative.	}	J. A. R. MUNRO.
II. The Tombs.		
III. Contents of the Tombs.		
IV. Inscriptions.	}	H. A. TUBBS.
V. Limniti.		

J. A. R. MUNRO.

Oxford : Nov. 1889.

U.S.—VOL. XI.

B

I.—PRELIMINARY NARRATIVE.

The second season's work of exploration in Cyprus was a legacy of the first; both funds and site had been already provided. Mr. Hogarth, in his narrative of last year's operations, has already told¹ how he definitely concluded the agreement with Mr. J. W. Williamson, of which Mr. Gardner had first broached the terms, securing to the Committee of the subscribers to the Cyprus Exploration Fund certain rights and facilities to make excavations at Polis tes Chrysochou. A word of explanation as to this agreement is here called for. The large ancient necropolis at Polis tes Chrysochou, or more shortly and familiarly Poli, had been partially excavated during the season 1886-87 by a syndicate of English residents in Cyprus, of whom Mr. Williamson took the most active part. In proof of the success of the enterprise it is enough to refer to the objects acquired by the British and the Berlin Museums, and to the general account of the find published by Dr. Paul Herrmann under the title *Das Gräberfeld von Marion*.² It was fully intended to continue the excavation for another season on the untouched portions of the site. There seemed indeed ample room for a second equally extensive campaign. Only half of Mr. Williamson's own vineyard, whence came some of the best finds, had been explored, and he had bought the owners' rights³ on a number of other parcels of ground contiguous to those already ransacked. But meanwhile an edict went forth from the Government of Cyprus prohibiting all excavations in the island save such as were conducted by public and scientific bodies. Mr. Williamson was thus left in possession of a number of rights of excavation which he was unable to exercise, and it was these rights which he, in consideration of a percentage of the value of the find, transferred to the Committee of the Fund by the agreement in question. He further agreed on the same terms to acquire at any reasonable price the rights on such other plots as might seem desirable, and in particular on the lands of the Poli Chiflik, which embrace the greater part of the site of the ancient city of Arsinoe. The Committee had reason to congratulate itself on the arrangement. At a very moderate cost a large site of proved value was at once available, and the co-operation of Mr. Williamson's local influence and experience might be trusted to secure all that was most promising, while the excavators would be relieved of the tedious and troublesome business of negotiation with the peasant and other proprietors. From the tombs might be expected a rich harvest of the products of the minor arts, and the Chiflik lands offered the prospect of discoveries on the temple sites of statuary and inscriptions, and an oppor-

¹ *J. H. S.* ix. pp. 151, 174.

² Berlin, 1888, where references are given to the previous literature, and to the principal objects in the museums. The abundant illustrations are an admirable feature of the publication. As regards the Pasiades alabastron it may be interesting to add that a similar vase

is said to have been found in a fragmentary condition. I do not know how far the description of it given me is accurate, but it might be worth while to track it down.

³ For an explanation of 'rights of excavation' v. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 161 note.

tunity of testing the claim of Poli to represent not only Arsinoe but also the more ancient Marium.¹

As regards funds, the cost of the first season's excavations had so far fallen below the estimate that there remained a surplus sufficient to carry on work for a considerable time at tomb-digging, and on an inexpensive site, so that it was unnecessary to harass the subscribers by a fresh appeal for money.

Site and funds being provided, there remained to find a competent and experienced director. This proved to be no easy matter, for none of the last year's excavators were available, and the supply of English classical archaeologists is still extremely limited. When, however, I left for Athens early in November, a satisfactory appointment appeared to have been made, and I was able to arrange to start from the Piræus on January 2nd. But presently came the news that unfortunate difficulties had arisen, which had re-opened the whole question. Precious time was passing away, and the Committee was at length compelled to request Mr. E. A. Gardner, Director of the British School at Athens, again to undertake the task, which at considerable sacrifice of his personal convenience and the interests of the School, he consented to do. It was arranged that a short leave of absence should be granted to Mr. Gardner to enable him to start the excavation, which would then be left in charge of Mr. H. A. Tubbs, of Pembroke College, Oxford, who was Craven University Fellow, and myself, as students of the British School.

These preliminary difficulties over, matters moved more rapidly. Mr. Gardner wrote at once to His Excellency the High Commissioner of Cyprus, requesting permission to excavate at Polis tes Chrysochou. Leave was

¹ So far as Arsinoe is concerned the case is proved. Strabo, 683, places Arsinoe between the Acamas and Soli: *εἴτα πρὸς ἔω μετὰ τὸν Ἀκάμαντα πλοῦς εἰς Ἀρσινόην πόλιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος· εἴτα Σόλοι πόλις λιμένα ἔχουσα κ.τ.λ.* The *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* 309 is more precise: *Ἀπὸ Ἀκάμαντος ἔχων δεξιὰν τὴν Κύπρον εἰς Ἀρσινόην τῆς Κύπρου στάδιοι σὸ· πόλις ἐστὶ λιμένα ἔχει ἔρημον χειμάζει βορέου.* cf. Ptolemaeus V. 14. The learned editor of the *Geographi Graeci Minores* thinks the distance 70 stades is inaccurate, but according to the Government survey map Poli is, as the crow flies and as a ship would sail, almost exactly nine miles from the point of the Acamas. The evidence is clinched by the inscription 2781 in Le Bas and Waddington.

The claim for Marium is less irresistible, but very strong. The city was destroyed by Ptolemy Lagi (Diod. xix. 79). It seems to have been refounded as Arsinoe, probably by Ptolemy Philadelphus (cf. Le Bas and Waddington, 2782), for Steph. Byz. remarks: *Ἀρσινόη· ἐβδόμη Κύπρον, ἢ πρότερον Μάριον λεγομένη, and: Μάριον, πόλις Κύπρου, ἢ μετονομασθεῖσα Ἀρσινόη.*

There were two or three cities of the name Arsinoe in the island, but that near Poli best suits Scylax 103, where Marium is named after Soli and before Amathus. Moreover, the *Stad. Mar. Magn.* 233 reads as emended: *Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Χελιδονίων [ἐπὶ] Μάριον καὶ τὸ τῆς Κύπρου ἀκρωτήριον, τὸν Ἀκάμαντα, ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ἡλίου οὐριώτατα ζεφύρῳ στάδιοι, μω' κ.τ.λ.* where the MS. has *Μάραι καὶ τὸ τῆς Κυπρίας ἄκρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκάμαντα*. The objection to the emendation is that Marium was destroyed nearly three centuries before the date to be assigned to the source of this part of the *Stadiasmus*, but the paragraph 233 bears every mark of having been inserted by the compiler from some other authority. Again, the archaeological evidence shows that there was a settlement here considerably older than Arsinoe, and thoroughly bears out the character attributed to Marium by Scylax's epithet *Ἑλληνίς*. Dr. Hermann goes farther, and attempts to identify a separate site for the earlier and later foundations, but his ingenious argument is based on untrustworthy information and erroneous preconceptions, v. *J. H. S.* x. pp. 281-2.

promptly granted, and the answer reached Athens on January 26. By the next boat, on February 1, Mr. Gardner and I left the Piræus, and landed at Larnaca on the 6th, where we were hospitably received by Mr. C. D. Cobham. A day in Larnaca sufficed to look up the tools and order stores. Gregorios Antoniou, the foreman of last year's work, whose proverbial skill at tomb-digging and experience of our site during Mr. Williamson's excavations were sure to be of great service to us, had been already engaged by letter from Athens. He was now sent with the tools, &c., in a caique to Limassol, with instructions to load them on mules and proceed with all despatch to meet us at Poli. Mr. Gardner and I went up to Nicosia, and the next day was spent in providing for the appointment of a Government overseer and in final preparations.

On the morning of the 9th we bade farewell to civilization, as we turned our mules on to the track towards Morphou. The night was passed in a farmstead at Karavostasi, and next morning, while the mules were being saddled, we had a few moments' leisure to devote to the harbour of the neighbouring ancient city of Soli.¹ The line of the harbour seems clearly traceable in the green bank which bounds a tract of low marshy land on three sides, the fourth being separated from the sea only by the beach of shingle. At either projecting horn at the limits of the marsh appears in the water, and extending underneath the shingle, what at first sight looks like a line of rocks, but which we satisfied ourselves could be nothing else than the remains of the ancient moles at the port's mouth.

From Karavostasi until after passing the promontory of Pomos, the rough bridle-track runs, or rather crawls, through rugged picturesque country, now skirting the cliffs along the shore, now mounting steeply inland, only to descend with equal abruptness into the next valley. About two hours' ride brought us to the Linniti valley, and we looked with interest, although at some distance, on the reputed temple-site, as a possible field for future operations. It was already dusk by the time we reached the welcome shelter of Mr. Williamson's house at Linni, within five miles of Poli. At Linni, in a narrow valley among the hills, are extensive ancient copper mines. A company was formed several years ago to take up the working of them afresh. The enterprise was not successful, but we profited by it indirectly on more than one occasion, in being able to get mining-lamps and tools of which we stood in need, even in this the most remote and least civilized corner of the island.

A half-empty house in the village of Poli, into which we effected a forcible entry in the owner's absence, inducing the inhabitants of the courtyard sheds by bribery or eviction to seek quarters elsewhere, furnished lodging and storage room; and within two days we were settled there with all our belongings. On the 13th the Commissioner of Papho, Mr. H. Thompson, with great promptitude rode over and assigned us our boundaries,

¹ Cf. Strabo, *loc. cit.* and Scylax 103: καὶ αὕτη (Soli) λιμένα ἔχει χειμερινόν. The Stad. Mar. Magn. 311 (here three centuries later than Strabo) speaks of Soli as πόλις ἀλίμενος.

so that on the morning of the 14th, or within thirteen days of leaving Athens, we were able to begin digging.

We were disappointed to find on our arrival that Mr. Williamson's negotiation with the owners of the Chiflik still hung fire. The fault was not his, or the intelligent Turk's who acted as estate agent, and would have made a handsome sum by the conclusion of the bargain, but the failure was mainly owing to the number and dispersion of the owners. To bring sixteen proprietors to an agreement, all of them absentees, and the more important resident away in Constantinople, would be no easy task even in the West. Perhaps some light is also thrown on the motives, so to speak, of their delay, by the fact that towards the end of the season Mr. Williamson was sounded as to his willingness to undertake the supervision of an excavation on the Chiflik lands conducted by the Ottoman government. The agent at Poli might, indeed, have been persuaded to conclude a contract with us on his own responsibility, but it was practically certain that, were any valuable discoveries made, the legality of the proceeding would be afterwards called in question. So far therefore as the site of the city was concerned, there was nothing to be done, and little to be hoped for. Our regret was not very acute. The site is, on the surface of it, far from attractive—a wilderness of loose stones, one or two fragments of late plastered walls, a massive marble block or two marking the temple-site whence General di Cesnola is said to have carried off a large inscription,¹ and a mound of slag from the copper mines thickly overgrown with asphodel; nowhere an indication of anything earlier than the Ptolemaic period,² and only in the hollows, I should think, any considerable depth of earth. There remained the more tempting tracts of tombs, and in particular, most coveted of all, the undisturbed half of the vineyard. It was in the vineyard accordingly, which bears the auspicious name of Εὐπερή, that on the morning of February 14 we began work.

Some idea of the topography of the district is necessary to the comprehension of the course of the excavations (see Pl. III.). The broad sweeping curve of the Bay of Chrysochou is the last indentation towards the west in the north coast of Cyprus. It is flanked on either side by ranges of rugged hills, which extend on the east to the promontory of Potos, and on the west jut boldly out in the lofty headland of the Acamas. Between the hills stretches what, although broken by minor undulations, may be called a valley, several miles in breadth. The central section of this valley is embraced between the Poli

¹ The General's operations at Poli seem to have been of the slightest, v. *Cyprus*, pp. 226-7. He contrives, however, to set the village on the wrong bank of the river. I can find no mention of any inscription taken from the neighbourhood.

² Wandering over the site on Feb. 13 I picked up near a remnant of wall foundation just south of the temple-site the inscribed fragment No. 18 below. There is plenty of the same red and white streaky-bacon stone lying

around. Mr. Tubbs places the inscription in the early part of the 6th century B.C., but I cannot rid myself of the impression—shared by others who have seen the stone or a squeeze from it—that it is more probably of late Roman date. The circumstances of its discovery certainly point in this direction, for the stone lay loose on the surface among miscellaneous rubbish, which included a fragment of Roman mosaic pavement and other congruous objects.

river on the west and a lesser stream distant rather over a mile to the east. Between these two streams lay the whole field of our operations. There were indeed reported to be tombs across the river near the hamlet of Prodromi, but as from all we could hear they were neither numerous nor valuable, there was nothing to tempt us over to try them. Between the streams rise gradually from the low land near the sea three flat-topped ridges.¹ Broken here and there by narrow gaps, they mount gently upwards, until they culminate about two miles inland, the two western in the striking triangular hill on the shoulder of which stands the ruined chapel of Hagia Varvara, the third in a similar height farther to the east. On the westernmost of the three ridges, overlooking a bend of the river, and about three quarters of a mile from the sea, lies the village of Poli. To the north and extending eastward from the river along the roots of the rise is the site of the ancient city. It seems to have stretched inland into the shallow depression which separates the southernmost houses of the village from Kaparga, but the main lie of the site is from west to east, and in this direction it is clearly marked nearly as far as the end of the central ridge. A seemingly detached group of house foundations was discovered in 1886-7, near the north-west corner of the vineyard. Herr Richter is prepared to vouch² for their bearing 'an essentially older character' than the *débris* of Arsinoë, but from particular inquiries on the point I learnt that they were of the very poorest construction, exactly resembling the foundations of a modern Cypriote village, supposing the mud upper walls had crumbled away. We discovered precisely similar walls in the opposite direction on sites *C* and *D*. So far as they can be said to have any character at all, it appears to be of the very latest. Herr Richter seems here, as elsewhere, to have allowed himself to be misled in the interests of a preconceived theory.

The tombs lie in two divisions, on the eastern and on the western ridge: the central rise, so far as present knowledge goes, contains not one. While it is easy to explain why no tombs are to be found in the deeper looser soil of the intervening hollows, their absence on this ridge seems singular, and had our operations elsewhere been sufficiently productive to counterbalance the expenditure, I should have liked to bring the matter to the test of actual experiment. It was the eastern necropolis that had been the principal scene³ and most valuable quarry of the former excavations, and within its limits, as a reference to the plan will show, lies the famous vineyard, distant a good three quarters of a mile from Poli (Site *V*).

It was thought prudent to start with a small number of hands, to be afterwards increased should experience justify an addition. Digging was accordingly begun with six men and six women, picked out from a crowd of

¹ Cf. the accompanying plan.

² *V. Das Gräberfeld von Marion*, pp. 7 and 12.

³ The figures quoted by Dr. Herrmann show 261 tombs opened in the eastern, to 180 in the western necropolis. He accordingly sets down

the former as the more extensive, rather rashly in view of his admission in the next sentence that the limits of neither had been reached. Our figures, added to the above, leave a balance of about 50 on the side of the western, but still neither necropolis is completely worked out.

candidates. Gregori was full of confidence, and pointing here and there to the spots, only a few yards off, where this or that treasure had been found, encouraged us to expect the like again—‘*χρυσάφια πολὺ καλὰ, κούσας μὲ ἱστορίας, plenty, πέτρας μὲ γράμματα Κυπριωτικὰ, plenty, plenty.*’

But St. Valentine was unpropitious; no tombs were opened that day, and we returned home, trying to comfort ourselves with the hope that the graves lay deep, that Gregori had not yet got into their disposition, and that to find with difficulty was to find undisturbed. Some slight consolation came with the tidings from the village *café* that there was in the stair of a neighbouring house a new inscription, which proved to be in Cypriote character (No. 13, below), and was subsequently traced to a tomb half excavated by the previous explorers, whence we afterwards extracted the companion inscription (No. 14). The next day was equally unproductive, the only discovery being a subterranean aqueduct, at a depth of about twenty feet from the surface. It measured some four feet in height by two in breadth. We explored it to a considerable distance in either direction, until checked by shafts full of stones, similar to that whereby we had entered. Our predecessors had also come upon it by another shaft lower down, and it seems to run towards the houses already mentioned at the north-west corner of the vineyard. The little niches made perhaps by the diggers to hold their lamps were still visible.

On the 16th we were joined by H. A. Tubbs, but he brought little or no luck with him. One tomb was opened, but contained only three coarse jugs and a small bronze vessel with lid. One or two holes which looked promising ended abruptly in solid rock. They were false casts either of tomb-makers or tomb-breakers.

The vineyard had now been sufficiently probed to show that the previous excavators had, without knowing it, exactly reached the utmost limit of the tombs. It was our only site in the eastern necropolis, and our experience of it was enough to scare us away from that quarter for some time to come. Indeed the ground both to the north and south had been fairly covered by the former diggings, and it was not until long afterwards that we discovered that there still remained an untried site at a short interval on the southern side.

So, with the beginning of the new week, on February 18, our work was transferred to the western ridge, south or south-east of the village. Gregori was given a free hand among our sites, and selected a courtyard where the aqueduct¹ crosses the Chrysochou road, a few minutes' walk from the end of the main street of the village. From the remains of an oven in the courtyard the site became known to us as ‘the oven site.’ In this courtyard, the smaller yard of the next house, and a small waste patch across the branch road to the east, work was carried on from the 18th to the 26th, and nineteen productive tombs were opened. They were distinguished in our register by Roman capital letters, A to T, it being our intention to adopt a different notation for each site to save double marking. But the system was speedily abandoned

¹ Not, of course, the subterranean aqueduct which comes from Chrysochou, above referred to, but the modern water-course

in the interests of our foreman, who could read numerals but not letters, and the latter were afterwards reserved for sites, while the tombs were simply numbered.

Although here again notable finds had been made by our predecessors only a few yards off, the site proved a disappointing one. The tombs were poorly hewn, small, and shallow, the contents miscellaneous, but not for the most part of high quality. Included were most of the staple classes of objects, pottery in a great variety of styles native and imported, terra-cottas, glass, cheap jewellery, mirrors, strigils, knives, alabaster, &c. The most interesting finds were perhaps a small female terra-cotta head, of better type and workmanship than the ordinary (*A*), two inscriptions in the Cypriote syllabary (*F* and *K*, Nos. 1 and 2), the fragments of a Cypriote capital (*N*), a jug and plate or basin of the very effective Cypriote variety with elaborate leaf and other patterns in deep purple-brown on the ruddy natural ground of the clay (*S*), a lecythus with a light-red band left round the black body, and on it a degenerate cable pattern (*S*), and a pair of pretty glass cups (*H*). The best tomb of the site, *S*, had been rifled, and the fragments of the jug and plate were found scattered broadcast through it, some emerging one day, some another. Several other tombs had apparently been robbed. In the shaft of one (*Q*) was found a Turkish copper coin, bearing the date 1255 of the Mahomedan era (1838 A.D.). In the shaft of *L* had been constructed what seemed a later sepulchral chamber, walled and floored with stone. *F* was remarkable for its layers of skeletons, one above another, but neither the occupants nor their paraphernalia bore traces of any violent disturbance apart from that caused by the fall of the inscribed stone block found in the centre of the chamber. With the possible exception of *S*, there seems nothing to lead us to date any of these tombs,¹ at least in the state in which we found them, earlier than the end of the 4th century B.C.: the majority one would naturally set down as Ptolemaic, some few even as Roman.

A curious incident enlivened our departure from this site, of which those who busy themselves with primitive systems of kinship may make what they please. It was our practice, when filling in our shafts, to allow the owner of the site to rescue for his own use any blocks or slabs of stone from the doors of tombs, &c., which proved to be without inscriptions. Now the owner of the patch across the side road happened to be away, and two men appeared, each claiming to be his nearest representative. Both brought up bodies of supporters, and the dispute threatened to develope into a free fight. The claimants were at last induced to submit to arbitration, and the controversy then resolved itself into the question whether preference were to be given to kinship traced to the owner's grandfather or grandmother.

¹ Individual objects may of course be earlier, *e.g.* the very incomplete Cypriote capital, found in dispersed fragments in the shaft of tomb *N*, and much of the pottery might be of almost any date. I know no cogent reason for separating the two inscriptions from the other contents of

the tombs in which they were found. *B*, a virgin tomb, and apparently Ptolemaic, produced a cup and a lamp, with two symbols from the syllabary scratched upon it. Cypriote inscriptions with fully-developed apices are, I believe, known.

On February 25 Mr. Gardner left us, and on the 26th we began work on a slight rise, two or three hundred yards to the east of the oven site, known as Kaparga (site K). It forms part of one branch of the western ridge, which is here split into two by a shallow depression. Four days—February 26 to March 1—sufficed to exhaust the small plot, yielding seven tombs, over which alone we had rights. The result was distinctly more encouraging than our finds hitherto, but as we subsequently returned to much more extensive operations on this site, an account of it may be for the moment deferred.

One or two additions had already been made to the number of our work-people. The tombs had proved less easy to find, to open, and to work, than we had expected, nor were their contents as a rule such as made close and continuous watching necessary. Fresh hands were therefore gradually put on, until the limit of our available tools was even exceeded, and we had at last to order picks of the village smith, buy spades of Mr. Williamson, and send to Larnaca for more baskets. At no time, however, did the number of hands employed exceed thirty men and twenty-four women, this being the maximum over which we found we could, with our limited staff and the necessity of often working on several sites at once, exercise efficiently the supervision and control so important in tomb-digging. When, therefore, a deputation of the notables of the village waited upon us with the request that we should find work for 'the unemployed,' whom they represented as sitting in abject misery about the *καφενέιον*, there were perhaps further reasons than a lack of tools for our inability to accede to their petition. Sitting round the *café* there were in fact plenty of unemployed persons to be found, but they generally bore their leisure with a light heart. Poverty is seldom hopeless under a Cypriote sky.

It may here be mentioned that the diggers are divided into spade-men and knife-men. The spade-man is the unskilled labourer, who clears the shaft and shovels the accumulated earth out of the tomb. Women are posted at the top of the shaft to draw it up out of the way. The knife-man needs some training and experience. He has to do the delicate work of extracting the vases, &c., from the lower layers of soil. He often acquires extraordinary lightness of hand, and is thoroughly to be depended upon to recognize the objects on which he comes from the first corner that shows, and work accordingly. In the slack season before harvest we paid our spade-men at the rate of six copper piastres (eightpence) a day; the knife-men seven piastres to a shilling; and the women four piastres. We avoided all stripping and searching of the men. No doubt we were to some extent robbed, but that was in any case inevitable, and it is very doubtful whether the searching is worth the irritation and lack of confidence entailed.

The men were generally glad to have us sitting down with them in the tombs, and proud of exhibiting their skill, and the offer of a cigarette of 'English' tobacco not a little facilitated the establishment of amicable relations. But it is a sound practical rule not to send two 'pals' to work the same tomb, and where the find is valuable a stricter watch must be kept. Trifling rewards for the more precious objects safely got out also stimulate

zeal and encourage honesty. It is obvious from what has been said that the excavators are tied all day to their site, and rambling exploration becomes almost impossible.

Let us, then, return to our excavations. On February 27 we had already labourers enough to begin rough work on the hill south of Kaparga. The hill is a remarkable one. It is separated from Kaparga by a break of the breadth of a stone's throw, through which runs the road to the east before mentioned, but from Hagia Varvara by a considerable gap. Its east and south sides are very steep; the west is more accessible, and is skirted by the Chrysochou road. On the very summit, on the verge, that is to say, of the southern bluff, is a threshing-floor, formed partly of the bare rock, partly of foundations of walls and squared stones. Here doubtless stood the chapel of Hagios Demetrios, whose name the hill bears, and here I picked up a fragment of marble with Byzantine carving. The top is so bare that there can be little or nothing remaining there beyond what is visible to the eye. The ruins of the chapel, or any earlier building that may have existed, are probably buried in the deep soil at the foot of the slope. Hagios Demetrios was a site extensively worked by the previous excavators; there remained to us only the upper part of its sloping back, immediately north of the threshing-floor. Again we came in for what was little more than a gleaning after harvest. Tombs there were, but they seemed to lie uniformly in a narrow fringe, two or three deep, along the line of the former diggings. We opened twenty-four productively between the 1st and 9th of March, and for its size the site was a fairly successful one. Distinctly late tombs were rare. Upon one of them we came in an unexpected fashion: a workman was engaged in clearing a tomb when the ground suddenly gave way beneath him, and he found himself standing in a second grave at a lower level; the later diggers had run their work close under an earlier cavity. So plentiful was the supply of the small black-glazed vessels with and without impressed patterns, especially from the first line of tombs on the east side, that this might be termed the black-glazed site *par excellence*. Many of these vases, commonplace enough in themselves, derive interest from the letters, now Greek, now Cypriote,¹ scratched underneath them. Native fictile wares rather retreated into the background, but the fragments of the very effective variety with purple-brown patterns on orange-red or ochre ground were comparatively numerous, and one fine specimen of the class was found practically intact (Tomb 8). One grave, which contained the skeletons probably of a man and his wife, one on each side of the door (Tomb 10), was rich in jewellery, among which was an engraved scarab (Fig. 1), and a pair of silver-plated bracelets, each finished off with two gilt rams' heads—a pretty piece of work (Pl. V. No. 1). Two tombs yielded well-preserved bronze objects. In the one (22) was found also a fragment of the rim of a large red-figured crater, with olive-leaf border and the crown of the head of a figure just showing, bound with a white fillet or taenia—two other pieces of rim, which might almost

¹ To find both in the same tomb is not uncommon. Sometimes the inscription is bigraphic, e.g. ☉E and τε (7), ΔΙ and τι (K. 45).

have come from the same vase, turned up in another shaft ten yards off. The other tomb (2), in which was a large bronze spear-head and an elegant little bronze palmette, was sown with small fragments of what proved to be two red-figured vases, with white and gold additions, of the finest fourth century style. One of them is figured on Pl. IV. The fragments, as numerous as they are tiny, were to be found in every corner of the tomb, and seemed to have no particular connection with the other contents, so that we have probably to recognize one more instance of the repeated use of early tombs in a later period. For a week or more half a dozen women were kept sifting the soil constantly shovelled out to them, and keenly competed for the half-piastres we promised for each bit recovered. At the end of that time the pillar left to support the roof had become much attenuated, and the tomb was no longer safe. We had thoughts of shoring it up, but it settled the matter by collapsing, when the scanty chance of being able to complete, or much add to, either of the vases did not seem adequate to the large labour of clearing it again.

It was about this time that information was brought to us of what was described as an ancient statue with an inscription, that had been found at Androlikou, about an hour's ride into the hills to the west. Accordingly, one Sunday afternoon, we rode over to inspect it. The 'ancient statue' proved to be a Byzantine saint, rudely engraved on a fragment of an unfluted column of greyish blue marble, with a superscription. There was evidently an ancient settlement at Androlikou, and tombs are occasionally discovered there. We found that one had recently been opened, but it seems to have contained nothing of any importance.

Hagios Demetrios seeming to be practically exhausted, on March 9 a fresh cast was made on the other side of the oven site, in the bend of the aqueduct. This site, marked *A* on the plan, is really a continuation of the oven site, which in the general quality of the tombs it much resembled. The black-glazed ware so prominent on Hagios Demetrios here occupied only a secondary place, plain and Cypriote pottery forming the staple of the find. Although the ordinary products were thus poor and probably late, the site indulged us in occasional welcome surprises and curiosities. The first tomb yielded a red-figured cotyle of careless late style with four figures, two on each side; the workman unfortunately coming on it unawares smashed it with his pick. In another tomb hard by (*A. 6*) was found a sadly broken early red-figured lecythus, with a representation of a woman performing some sacred office at an altar. With it were found a pair of archaic little terra-cotta statuettes. A black-figured cylix from another quarter of the site (*A. 15*) displays the minute figures on the outside of the rim in vogue towards the close of the black-figured period. A Cypriote platter with a black-figure Sphinx in the centre (*A. 7*), and the fragments of a large Cypriote jar bearing in the native syllabary the painted inscription *ὁ παῖς καλός* (*A. 21*, No. 1 of section on vase inscriptions) are without a parallel among our finds. In one hole, which seemed to have been a tomb (*A. 10*), perhaps lined or faced with masonry, among a number of architectural fragments were found the in-

scriptions No. 10 and No. 19, but the other contents were limited to a couple of coarse jugs and a few chips of pottery. As a whole the site may be set down as an early one taken up again and much used for burial in a quite late age. It was divided among three proprietors with whom we had considerable differences of opinion on the price to be paid for their crops. Thus whereas both ends of the site were excavated between March 9 and 15, the middle was left until the 30th, and only finished on April 5. There were opened in all twenty-seven productive tombs.

About the time when site *A* was started it began to become evident that we were likely ere long to run short of sites. So on Sunday, March 10, we took with us Gregori and Mr. Williamson's agent, who was frequently of service to us from his knowledge of boundaries and 'accidental' finds, as they were often perhaps euphemistically termed, and made a tour of inspection round the plots over which we had rights. The result was alarming. There proved to be but one small patch in reserve on which tombs were to be found, and we had at once to consider what rights it would be desirable to acquire. The considerable field offered for excavation by the hill Kaparga, on which we had already opened one or two interesting tombs, at once suggested itself, but it also occurred to us that there might be yet undisturbed parts of the eastern necropolis, and this idea, coinciding with a desire to investigate the half-cleared tomb to which we had traced the inscription in the stair, led us to extend our tour in that direction. The tomb was easily identified, half of the *μνημα* from which the inscription had been taken remained exposed, and groping in the interior of the chamber I discovered by aid of a match the companion inscription which we subsequently dug out. We learnt that there was a small corner of field just at this point (site *M*) which had not been touched, the brilliant discoveries in the vineyard having drawn the excavators off. There also seemed to be a row of tombs along the eastern edge of the hollow at this point, but they lay under a fine crop of wheat, and the finds hereabouts had been uniformly poor, so that we scarcely thought it worth while to bargain for them—those on the opposite side, fringing Herr Richter's 'older settlement,' had proved to be Roman. We failed on this visit to realize the existence of any virgin site on the southern side of the vineyard.

Mr. Williamson was away at Limassol, but I at once wrote to acquaint him with the state of affairs, namely that our remaining sites could scarcely outlast the week. Meanwhile site *A* was proceeded with so far as the crop had been purchased, and on the afternoon of Thursday the 14th a start was made on our last resource, part of site *B* on the map. The site lies at the entrance to the village, between the south end of the main street and the first cross street to the west. The part originally secured for us was that farthest back from the main street, on each side of the parallel back street, and consisted of a plot of corn on the slope of the ridge and a patch of nettles on the top. The former proved to contain no tombs. There was little to occupy us here, so negotiations were opened with the respectable blind Turk who owned the greater part of the coveted Kaparga, and with one of our men who had in conjunction with two partners planted his plot, the southernmost

portion of site *B*, with potatoes, in which they professed an inordinate pride. A compromise was also arrived at with the middle owner of site *A*, who was allowed to secure his corn for cattle. The partners in the potato crop could not agree among themselves, and the Turk was also troubled with a partner who owed him money, and was unwilling to sell the wheat which afforded him security were the debt not paid when due, before harvest. By Saturday afternoon it was difficult to find work to occupy our people, and the spare hands were sent off to the north beyond the church to the little site *W*, not because we expected to find a tomb there, but because being practically upon the edge of the ancient town they might chance to hit upon something. They did hit upon a series of large squared blocks of stone, which looked like the foundation of a wall (whence the *W*), but to this we shall return later.

By Monday the middle of site *A*, and in case of need the corner north of the vineyard, were available, but the weather, which had once or twice before compelled us to knock off work an hour or two before sunset, was so bad that none save subterranean operations could be carried on, and in this line there was still something left to do under the nettle-bed. Soon after mid-day Mr. Williamson turned up with a contract for part of Kaparga in his pocket. The Turk also was at last persuaded to sell, and although he wept for his wheat as he pocketed the price, I do not think he lost anything by the bargain. A large, but as it proved unproductive, site across the main street was now speculated in (site *C*), a dung-hill adjoining the nettle-bed was acquired, and eventually the potato syndicate came to terms. From scarcity we passed in a few days to superfluity.

On March 19 we transferred our operations to Kaparga, but returned to work on site *B* from March 29 to April 6. Since we have touched on the site it may be as well to say here what there is to be said about it. The small central courtyard garden still remained to be secured. It is owned by a poor woman with husband and family, but as she firmly believed that her father had buried a pot of gold in it, there was some difficulty in persuading her to let us dig there. It was only after repeated assurances that we wanted not gold but antiquities, and by pointing out to her the rare opportunity of recovering the treasure through our means, that her reluctance was overcome. If ever there was any gold buried in the yard, it still remains, but this little plot yielded us one of our finest vases, the red-figured cotyle with a single figure on each side, of the sparsely represented period of transition from stiffness to freedom (*B. 12*). This vase was found in two separate groups of fragments, but none of it is missing. With it was found a pretty well-executed lamp shaped like a duck, red with the plumage etc. indicated in fine black glaze drawn with firm delicate lines. Another tomb in this yard (*B. 11*) produced among a multitude of other objects two white lecythi with black-glazed patterns, the one an ivy branch, the other three finely drawn palmettes. The site as a whole, although divided among several proprietors, was but a small one, and only sixteen tombs were discovered. Yet the average quality of the find was higher than usual. One tomb (*B 4*) was very prolific in all sorts of

objects: among them was a red-figured *askos* with Satyr and bull of very fair style, indeed the best we found of the very numerous little vases of the class, a pretty little gold earring with winged Eros, a signet ring of opaque white glass (the seal unfortunately missing), etc. The first object found on the site was a notable one (*B. 1*), the upper part of a marble sepulchral stele (*Fig. 2*) representing a bearded man wrapped in his *himation*. The stone is covered with scratched inscriptions, over which we long sat with glasses in our eyes, with the result that after a hard morning's work we had not agreed

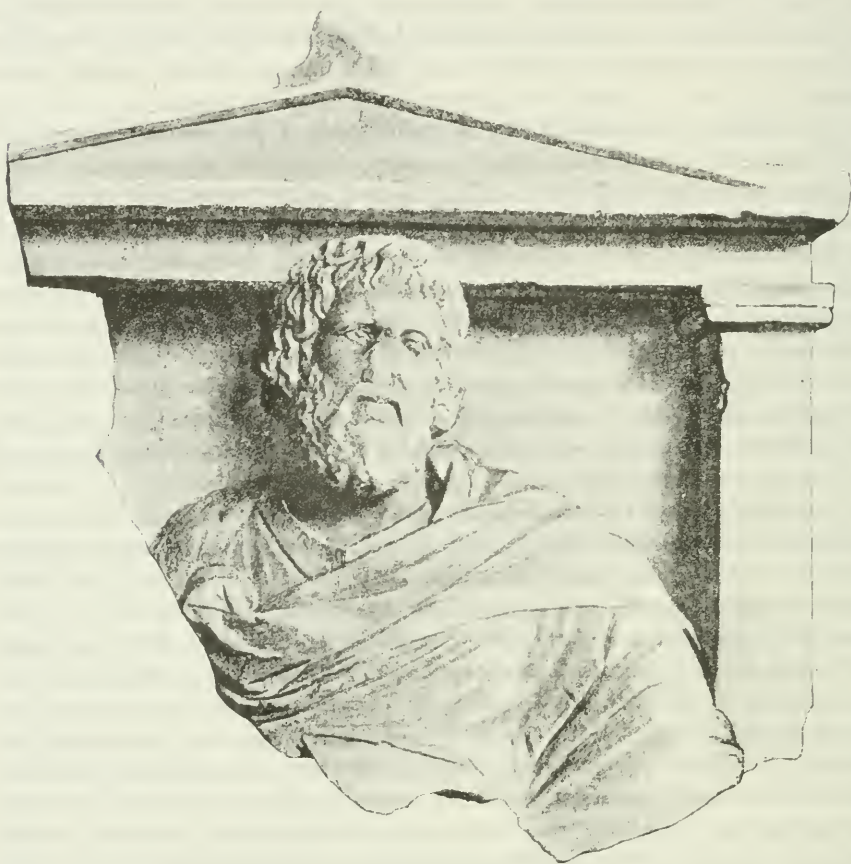


FIG. 2.

upon the reading of the first word. Perhaps when the marble is properly cleaned and more powerful magnifiers are brought to bear on it we may be able to make more of the inscription. Another Cypriote inscription (*B. 12* No. 12) and a fragment of a second (*B. 4* No. 11) were also turned out on this site.

During the last two or three days of March the neighbouring site *C* on the other side of the street was tried, but without success. The earth proved

to be deep, and near the surface were found walls of poor construction, built *λογηδόν* of unsquared stones, like the house foundations of a modern Cypriote village.

To revert to Kaparga, it has been already related that a small corner was excavated between February 26 and March 1; we came back to the site on March 19, and continued to work there on a larger or smaller scale right on until April 10. From first to last sixty-eight productive tombs were opened and a very large quantity of objects of every description secured. The tombs were of all types and sizes, and included examples of the earliest and latest dates. Several produced interesting specimens of early black-figured pottery (K. 21, K. 33, K. 48), one virgin chamber (K. 48) yielding a particularly good set. The red-figured vases were mostly of poor style, but included some pretty little *aski*, and an early cylix with Gorgoneion in the centre (K. 4). Two tombs produced one or two minute porcelain objects (K. 1, K. 4), one a variegated enamelled glass bottle (K. 2), a fourth an elegant limestone capital of slender form and carved in long narrow leaves (K. 29). Seven Cypriote sepulchral inscriptions were found (Nos. 3 to 9), besides a great number of black-glazed vessels with symbols scratched upon them. Curious, although not beautiful, are two fragments of terra-cotta plaques, from the side of the couches of the common recumbent figures, with figures in relief (K. 8, K. 63). The jewellery was mostly commonplace, but included a little gold pendant in the form of a double Sphinx *en face* (K. 28, Pl. V. No. 7), two or three small square silver plates, probably from a bracelet, with two embossed female busts on each (K. 67), and a massive gold ring with signet stone, unfortunately not engraved (K. 30). The ring came from a tomb in a layer of shingly sand, which crops up in the site and gave us much trouble; Gregori was justly proud of having divined its existence. It was impossible to prevent the sides from continually falling, and the knife-man who was sent down when the sarcophagus at the bottom was reached refused to remain. We then descended ourselves and opened the sarcophagus, into which H. A. Tubbs crawled and secured the ring and a silver coin of Alexander the Great (Pl. V. No. 13), its only contents. Another tomb (K. 50) excited our interest from its extraordinary construction (a plan of it is given in the next section), but it contained only fourteen bronze coins and two Roman lamps besides broken glass and a chip or two of black-glazed ware.

Before the end of March we foresaw that unless some fresh important site were acquired our excavation would be at an end by the middle of April. Of sites that would be worth trying we could discover only two, for the Chiflik negotiation had never advanced a step. First there was the field lying along the eastern side of site A and separated from it only by the aqueduct. It had been partially excavated already in 1886-7, was not very extensive, and probably shared the general character of its neighbour. This field was owned by our old acquaintance the blind Turk, and bore a flourishing crop of wheat, for which he demanded a good price. We decided that its excavation was hardly likely to repay the cost. The second site was that to the south of the vineyard to which allusion has already been made. We

missed it on our first tour, but heard of it afterwards and paid a special visit to investigate its character. It is a field of considerable extent, separated from the vineyard by a hollow in which excavations had been tried by our predecessors with little or no success. The field is traversed by a slight depression down the middle, on the east it gently rises on to a tract of uncultivated ground which we had already gone over without finding any clue to lead us to suppose there were tombs—indeed the ground here seems to correspond to the unproductive half of the vineyard, a reddish soil instead of the more compact yellow formation. On the west our field rises to the top of an undulation, on the other side of which lies another little dip. Over this farther dip our predecessors had dug, and found one or two valuable tombs containing vases signed by Hermaeus and by Kachrylion. Mr. Williamson however did not until he came to look at the site remember that any part hereabouts had been left untried. We had on our first prospecting walked across the corner of the excavated field and along the barren hollow on the north side on to the barren rise to the east, thus missing the promising tract between, which was covered with a rising crop of wheat. I was particularly pleased with the lie of the site, which continues the line of the best part of the vineyard, but Mr. Williamson shook his head over our chances of getting hold of it. The owner is one of the richest Turks of the neighbourhood, a man difficult to deal with and independent of considerations of profit, who had refused to sell to the previous excavators. We resolved to try first for a concession to dig half-a-dozen trial shafts to test the quality of the site, lest we should be let in for an unprofitable bargain like site *C* only on a larger scale.

So much for prospects at Poli, but the extremely probable contingency of failure to obtain what we wished had also to be faced. The season was drawing to a close, the corn was ripe for harvest in the central plain, and once harvesting began we could only hope to retain our labourers by a considerable increase in their pay. Easter too was at hand, and its festivities would steal from us the best part of a week. I was pledged to sail from Larnaca on April 20, and although H. A. Tubbs was willing to stay on a week or two longer, he also was anxious to spend a short time at Athens before the summer heat set an end to the session of the British School. We wanted a site small enough to be excavated in two or three weeks, and if possible within easy reach of Poli to facilitate transport and the business of packing up. Naturally the temple site at Limniti occurred to us, of which I had heard talk at Nicosia, and which Mr. Gardner had on our ride to Poli pointed out as a possible field of work. I had conceived the idea that Limniti might represent the grove of Zeus mentioned by Strabo.¹ Mr. Williamson, moreover, possessed the excavating rights there, and was willing to extend his contract to cover this site also. The site, which we understood to be a grove temple, required identification, and offered the chance of a find of statuary and inscriptions, while a number of terra-cottas were known to have come out of it.

¹ Strabo, 683, quoted above, p. 3 note. The notion is not borne out by the results of Mr. Tubbs' excavation, v. Section V. below.

Nothing more suitable could have suggested itself, and accordingly I wrote for the necessary permission.

Meanwhile our work went on at the old sites. Kaparga in particular ran into unexpected developments, and was the last to give out. But on April 5 we were able to start on the corner north of the vineyard, and about the same time succeeded with great difficulty in extracting from the still reluctant Turk an agreement to sink half-a-dozen shafts in his field, or rather to work what tombs had fallen in and make the number up to the half-dozen.

On site *M* our attention was of course turned first to the tomb containing the inscription (*M. 1*). The fine limestone block on which it was cut taxed the strength of our ropes to draw it out, and wore out our only saw by the time the inscription was cut off. It was followed by three or four dozen other slabs of smaller size, none of them inscribed, which were gladly appropriated by the owner of the site. They had formed a double row of *μνήματα* stretching into the tomb on either side. The tomb had been robbed and contained little else but some remnants of jewellery and a pair of bronze armlets terminating in snakes' heads. There was some difficulty in finding any more tombs, but one was opened (*M. 2*) which yielded, among other objects of late date, fragments of a fluted glass cup with raised leaf pattern, and a slender glass tumbler bearing in relief the word ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ—'good cheer.' The apparent absence of tombs was explained when we hit on a vast many-chambered cavern, which measured from end to end sixty-nine feet (*M. 3*). Through one of the side niches robbers had entered an earlier tomb at a slightly higher level, and thence tunnelled on into another. The contents of these latter tombs were found scattered all through the great central chamber, mixed with its coarse pottery and Roman lamps. Among them were fragments of the red unglazed ware with purple-brown patterns, and the top of a black-glazed *askos* with a finely moulded head with shaggy hair and beard. The enterprising tourist, should he ever penetrate to Poli, will not have the privilege of visiting this palace of the dead, for in obedience to the law we were obliged again to fill in the shaft.

On April 8 we started on the Turk's field, denominated site *T*. Our shafts were thrown out in three pairs eastward from near the outcrop of rock which marks the top of the undulation. Although most of the six tombs proved to be rather poor, there was no mark of late date about them, and one yielded a black-figured cylix with little rim-figures, and a large cylix, also black-figured, with a band of figures round the outside, not very carefully but spiritedly and effectively drawn (*T. 2*).

April 10. Still no news of Limniti. The last tomb on Kaparga gave out, and the last shaft on site *T*. Our jealous friend the Turk seemed inclined to quarrel with what we had already done, and we were obliged to give him a little over his stipulated price for having ventured an extra shaft in the outcrop of rock, which did not affect his corn. He was in no mood for negotiation, and it became evident that we could scarcely hope to acquire the rights at

any rate that could be called 'reasonable,' at least so long as the crop remained upon it. Yet were the permission for Limniti delayed over the week's end we should have either to remain idle or to 'plunge' on the site.

April 11.—Site *M* still working, the big tomb taking a long time to clear. We tried round the vineyard hedge for tombs which had been missed, and opened one or two without result other than the inscription (No. 3 in the vase inscriptions) scratched on two fragments of black-glazed stamped ware. Site *W* was taken up again, and the supposed wall developed into a remnant of foundation for some building, a mere remnant however, without recognizable plan or interesting features. Speculative shafts were sunk where the road crosses the roots of Kaparga, in the outlying patch of site *C*, and on an unpromising plot near the church, which we named site *D*. Nothing whatsoever came to light except on this last plot, and on it only the usual poor foundation walls of houses.

April 12.—Nothing doing but filling in and tidying up. We walked up to Chrysochou on the chance of finding an inscription to copy. We could hear of no antiquities at all, but there is an interesting remnant of mediæval building adapted for modern use—a walled courtyard with decorated gate, etc., perhaps representing some ecclesiastical foundation.

Next morning came the long looked for permission, and a letter from Mr. Thompson to say that he had been instructed to divide with us the Poli antiquities and would come over next day for that purpose. The Government also required a formal notification that the excavations at Poli were ended before the permission for the new site could be held valid. Our resolution was quickly taken. We preferred not to spend time in bringing our friend the Turk to terms. The site was, moreover, too big an undertaking for our limited time and exhausted exchequer, especially as H. A. Tubbs would now be single-handed, a very serious drawback to tomb-work. The notification was sent off. But I earnestly hope that the supporters of the Cyprus Exploration Fund will not think that they have done with the island until that site, so promising of Greek antiquities and so interesting in view of the problems raised by excavations at Poli hitherto, has been explored.

April 14.—Mr. Thompson arrived, and the division was speedily and amicably effected. We were granted a *zaptieh* to be put in charge of the house and antiquities until the latter could be finally packed off. The following day was busy with preparations for departure, and Poli was almost denuded of mules and donkeys to carry us and our encumbrances, animate and inanimate, to the new site. Such of our workpeople as were not going off to the harvest, already in active progress, were for following us *en masse* to Limniti, but we foresaw difficulties with the natives there, not to speak of a probable scarcity of provisions in the mountain valley, and contented ourselves with two or three men of proved usefulness, assuring the rest we would send for them if they were wanted.

And so on the morning of April 15 the cavalcade set out—but here we leave Poli, and H. A. Tubbs must take up the narrative. It is, however, only fitting that I should conclude by expressing the warmest thanks, firstly of the

excavators and secondly of all interested in the work of the Fund, for the kindness and ready assistance extended to us by all in the island with whom we were brought into contact. A special debt of gratitude is due for the cordial welcome and hospitality which we received from His Excellency the High Commissioner, from Colonel Warren, C.M.G., and Mrs. Warren, Mr. Justice Smith, Mr. Cobham of Larnaca, and Mr. Williamson; also to Mr. King of Nicosia, and especially to Mr. Thompson of Papho, for that prompt and courteous co-operation which so notably furthered our work.

J. A. R. M.

II.—THE TOMBS.

NOTE.—*The Plans of Tombs to illustrate this Section have been prepared from Measurements and Drawings by H. A. Tubbs.*

There were opened during the course of the excavations 165 productive tombs in all, distributed as follows :—

Eastern Necropolis.—Vineyard	2
Site <i>M</i>	3
Site <i>T'</i>	6
	—
	11
	—
Western Necropolis.—Oven site	19
Kaparga	68
Hagios Demetrios	24
Site <i>A</i>	27
Site <i>B</i>	16
	—
	154
	—

But the total number of shafts sunk cannot have been much under 200. In the above enumeration all tombs are reckoned as productive from which anything was derived beyond *broken* pottery, etc., of the coarsest and commonest varieties utterly devoid of all interest and value.

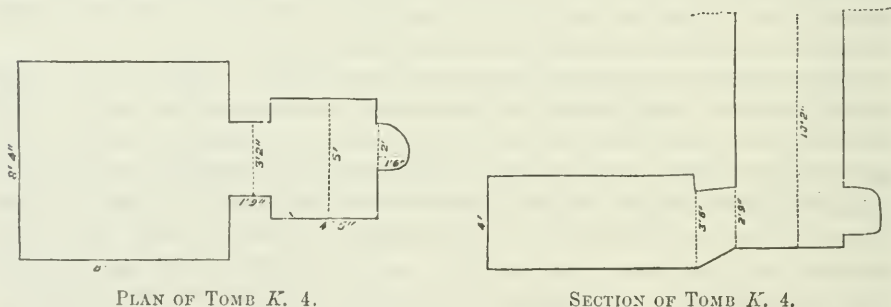
The tombs were without exception subterranean. Some were 'earth-tombs' pure and simple, many for instance on the oven site and site *A*. But to the majority one cannot properly apply that name,¹ and yet on the other hand would hesitate to call them 'rock-tombs,' for although they are not formed in mere compact surface-soil, but in the actual solid material of the ridge, yet that material lacks the consistency and hardness which we usually associate with the term 'rock,' and can easily be worked with the pick and knife or even spade. Tombs near the edge of a hill are usually reached by

¹ As Dr. Hermann does, *op. cit.* p. 8; cf. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 226.

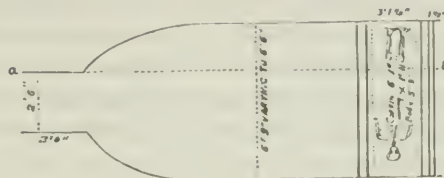
tunnelling into the slope at the side, but as they have almost invariably been robbed and lain open for years, we had little or nothing to do with them. The rest are regularly got at by sinking a shaft from the surface. And here it is to be noted that whereas many, indeed most, of the tombs were approached by a sloping shaft, or as it is technically termed *δρόμος*, which descended gradually from the surface, the object of the excavator on the other hand is to arrive as quickly as possible at the door, which he accordingly reaches by dropping a perpendicular shaft straight down at the end of the original decline. It is not worth while except in the case of extraordinarily valuable tombs to dig out the whole of the *δρόμος*, the length of which is consequently known only in the very rarest instances, for a skilful and experienced foreman will scarcely ever miss the right place for his shaft and sink it too high up in the *δρόμος*, not probably in five per cent. of the tombs. Two conclusions may be drawn from these premises, firstly that it is extremely difficult to pronounce without special investigation whether a tomb had a sloping *δρόμος* or not, and secondly that any conclusions as to the length of the *δρόμος* in tombs of different types or periods probably rest on the very slenderest evidence and are at least altogether premature.

The tombs lay close together without any uniformity of arrangement or of orientation. Tombs rich and poor, of the earliest and the latest date, individual, conjugal, and family sepulchres, were constantly to be found side by side. With one or two exceptions all were constructed on a single principle, of which, however, three main varieties or developments must be distinguished, dividing the tombs into three types.¹ The main idea is that of an underground chamber with a single door and an approach or shaft.

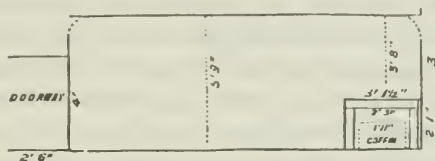
The first and far the commonest form which this idea takes is that represented in the annexed sketches:—The main characteristic is the shaft, which usually seems to be a sloping *δρόμος*, but in some cases was apparently perpendicular. The difference does not seem in any way important: neither in type nor in contents did we observe that the tombs with the one form of approach differed from those with the other. The *δρόμος*, as has been said, is not as a rule excavated, and its length is consequently very seldom known, but does not seem to be significant. Dr. Herrmann has been led to suppose that early



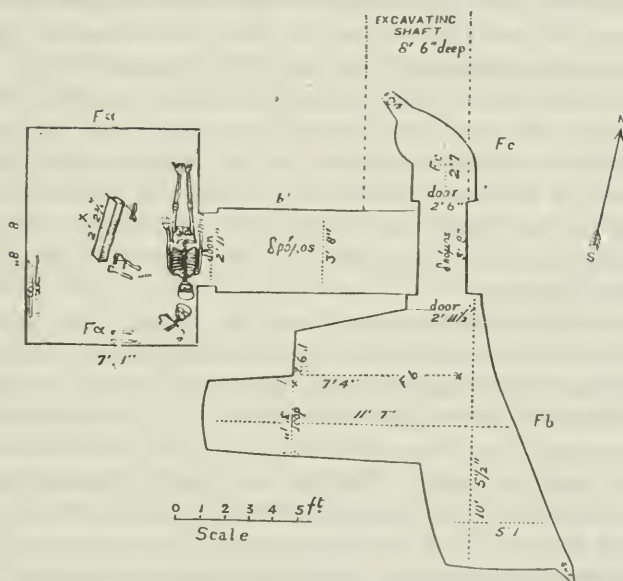
¹ Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.* pp. 8-11.



PLAN OF TOMB K. 8.



SECTION OF TOMB K. 8.



PLAN OF TOMB F.

NOTE ON PLAN OF TOMB F.

This stone, part of a tomb-door, bears a Cypriote inscription on its under surface. It, together with the bones found near, has fallen in from a tomb above that called *Fa*: a tomb it was impossible to excavate, but which was clearly marked by some pottery in the roof of *Fa*.

The corners of tomb *Fa* are rounded, but *in plan* the work was square: an exact finish is impossible owing to the friable character of the rock. The body laid just inside the door was hardly as well preserved as the sketch seems to indicate, ribs, pelvis, and shoulder-blades being present only in very small fragments.

tombs are marked by a long *δρόμος*, but we found examples (*c.g.* *A.* 6, *T.* 2, *B.* 12) which cannot well have had one, and at least one comparatively late tomb (*K.* 8) which certainly had. One early tomb (*K.* 4) had, so far as we could distinguish, no *δρόμος* at all, but a perpendicular shaft. The depth from the surface to the bottom of the shaft varied very considerably, from about 6 to 18 feet, and the early tombs were by no means the deepest, but again the point does not seem very important. Sometimes there was a cavity or little miniature tomb in the wall of the shaft either opposite to the door or to one side. In none of the three types is the number of chambers important: most tombs have only one, but two and three are not uncommon. The chambers may be circular or rectangular or very irregular in shape. They may vary in size from spacious chambers to cavities only long enough to contain a body, and in character from a well-hewn vault to a rough earth-hole. When the tomb is rectangular the door is usually in the middle of one end wall. When there are three chambers one is generally opposite the *δρόμος* (supposing there is one) and one to each side, all opening into the *δρόμος*. In one tomb (*J.*) we found three chambers with one door to serve for all, but usually each chamber had its own door. In most instances the door was found in a vertical line with the wall of the shaft, but often the *δρόμος* was continued in a tunnel into the wall for some little distance farther. The door was sometimes built up of small unwrought stones, sometimes formed of several larger slabs. We did not find that this distinction corresponded to any variation of type or date: *J.* and *K.* 48 for instance, although extreme instances of tombs of different periods, had very similar doors of the second kind. The roof of the tombs was not vaulted, but only slightly curved, although an arched appearance was often given by the continual falling in of the centre in large flakes.

The tombs of this first type were in a vast majority: Dr. Herrmann is totally misled in confining them to the eastern necropolis and to the fifth and preceding centuries. They form the main bulk of the tombs in the western necropolis and extend in date perhaps even down to Roman times (*c.g.* *A.* 12).

The second type differs from the first only in the substitution of a flight of steps for the *δρόμος* or shaft.¹ The number of steps varies of course with the depth. The stair was, in all examples we found, carried down quite close to the door, but here it must be remembered that otherwise we should scarcely have discovered it. Similarly this qualification extends to the statement that tombs of this type are not very common. We did not find that any of them were demonstrably early, and they certainly run down to a late date, but I should doubt whether they are to be confined to any particular period as Dr. Herrmann supposes. The variation from the first type seems trifling and, where tombs lie thick and a *δρόμος* could not conveniently be extended, is a very obvious way out of a difficulty.

What has been said of the minor variations in the tombs of the first type seems to apply without modification to those of the second. Both types

¹ Herrmann, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3, is a sufficient illustration.

present no less variety in their internal arrangements. In the majority of cases the bodies were simply laid upon the ground with or without a wooden coffin. The coffins had of course mostly disappeared, but remnants of them occasionally surrounded the skeletons, and the bronze clamps and nails which bound them were constantly to be found, sometimes still sticking in the wood. The middle of the tomb was generally left clear, the skeletons being ranged round against the walls. A very common arrangement was to place a corpse along each side wall, the heads lying nearest the door.¹ Sometimes shallow niches were cut in the walls, a foot or two above the floor, to receive the bodies. Sometimes a raised bank was left at the side of the tomb for the same purpose. Stone sarcophagi were sometimes found. For children they were often hewn out of a single block, but those of larger size were uniformly built of slabs close against the wall of the tomb. In two tombs at least (8, *M.* 1) there was a street of sarcophagi, extending in a double row continuously from end to end. There was no trace of sculptural or other adornment on any of the sarcophagi which we found, but two slabs from tomb *M.* 1 bore inscriptions (Nos. 13 and 14). The small sides or ends of the slabs were sometimes marked with well and deeply cut alphabetical symbols, which, as they could not be seen so long as the stones were in position, are hard to explain; were they less elaborately carved they might pass without question for masons' marks. Symbols which occurred were **F** (*K.* 30), **T**, and **Γ** twice, at each end of the same stone (22), (these latter might equally well have belonged to the door), and **T** (*K.* 31), on a stone with a large socket in one face which I am rather inclined to connect with a *stèle* of some sort.

As to the disposition of the objects found in the tombs there is little to be said. The usual arrangement, so far as any could be traced, seemed to be to group the pottery, etc., beside the corpse, chiefly at the head and feet and within reach of the hands.² It is remarkable that pottery was seldom to be found actually within the sarcophagi.³ Just outside the door of one tomb (*K.* 36), which was built of small unwrought stones, was ranged a row of seven large amphorae.¹ It was outside the door also, in the shaft, that the larger terracotta figures were usually found.

The third type of tombs is in marked contrast to the two others. The tombs are as a rule, but not always, on a larger scale. The number of chambers, as before, varies, but it is something new to find two or more chambers opening, not each by a separate door, on to a common shaft, but one into another. This arrangement may almost be held typical of these tombs, and in particular a back chamber behind the main hall is almost always to be found. It is not, however, meant that there may not also be chambers opening on to the *δρόμος*—a good instance occurs in the great tomb *M.* 3, where there is also a bed-niche just outside in the *δρόμος*. Secondly the tombs of this type are characterized by a variety of niche never, so far as we discovered, exhibited by either of the other types. Instead of being long and shallow, forming a mere

¹ Cf. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 67.

³ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 270.

² Cf. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 269.

shelf in the wall, these niches are deep and narrow, designed to receive the corpse at right angles to the wall instead of parallel to it. They were sometimes apparently closed by stone slabs. Thirdly the type is marked by great regularity of plan and careful workmanship. The chambers are not of straggling eccentric shape—we met with none that were not rectangular—the doors are set carefully in the centre of the walls, and the niches are placed more or less symmetrically opposite to one another on either side. Where there are but two chambers, one behind the other, the back one seems usually smaller and squarer, and the niches are confined to the front chamber. Very few tombs of the other types can compete with these in excellence of execution, the walls are straight and fairly smooth, the roof often carefully arched or vaulted, and the angles generally sharp. In one case there was some attempt at architectural adornment, a rough moulding cut in the soft rock ran along the junction of vault and walls, and was carried over the top of the niches. The *δρόμος* does not seem a characteristic feature: in the case of the tombs we discovered it was so far as we could see the ordinary sloping one, but Dr. Herrmann¹ gives a plan of a tomb apparently of this type approached by steps. The annexed plans give a good idea of the type.

The tombs which we opened of this third type seemed all of them to be of very late date. The contents of all were very uniform, and some of them certainly belong to the Roman period. There is at least nothing to hint that any of them are to be dated much, if at all, before the first century B.C. Dr. Herrmann, although he dates the various classes of tombs higher than seems to me probable, concurs with our judgment of the relative lateness of this type. We did not light upon a sufficient number to give ground for a satisfactory conclusion, but if it should prove to be a fact that these tombs do not appear at Arsinoë until well on in the Ptolemaic period, the fact will be rather singular, for the type seems certainly older at Paphos (in the case for instance of the *σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥηγινῆς*²), and is well known in Phœnicia and elsewhere³ at a presumably earlier date, although the materials for fixing the chronology do not seem much more adequate than in Cyprus. The tombs at Arsinoë may of course have been used over again at a period long after their original construction, but if so they must have been very cleanly swept and garnished, for we nowhere found any earlier objects except where other tombs had been robbed through them and the contents confused.

A few curious or eccentric tombs may be briefly noticed here. In the shaft of one (*L*) a stone-built and paved chamber seemed to have been constructed. Not much, however, was to be made of it as we found it.

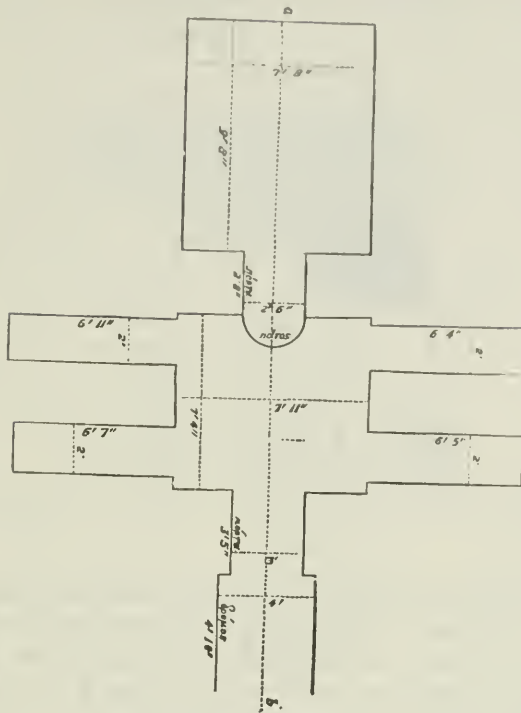
K. 55 may also have been a later construction, at all events it is difficult to explain otherwise. We came upon a built sarcophagus in a narrow hole. It had been robbed and yielded nothing of value, but beneath the stone slabs which paved the floor beside it was another cavity containing bones.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Fig. 4.

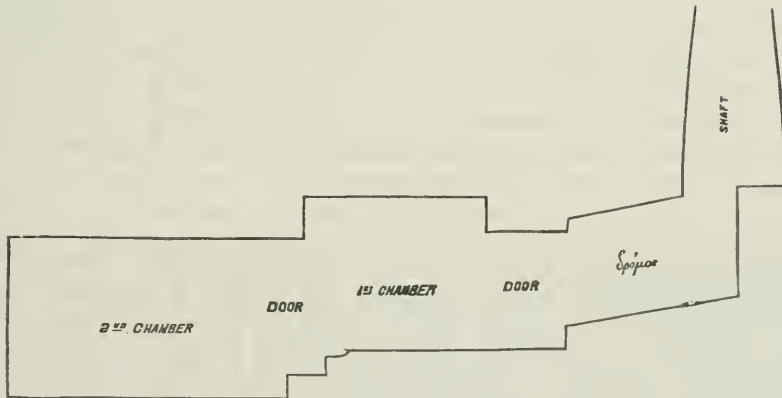
² Cf. *J. H. S.* ix p. 266.

³ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in*

Phœnicia, ch. 3. The steps to the Amrit tombs and others are noticeable.



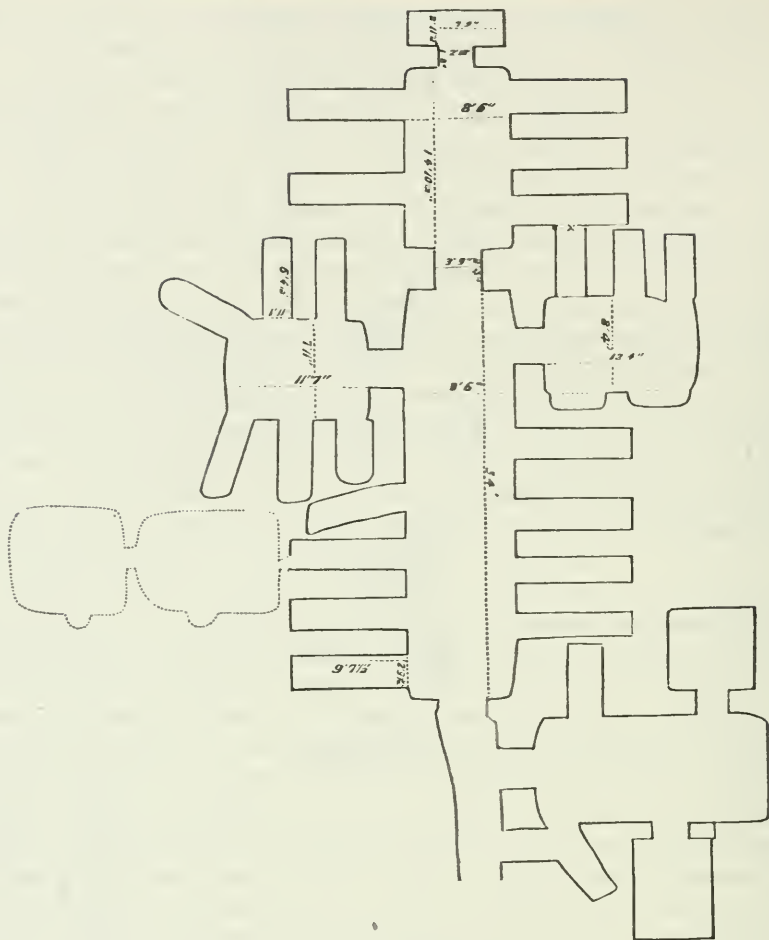
PLAN OF TOMB K. 63.



SECTION OF TOMB K. 63.



NEARER FACE OF DOORWAY OF SECOND CHAMBER OF TOMB K. 63.

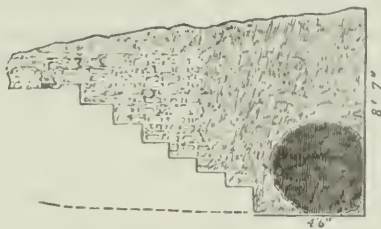


PLAN OF TOMB M. 3.

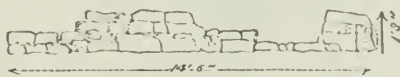
Two children's graves (*K. 7*, *K. 26*) were mere shallow holes in which lay a small sarcophagus scooped out of a single block of limestone. *K. 53* deserves mention. It is a large tomb of irregular shape, but rather resembling the great tomb in the Vineyard of which Dr. Herrmann gives a plan,¹ and which still lies open. The tomb appeared to be a genuine Greek one of not too late a date, judging from the fragments of pottery, but had been used again in Roman times, and again subsequently rifled. It contained confused heaps of broken vessels and sarcophagi. *K. 50* was a puzzling problem. The section will give some notion of it. The purpose of the walls is obscure, they seem to have little or no reference to the tomb, which was poor beyond description. The steps were of stone and their crevices were full of grain. Was the tomb adapted from a grain store, or *vice versa*? Did the

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 9.

grain merely work its way down from the field above? The walls were flimsily built of small unsquared stones and mud mortar.



SECTION OF TOMB K. 50.



EXTERIOR WALL AT RIGHT ANGLES TO THE STEPS, TOMB K. 50.

Several tombs contained architectural fragments, *H* and *J* pieces of plain simple moulding, *I* and 19 stones with mouldings and traces of colour. Possibly these fragments came from the doors of the tombs: the sinkings in one of the stones with moulding are, however, hard to explain, being apparently on the upper side. From *A*. 10 came a number of wrought stones, among which were two inscriptions (Nos. 10 and 19), a limestone drum resembling an altar, with mouldings above and below and a hole in the top for affixment of something, a late Ionic pilaster capital, a fragment of what might have been a door-post with moulding round three sides, two blocks with moulding on two sides, etc., all of limestone. The cavity in which these members were found was sufficiently shapeless, but seemed from a little pottery remaining there to have been a tomb. It may be doubted, however, whether the architectural remains had any connection with the tomb, into which they may have been thrown to get them out of the way. It is to be noted that the Greek inscription was found in three dispersed pieces, and half of the Cypriote is missing. Nothing could be constructed out of the stones and fragments, but if they are to be assigned to the tomb, we may suppose they belonged to an ornamented door and a *μνήμα*. The contents were worthless and insignificant—two coarse jugs, a chip of Cypriote pottery, and one or two little bits of black-glazed ware. The drum remains a mystery.

Tombs *N* and *A*. 20 were remarkable for their twisted subterranean *δόμος*, which turned at right angles before reaching the tomb.

Tomb *N* brings us to the interesting subject of sepulchral *stelae*. In the shaft were found a few dispersed pieces of a limestone Cypriote capital of the type figured in Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 117, Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia*, E.T., vol. i. figs. 52, 53, 152. Mr. E. A. Gardner has made the

annexed restoration (Fig. 3), to which I would only add that I believe myself, from the breakage of the top, that there was some further ornament over the segment of a circle between the two horns, a supposition rather confirmed by the figs. 52 and 53 just quoted. (Cf. also P. and C. vol. ii. fig. 327.) The tomb was extremely small and cramped, and the capital is very far from complete. I do not think its connection with the tomb is at all probable, but rather that it was thrown into the shaft from above.

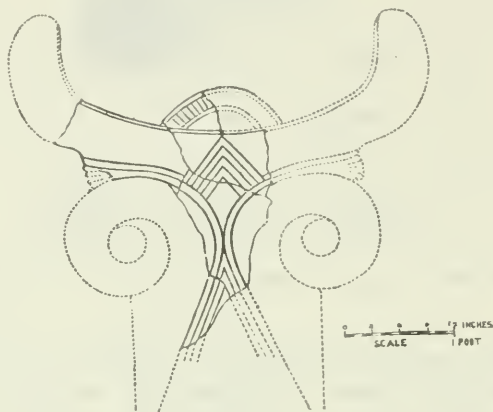


FIG. 3.

Of a very different type is the elegant limestone capital from *K. 29*. It is of slender form, and carved in long pointed leaves with a slight zigzag

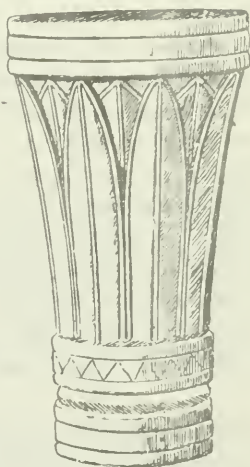


FIG. 4.

pattern below. The accompanying figure (4) renders description unnecessary. I am not aware of any very close parallel, but vertical twigs and zigzags form

the decoration of the capital figured in Perrot and Chipiez, vol. i. fig. 56, although the form and arrangement is very different. No shaft was found to throw any further light on the purpose of this capital, which has a socket in the lower end, but from *K. 2* came an octagonal limestone pillar of very inferior workmanship and perfectly plain except for a simple moulding round the upper edge, which, as it also bears a socket in the top, may be supposed to have supported some capital of a similar kind. *K. 29* was probably a rifled tomb. It contained aski of the usual inferior red-figured style, black-glazed saucers with impressed patterns bearing symbols from the Greek and the Cypriote alphabets, etc., and a very crude stone statuette of a seated female figure. Possibly the large block from *K. 31* bearing the symbol $\bar{\Gamma}$ may be referred to some such *stele* as a base, for there is on it a large socket for the insertion of another oblong block or the like. A lump of lead which had evidently served to fuse a peg into a socket was found in the shaft of *K. 1*. From an unproductive shaft on site *A* came a small limestone anthemion perhaps connected with some sort of *stele*. All these little indications point to sepulchral *stelae* of one sort or another. If we turn now to the inscribed stones from the tombs we find that, with the exception of those from *M. 1* and *A. 10*, the little chip from *B. 4*, and the small trough from the unnamed tomb on Kaparga, all¹ are long blocks of stone bearing the inscriptions not along them but *across*, and within a few inches of one end. It is obvious that they were intended to stand upright, and so cannot be supposed to have belonged to doors or to *μνήματα*. Into the latter they could not be fitted, and their length and narrowness preclude our thinking of the former, indeed the slabs that form the door are usually laid lengthwise one above another. I am convinced that these blocks can only have been sepulchral *stelae* or *cippi*. They were more-over most of them found well inside the tombs, a fact which puzzled me so long as I went upon the door-panel theory. However surprising the erection of a *stele* within the tomb may seem, and although we cannot pretend to have found one actually standing, I think all the evidence tends to show that it was the practice to erect such monuments, perhaps at the head of the corpse. It may prove, then, that General di Cesnola's account² of the *stelae* standing at either end of the sarcophagus at Athienou, for which even MM. Perrot and Chipiez, who generally take the General at his word, seem to feel the want of some confirmation or explanation, is less of a fancy construction than has sometimes been suspected. His words a few pages before,³ 'From some of these tombs I extracted various mortuary *stelae* with bas reliefs' etc., although vague, are confirmatory so far as they go. The *stelae* with carved capitals and sculpture are in this view only a more ornate form of the humbler inscribed blocks, or *vice versa*.⁴

But be this as it may, there is at least no doubt about two sepulchral *stelae*,

¹ That from *K* and one of those from *K. 58* are broken below, but seem to have been the same as the rest.

² *Cyprus*, p. 114.

³ *Ibid.* p. 109.

⁴ *Cf.* the inscription on the block from *B. 12*, where I believe *ἐνέστασα* is to be read, *cf.* Deecke, *Sammlung No. 71*.

or rather the upper part of them, of the familiar Greek type with pediment and side posts. These examples certainly were set up above ground. The one was of limestone, small, and much damaged. There seemed probably to have been once an inscription along the architrave, but the letters were hopelessly obliterated. There was no sculptural adornment, possibly the internal field may have been painted. This monument came from a shallow hole which contained also a broken Cypriote jug, and the fragments of a cylix, with band of palmette and lotus-bud pattern outside in black and purple with incised lines (*K.* 46). The other *stèle*, which is of marble, is from *B.* 1. It has already been mentioned and is figured above. Represented is a bearded man almost life size, wrapped in his himation, who stands calmly looking before him. The work seems rather slight and hasty than bad, and perhaps may prove to be of earlier date than appears at first sight probable. On this point we may hope for some enlightenment from the carelessly scratched inscriptions when they are deciphered: *a priori* I should assign the *stèle* to the third century B.C. Whether the insignificant cavity in which it was found was ever a tomb at all is extremely doubtful, the *stèle* was at all events its only content.

One more point must here be dealt with—the condition in which the tombs were found. In one word, their condition was execrable. In the first place the material in which they were excavated is ill suited to the preservation of their contents. It is the rarest thing possible to find a tomb that is not choked to the depth of several feet. Nor is the best made of the material. In all but the latest tombs the roof is almost flat. The consequence is that it is continually falling in large heavy flakes, smashing the pottery and loading everything with earth, from which it has to be laboriously extracted, coated, as the case may be, with stiff clay, or hardened mud, or calcareous incrustations. But the immediate damage entailed by the choking of the tombs, and the slow groping after any recognizable tests of their character, are less mischievous than the confusion wrought by robbers, or worse still by the repeated use of the tombs by later generations. To guarantee the virginity of a tomb we found generally a most difficult matter. It does not follow because the door is intact, which is seldom enough, that the tomb has not been robbed, for the robbers often entered from above, or from the side, or by tunnelling from another tomb. A good instance of the last method is furnished by the two tombs robbed from the niche in the great tomb *M.* 3. above mentioned. In another case (*K.* 20) we entered a newly-opened grave and travelled through it into the next, whence our voices issuing from the sepulchral darkness not a little terrified a workman who was just uncovering the door. Neither, however, does an open portal necessarily mean a rifled tomb, for the door has often collapsed. Nor, again, is it certain that the tomb is in its original state, even if the door be closed and there is no other entrance to be found, for tombs were not infrequently used over again in later times (*e.g.* *L.* 22, *K.* 24, *K.* 53, &c.), and the door may certify only the integrity of the after burial. Less important, but still enough to necessitate a certain latitude in the assignment of dates, is the fact that a large proportion of the

tombs were intended to receive more than a single generation of a family, indeed a colossal tomb like *M. 3* may well have served a whole clan for some time. The state of the pottery is sometimes a useful test of the substantial integrity of a tomb. If it is not merely broken by falling earth, but dispersed, fragments of the same vase being scattered all about the tomb (as in *S* and *2*), we may certainly recognize the work of the *τυμβωρύχος*, but it need not be assumed that the really business-like robber indulged in this wantonness of destruction. Much of the Cypriote funeral jewellery may almost have been repugnant to the finer artistic or commercial instincts of the gentlemanly thief, but no doubt, given a certain unity of style in the contents, a sure criterion of a virgin tomb is the presence of objects of the precious metals. Tombs *10*, *K. 30*, &c., are thus guaranteed.

It is well to point out the difficulties in the way of scientific conclusions from the contents of the tombs which follow from the circumstances of their discovery, because they are particularly characteristic of Cypriote cemeteries, and archaeologists working in libraries and museums are apt to overlook them, and may in consequence occasionally arrive at results more curious than correct. But of course too much must not be made of them. Whether or not a tomb has been rifled, mixture and confusion of contents must naturally be the exception and not the rule. Neither can tombs have often been used over again at periods sufficiently near in time seriously to mislead the investigator. The unfortunate thing is that it is just where confidence in the testimony of a tomb becomes most important, in the case of novel and surprising combinations of objects which provoke at once curiosity and suspicion, that the full force of the doubt is most acutely felt. In such cases only some occasional crucial test, or the cumulative evidence of several tombs, can bring conviction. The difficulty is of course at its greatest on a site like ours, where the staple contents of the tombs seem to vary little from age to age, where it is impossible to argue from one tomb to its next neighbour, and where the type of construction affords little or no additional clue.

In conclusion it may be remarked that, although we have spoken throughout of our unhallowed depredations with the professional callousness of the hardened digger, yet the sacred peace of the dead was as little disturbed as the nature of our task permitted. They were robbed of their vessels and their trinkets, but their bones were respected, and their resting-places closed again for their tranquil possession. *Requiescant in pace.*

J. A. R. M.

III.—CONTENTS OF THE TOMBS.¹

We now come to the most important, but at the same time the most difficult, part of our subject—the contents of the tombs, and here a word must

¹ In writing this section I have here and there profited by suggestions or information from Mr. A. S. Murray, Mr. Cecil Smith, and Mr. A. H. Smith, to all of whom I desire to record my thanks.

be said on the method of treatment adopted. It might have been expected that our account would proceed upon some chronological arrangement, such as Dr. Herrmann has attempted, but the reasons against this method seem to me for the present conclusive. In the first place it must be obvious from what has been said about the tombs that (1) the sites are hopelessly mixed, tombs separated by centuries in date constantly occurring side by side; (2) the type of a tomb affords little or no criterion of date; (3) it is extremely difficult to guarantee the primitive integrity of the products, because the majority of tombs contain several occupants, tombs were often used over again in later periods, and robbers sometimes introduce confusion. These facts present serious objections to satisfactory chronological classification, and when we add (4) the most certain criteria of date, coins and Greek inscriptions, are extremely scarce and not available in any but the least important instances; (5) the great mass of the find, consisting of coarse, Cypriote, and black-glazed pottery, terracottas of native manufacture, plain jewellery, &c., hardly admits of precise chronological division; (6) the greater part of the imported figured ware is of too slight and careless a style to be at all an accurate guide, especially at a time when the evidence of style is at a discount, if not completely discredited; (7) until we know more of the places of manufacture of the various classes of pottery, any arguments drawn from the history of Cyprus must be received with great caution—when all these considerations are taken into account, the chronological method is reduced to absurdity from lack of material for forming a judgment on any doubtful point, and becomes liable to all those arbitrary assumptions and misleading combinations which beset premature efforts at classification by date. Yet certain references to chronology are convenient and legitimate, if not inevitable. Individual objects and individual tombs may be dated with something like accuracy, even where the limits of the class remain elastic, and here and there a more or less general conclusion *ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ σημείων* may be stated for what it is worth. But such isolated judgments are more appropriately inserted in connection with the particular objects or classes of objects which naturally lead to them, or thrown into a tentative gleaning of results after the whole has been described. Are we then to go through the finds tomb by tomb, or even site by site? This method has its advantages to the student, but by separating objects of the same class loses almost as much as it gains and involves many tedious repetitions and a distracting multiplicity of references. It seems better to classify the products of the excavation under a few general heads, and affix references to the tombs in which the various objects or classes of objects appear, so that those interested in the study of them may work out their several combinations for themselves—a treatment which, it is hoped, will prove at once comprehensive and concise.

1. *Stone Objects, Stelae, Inscriptions, and the Syllabary.*—Statuary was conspicuous by its absence, the only objects of the class being a small female figure seated on a high-backed chair, and a fragment of a little relief of a reclining figure, both exactly parallel to very common types of terracottas. The former (K. 29) is of very crude and heavy style, and the head is lacking.

She holds on her lap with her right hand a square box, her left hand is raised towards her face. The ponderous drapery is mechanically executed, and the figure is extremely clumsy. The fingers of the hand on the box are flat and straight. Round the neck is a thick necklace of pointed pendants. The material is a soft limestone. The relief (*B. 8*) is also of limestone, and not much better in style. The type is the ordinary reclining one of the 'funeral feast.' Both ends are broken.

Parallel again to the terra-cottas are one or two little stone animals, *e.g.* bird (*F*), lion (*K. 34*). Stone ointment bottles of the alabastron shape also appeared (*M, K. 54, A. 19*).

The *stelae* and capitals have already been described, and the inscriptions will be dealt with in a separate section (*V*). The latter are from tombs *F, K, K. 5, K. 37, K. 45, K. 58, K. 68* (the unnamed tomb), *A. 10, B. 4, B. 12, M. 1*. The only inscription in the Greek alphabet, probably of Roman imperial times, is one of those from the dubious hole *A. 10*.

The following tables of tombs in which the Cypriote syllabary and Greek alphabet respectively appear, whether on stone or on pottery, &c., may be interesting as bearing on the history of Cypriote epigraphy. Possibly one or two more instances may have to be added when the vases are all cleaned. In one or two cases it is doubtful to which alphabet symbols are to be assigned.

Cypriote Syllabary.

Site	V.	tombs	2.
"	Oven	"	<i>B, F, K.</i>
"	(<i>H.D.</i>)	"	7, 11, 12, 17, 19, 22.
"	<i>K.</i>	"	5, 9?, 11, 12, 19?, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 37, 38, 44, 45, 51, 58, 59, 62, 66, 68 (the unnamed tomb).
"	<i>A.</i>	"	1?, 2, 8, 10, 20, 21.
"	<i>B.</i>	"	3?, 4, 5?, 8, 9, 11, 12.
"	<i>M.</i>	"	1.

Greek Alphabet.

Site	Oven	tombs	<i>J.</i>
"	(<i>H.D.</i>)	"	1, 7, 8, 10, 17, 19, 21, 22?
"	<i>K.</i>	"	11, 19?, 21, 24, 29, 33?, 35, 42, 45, 51, 53.
"	<i>A.</i>	"	1?, 8?, 10, 12.
"	<i>B.</i>	"	1, 3?, 5?, 9?, 11, 12.
"	<i>M.</i>	"	2, 3.
"	<i>T.</i>	"	2.

In tombs *J. 21, K. 42, K. 53, M. 3* the Greek alphabet is represented only on the stamped handles of amphorae, in *A. 12* on a small Roman lamp with *T*, and in *M. 2* on a glass tumbler with embossed inscription.

Refinements of epigraphical style are not to be expected in scratchings on pottery, but may be valuable as indications of date when they *are* present. We note, therefore, an ornate *E* on a black-glazed saucer with impressed patterns from Tomb 8, and *HΘ* on a plain one-handed saucer of the same

ware from *K.* 35, where the punctuation of the θ is significant, and seems to point to the Hellenistic period.

2. *Coarse or Perfectly Plain Pottery* amounted to about a third of the total find. Few tombs were without several examples of various kinds. Three main varieties may be distinguished—(a) light-coloured, from yellow to grey, perhaps the commonest of all; (b) red; and (c) brown. The last seems sometimes produced by a wash of colour, the other two depend on the nature of the clay and the baking. The red variety seemed to be most prominent in the latest tombs, e.g. *J.* *A.* 12, &c. Coarse red pots in particular, of round, full-bellied form, are a bad omen (*N.* *A.* 9, *A.* 12). So are the slender little bottles of smooth red clay which are narrow at each end and swell out in the middle.¹ These are commonly to be found in collections of Roman antiquities. They appeared in Tombs *E.* *II.* *K.* 32, *K.* 41, *K.* 42, *K.* 44, *K.* 53, 21, 22, *A.* 12, and *M.* 3. In Tomb *E.* were also three vases of the same type, but of a dark colour, with a narrow red and white line round. Roman lamps were found in *K.* 50 (two), *K.* 53 (three), *A.* 12 (two, one bearing the letter τ , the other a couple of little birds' heads), *A.* 26, and *M.* 3 (five, one with a cross). But of course red pottery is frequent enough in earlier tombs. Apart from amphorae and large vessels, unglazed red saucers with one handle are common, and neat little cotylae (*S.* 16, *K.* 19, *K.* 42, *A.* 21, *B.* 5, *B.* 11).

The shapes of the plain pottery are almost innumerable (Fig. 5): jars and jugs of every size and form, basins, bottles, saucers, plates, pots, lamps, &c., but distinctly Greek shapes like the lecythus, hydria, or oenochoe are rare, and seem as a rule to run rather late than early. The amphorae with inscribed handles have already been enumerated, some of the most legible read—*Εὐκλείτου* with caduceus (*K.* 53), *ἐπὶ Τεισαγορᾶ Θεσμοφορίου* (*K.* 53) *Ἰφαιστιῶνος* with caduceus, and *ἐπὶ Πυθογένεως Ἱακινθίου* (*K.* 53), *ἐπὶ Ἀριστοφάνους Ἱακινθίου* (*M.* 3); one from *B.* 4 bore simply a cup (cantharus).

Some amphorae had very long necks and small bodies, others had long bodies and no necks at all. A saucer was usually found on each amphora to serve as a lid. Some doubtless contained wine, others probably oil. One or two flat vessels held chicken bones, others egg-shells.² A red cantharoid pot with a lid (*B.* 4) contained a brown substance resembling coffee grounds.

Minute vessels, which might have come from a doll's house but can have served no practical purpose, were not uncommon. The little lamps formed simply by pinching in the rim of a round saucer to a spout are to be found in tombs of all periods from the sixth century downwards, e.g. *K.* 4, *K.* 48, 10, *B.* 11, *E.* *N.* (in the two last they are red). Examples are published (*Salamina*, 2nd ed., fig. 304; *Jahrbuch* II., p. 88). But the commonest of all vessels are the little jugs with one small handle, which are roughly cylindrical in shape but rather narrower above than below. They somehow came to be known to us as 'bottle-jugs.' We must have found several hundred. One is figured in the *Jahrbuch* (*loc. cit.*). These little jugs seem to have remained in use without the slightest modification of form for many centuries.

¹ Cf. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 269.

² Cf. *J. H. S.* ix. p. 270.

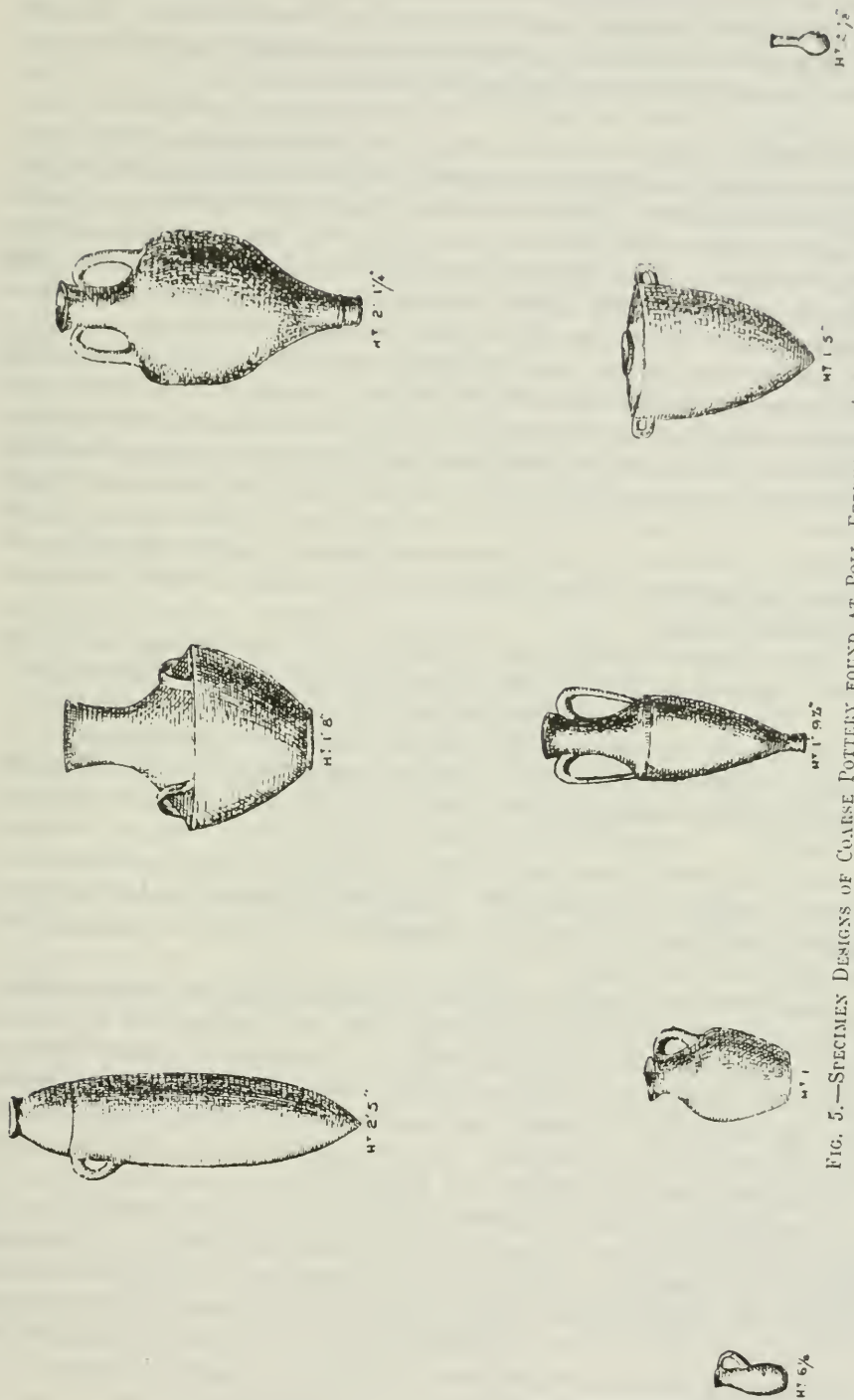


FIG. 5.—SPECIMEN DESIGNS OF COARSE POTTERY FOUND AT POLI, FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1889.

Throughout the plain pottery, indeed, the fixity of type is remarkable. The common large two-handled jars are precisely like those still in use. We made good from our excavations the breakages of our water-carrier, and the ancient vessels were scarcely distinguishable from the modern.

3. *Cypriote Pottery* in bulk of find ranks next to the coarse or plain. Certain varieties were not found, such as the primitive ware, with incised patterns on shiny red surface, or the vessels of strange eccentric shapes in light clay with dark geometric patterns, or again the vases with human and animal forms mixed with oriental ornaments, *e.g.* the sacred tree, as a main element in the decoration. The different kinds which were found are, however, very numerous, and no adequate account can here be given of them, especially as in many cases the decoration can only be made out after cleaning.

The shapes are many—jars and jugs, large and small, slender and stout, bowls, pots, cups, bottles, large shallow basins or plates, &c. The system of decoration is fairly constant, its principal features are bands and circles, either horizontal or vertical, and very often combined in concentric groups, hatchings, zigzags, and sometimes floral patterns, twigs, &c., chiefly on the neck and shoulder. The ground is usually, but not absolutely always, matt, and the patterns are laid on in a dark purple-brown pigment, often with white additions, or sometimes in various bright colours, usually arranged in streaks, intersecting lines, &c.

Certain leading varieties may be distinguished—(a) Light ground of the natural clay, dark patterns helped out sometimes with red, but especially with white. This is the style displayed on most of the largest vessels, the big two-handled jars, &c., but also on smaller jugs and cups. The decoration is usually confined to bands round the body of the vase and groups of concentric circles, but other designs, geometrical and floral, not infrequently appear on the neck and shoulder. I cannot quote examples of animal forms on any of the vases we found, but possibly some may come to light, in any case they are not conspicuous elements in the ornament. It is worthy of notice that however early this first variety may be, it was most prominent in what *seemed* comparatively late tombs, such as *K, L, N, P*, &c.

(b) Strong red ground, usually laid on, dark patterns and white additions. This style is especially affected for jugs of the middle size, with or without plastic decoration, shallow basins, bowls, and the jugs with pinched spouts, either round-bodied with slender tapering necks,¹ or resembling the 'bottle-jug' type.² Dr. Herrmann implies (page 16) that this variety is later than the first. It may be so, but we found it in our earliest tombs, where the vases with light ground scarcely appear, *e.g. K. 48, T. 2*.

(c) Natural clay ground, usually light-reddish, ornamented with very simple patterns in red or dark colour, chiefly bands and stripes. This style, which was perhaps most frequently met with on site *A*, is but little removed from the coarse pottery, and, although it looks primitive, is not above suspicion of being a late degeneration. It appears mostly on small vessels, jugs, platters,

¹ Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.* fig. 17.

² Cf. *Salamina*, pl. xix. 8.

cups, &c. One jug from this site may here be mentioned which is hard to classify. Its form, with elegant lines and slightly tapering neck, and decoration, with a clay wriggle down the handle and triangular divisions of cross-hatching on the shoulder, looks distinctly early, but the other contents of the tomb afford no satisfactory tests.

(*d*) Ground warm, ruddy orange to ochre, patterns dark purplish brown or black, sometimes on the lighter examples approximating to violet or blue. The ground is sometimes smooth and almost shiny. The style is comparatively late, so far as can be made out, perhaps flourishing most in the second half of the fourth century. This, distinctly the most effective of all the Cypriote varieties, seems almost confined to jugs with figurines of developed type and the shallow basins so often found with them. Good examples are those from *S.* 8 (Fig. 6), and *M.* 3, with which should be compared Dr. Herrmann's Figs. 41, 42, and 46. The decoration is elaborate, and consists of rays, cross-hatchings, maeanders, palmettes, &c., and floral designs, *e.g.* olive-leaf and ivy, clearly showing the influence of the Greek red-figured style. This variety appeared in Tombs *S.* 8, 9, 12, 22, *K.* 8, *K.* 53, *M.* 3, and possibly in one or two others (*L?*).

(*e*) Coarse pottery, roughly painted in bright bands and streaks, or occasionally more elaborate patterns which, like the preceding variety, show the influence of the Greek red-figured ware. Very frequent on the poorer jugs with figurines and heads of oxen. Probably extends down almost to Roman times. The favourite colours are red, yellow, and magenta.

(*f*) Coarse pottery with only plastic decoration.

A special feature characteristic of most of the larger jugs of all these varieties is the 'double-barrelled' handle. Each member is usually decorated with dark touches, giving the effect of the winding band seen on a barber's pole.

The sixth century tomb, *K.* 48, produced a fine Cypriote vase, to which we found nothing at all parallel. The ground is strong red and the decoration dark. The shape is roughly ovoid, the body being broadest about a third or less of its height from the bottom. The neck is not slender, but narrows gently upwards, and is divided into two sections. The lip is wide and flat, with a well-marked rim. The decoration consists of bands within the lip, round the neck and body, and a zigzag occupying the whole shoulder with a group of little concentric circles between each pair of points above and below. There are circular bands over and under the junction of the upper and lower necks, and below the former band a series of triplets of little vertical strokes, three dark and three white alternately. The other band, over the junction, is touched up with white dots. The double handle bears at its point of union with the neck a little disk, such as is very frequent on Cypriote jugs, and no doubt derived from metal prototypes, as are the two bosses often seen on the body beside the lower end of the handle. Our vase in quality and finish is much above the average of Cypriote productions.

Another jug from a tomb (*K.* 23), from which came also a jug roughly painted in red and yellow with an ox-head spout, may perhaps be classed

under (c). The decoration, however, is unusual. It consists of the regular bands and an ivy pattern, painted in a dark reddish colour and brown on the light clay ground. *A.* 21 yielded some remarkable fragments of a large two-handled jar of the (*a*) variety. To one side of the base of one of the handles is the inscription in the Cypriote syllabary (No. 1 of section on vase inscriptions) *ὁ πα(ῖς) καλὸς*, painted in the same dark purplish colour as the rest of the decoration. On the body of the vase, which is altogether ordinary in character, appears a conventional bud. The inscription *ὁ παῖς καλὸς* on a common unfigured vase of this kind is, I believe, quite a novel phenomenon.

The jugs with plastically adorned spouts¹ may be treated as a class by themselves, although according to their other decoration they fall under the ordinary varieties above described. Jugs with unadorned spouts are occasionally found among the Cypriote ware, and in the coarse pottery are not rare.

Two main types may be distinguished, the figurine- and pitcher-type, and the ox-head type. The spout is always in front of the jug, on the shoulder. It is given decorative form by being treated as an ox-head from the mouth of which the liquid flows, or as a little pitcher from which a woman placed beside it pours. The decorative idea seems to survive or overpower the practical purpose, for the head or pitcher sometimes have no hole through them. Both types seem to have arisen at an early date, probably the sixth century at least, but both seem to continue without essential modification down to late Ptolemaic or Roman times, and I believe that some of the most primitive-looking examples may be found to be among the latest. The plastic additions share in the decoration of the jug and are painted in conformity with it; when the jug is unpainted so is the plastic adornment also.

The ox-head type is not absolutely restricted to heads of oxen, although the heads of any other animal are quite exceptional. We found one specimen with a ram's head (*K.* 59), and two with what may be pronounced goats' heads (*A.* 7, *B.* 7). The head degenerates on poor late examples (*e.g.* *Q.*, *K.* 63) into a mere triangle of clay.

The figurine and pitcher type² presents two main varieties:—

(*a*) woman sitting on the shoulder of the jug beside the pitcher, which she usually holds with the right hand and sometimes supports also with the left. This attitude no doubt stands nearest to the original idea of the design, but its metaphysical priority by no means guarantees its chronological in every instance.

(*b*) woman no longer seated by her pitcher, but standing above it against the neck of the jug. Her arm is often prolonged in a helpless ludicrous fashion, that she may still keep hold of the pitcher in her new position.

¹ Cf. a very full treatment of the class in Dr. Herrmann's work § IV.

² For illustrations *v.* fig. 6; Herrmann, *op.*

cit. taf. 3, and figs. 32, 34, 36 to 44; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xliii. *cf.* p. 101; A. Cesnola, *Salamina*, figs. 284-5.

The difference between the two varieties may be as much one of technique as of date. The figurines of the first are usually more or less crude-looking, and executed in what has in Germany aptly been called 'snow-man's technique,' the clay being pinched and shaped chiefly by the unaided fingers, and the heads alone, in the better or more developed specimens, showing any decent workmanship. It is extremely probable that the heads were shaped separately in a mould. Although many of these figures look extremely archaic, and may be so, yet others may be the products of a quite late age. None of them exhibit any freely developed art, and obviously no such thing is to be



FIG. 6.

expected in them. Such a method of manufacture would in any age produce primitive-looking results, and the fact that no developed specimens came to light seems to indicate that the potters were not, and never thought it their business to become, modellers. The figures of the second variety may be brought forward as instances of free development, but the method by which they were produced is very different and is well marked on our vase fig. 6. The whole figure, not merely the head, is stamped with a mould. A lump of clay, perhaps rudely shaped to the required form, is applied to the neck of the

jug and receives the impression, or is perhaps first stamped and then put in position. The potter in the instance before us has not troubled to clear away the clay squeezed out at the edges, and the outlines and details of the figures, as in so many of these stamped examples,¹ lack clearness and precision. This variety seems, if we may trust the testimony of tomb *K*. 4, to begin at least as early as the middle of the fifth century. In some cases, but only so far as I know on jugs of the (*d*) (*e*) and (*f*) styles, the woman is no longer single, but beside her there appears a winged youth, whom we may call *Eros* or *Thanatos* according to taste. We found two examples in which the figures are preserved, one from tomb 8², the other (broken), from tomb 22. The latter is of brown clay with violet patterns—an ugly combination.

The figurine and the ox-head type are sometimes combined, and we get a woman holding not a pitcher but an ox-head (*K*. 18, *K*. 54: cf. Dr. Herrmann's fig. 39).

Cypriote pottery (simple).³

<i>Site</i>	<i>Oven</i>	<i>tombs</i>	<i>A, B, D, F, K, L, N, P, S, T.</i>
"	<i>H. D.</i>	"	1, 8 ?, 9 ?, 10, 12 ?, 13, 22, 23.
"	<i>K.</i>	"	1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42a, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53 ?, 57, 59, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68 (the unnamed tomb).
"	<i>A.</i>	"	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 27.
"	<i>B.</i>	"	2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16.
"	<i>M.</i>	"	3.
"	<i>T.</i>	"	1, 2, 3, 6.

(With plastic decoration.)

<i>Site</i>	<i>Oven</i>	<i>tombs</i>	<i>B, C, E, F, L, M, N, Q, S.</i>
"	<i>H. D.</i>	"	1, 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23, 24.
"	<i>K.</i>	"	1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42a, 43, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 59, 63, 65, 67.
"	<i>A.</i>	"	1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 21, 24, 25.
"	<i>B.</i>	"	2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15.
"	<i>M.</i>	"	3.

¹ Dr. Herrmann complains of this lack in the case of one of the jugs figured on his taf. 3 and ascribes it wrongly (p. 59) to rude and superficial modelling.

² One may observe how the wings are utterly ignored in laying on the coloured decoration.

³ It is doubtful whether the tombs queried ought not rather to be classed as containing only jugs with figurines—fragments of the (*d*) variety were found in them which, when the fragments are not from shallow basins, probably mean jugs with figurines.

4. *Black-figured pottery*.—In passing to the black-figured pottery we turn from local native fabrics to imported Greek wares. But there is one vessel to be noticed which seems to stand between the two. It is a small platter (fig. 7) found in tomb A. 7. The outside or back is decorated with dark rings merging into red on the natural clay ground. The inside is very remarkable; the rim, which is pierced with two small holes for suspension, is painted a light matt red, with outer and inner border of purplish black, while the natural clay ground of the centre is decorated with a black-figure sphinx, underneath which is a goose. The face and breast of the sphinx are painted white, her



FIG. 7.

wings are curved upwards and inwards in the familiar oriental style, and have a red centre with white border to it, the wing-feathers are roughly indicated by incised lines which are also used sparingly on the rest of the figure. It is a slender sphinx, thin in the ankles and abdomen. The goose between its legs bends its neck and rests its beak on its breast. A white-bordered red band crosses its wing. Neither the ground nor the rather poor black glaze are favourable to clearness of outline and precision of detail, but even with this allowance the execution is not very good. The general scheme of the platter reminds one of the Rhodian *πίνακες*, but the resemblance does not

extend further, and the style and method of manufacture are very different. A slightly nearer parallel might be found in the Naucratic pottery. But probably we have to recognize an attempt of a native potter to combine on a Cypriote platter features derived from, say, the Naucratic, and the Greek ordinary black-figured ware. The other contents of the tomb include several Cypriote vessels and a saucer with very poor black glaze, but give no further clue.

The black-figured vases are not numerous. We may begin with three small high-stemmed cylices of the 'Kleinmeister' style with little figures outside the rim (*K.* 21, *A.* 15, *T.* 2). Represented are (*K.* 21) dog one side, lion the other; (*A.* 15) combat between Heracles (?) and lion, both sides; (*T.* 2) Centaur both sides. From *T.* 2 came also a large black-figured cylix with outside band of figures, now in the Cyprus Museum. The drawing is far from careful, but the decorative effect is good. No particular action seems to be represented. Another black-figured vase which went to Nicosia is a lecythus of the ordinary form with a representation of a chariot and four—no more could be made out through the hard white incrustation which covered the vase. The tomb (*K.* 12) contained, besides Cypriote and plain black-glazed pottery, etc., a red-figured askos with carelessly drawn hare and goose and a red-figured lecythus with a sphinx of poor style.

K. 24 produced a few shattered fragments of a broad-shouldered lecythus, with interlaced lotus bud pattern on the shoulder, and a representation of running figures of very archaic style, as appears especially from the eyes, ankles, and feet. The original connection of the vase with the other contents of the tomb cannot be maintained. These were chiefly black-glazed vessels, plain, with little impressed patterns, or fluted, some bearing Cypriote, one Greek, characters scratched upon them; but also a couple of aski, the one of careless, the other of fairly good red-figured technique.

Similar in shape and decoration of shoulder is a lecythus from *K.* 33 which is complete from the neck downwards. It presents a scene of five figures (v. fig. 8, *a*, *b*). In the centre a winged female being prances in rapid flight to the right but turns her head back in exactly the opposite direction. Next to her on the left stands a nude male figure facing her but gazing downwards, who holds a spear in his left hand. Behind him, also facing to the right but looking straight in front of him, is another male figure clad in a chlamys, the corner of which he holds up with his spear in the left hand. To the right of the central figure and turning his back to her is a male figure seated on a stool, draped like the preceding and reproducing his attitude. The fifth figure, who is also male, is nude and stands facing and looking down at the seated figure. He holds a spear in his right hand. No one pays the least attention to the winged being, whose excited action is in sharp contrast to the apathy of her company. There can be little doubt that she is intended to be invisible to them, and the artist has interposed her in the midst of what we are meant to conceive of as a continuous group. The figures then on both sides of the seated man are directing their attention to him. We probably have to understand that three warriors are about to arm themselves and set

out to battle, and are only waiting for the fourth whom they are urging to bestir himself. The winged figure then would be some demon of war, **Ἐπς*, *Κῆρ*, or the like, who flits through their midst and hastens before them to the fray. The execution throughout is slight and hasty, but the vase is no



FIG. 8a.



FIG. 8b.

doubt of very early date. The *Κῆρ* (to give her some definite name) is a good instance of that helpless mode of representation in archaic art which sets the figure in three distinct planes: her head is turned in profile to the left, her body is *en face*, and her legs run to the right. Her right hand rests on her waist, her left is uplifted before her. The whole action recalls a number of

similar representations of the Gorgon. Her wings, like those of the sphinx already described, are of the curved oriental type, but apparently with long wing-feathers below, unless these dependencies are meant for sleeves. Her face, arms, and feet are painted white. She wears her hair in a fringe. Her eye is of an elongated almond shape; the painter left a black space for it, but his assistant who did the scratching has with brutal surgery inserted it in the middle of her cheek. With similar carelessness he has carried his wing-scratching over the arms. But if the 'prentice hand has been careless of anatomy, he has paid particular attention to the lady's costume. She wears a sort of Zouave jacket and a long gown with elaborate border of spiral ornaments gathered at the waist by a girdle, alternate folds of the drapery being relieved by purple colour. The profusion of incised lines gives a certain richness to an otherwise rather lifeless figure. Of the warriors there is little to be said. Their drapery also is enlivened by purple patches, their hair falls heavy behind down to the neck, and they have not the almond eye of the more delicate sex but a staring circular orb.

From the same tomb was derived a plain red vase of much the same shape, but with two handles. It is unadorned save for three black-glazed lines round the juncture of body and shoulder, on which latter is incised with precise careful lines the monogram Σ . Again the tomb seemed to have been tampered with, for it contained a black-glazed ribbed cup with impressed patterns, and a small lecythus of red-figured technique decorated with a palmette, of the very latest style.



FIG. 9.

K. 48 is an important tomb. One chamber had been robbed, but just outside the door were found, among fragments of Cypriote pottery and of a crude little terra-cotta horseman, three pieces from the centre of a fine archaic black-figured cylix (fig. 9). Represented is a bearded Dionysus seated on a cross-legged stool, holding a large rhyton. In front of him survives a white

arm, probably the remnant of a Maenad. Between is a row of dots similar to those on the next vase.

The door of the other chamber was intact, and inside was found the cylix depicted in fig. 10. A cavalier, nude but for a white cloth about his loins, reins in with both hands the impatience of his high-mettled horse.



FIG. 10.

The latter is stoutly built above and slender in the legs, the hinder pair of which are very curiously articulated to the body. He has the thick high neck, bold front, and proud bearing, which the Greeks seem to have particularly fancied, and is evidently intended to be a noble and spirited animal. In front is a man who walks in the delicate archaic fashion on his toes. He

holds in his right hand a white fillet, and raises his left in front of him, but looks round apparently at the hoofs of the horse. A purple-bordered chlamys is thrown loosely round his chest and twisted over his left arm, the ends falling loose. The hair of both men and the mane and tail of the horse are coloured purple. Incised lines are sparingly used and not one is wasted. The style is not finished but has a certain strength and vigour. The dots in the field underneath, between the figures, above the horse's and footman's heads, and behind the rider, are not letters, but a sort of survival of letters, to which the eye had become accustomed. Doubtless the vase was intended to celebrate an agonistic victory, the successful competitor in a horse-race advances to receive his crown.

There was a second figured cylix in the same chamber, but the inside surface has been destroyed and the design perished. A black-figured lecythus, however, has come off better and is but slightly damaged. It is of the same shape as that from *K*. 33, and bears a scene of four figures on the body and two smaller figures on the shoulder. A helmeted warrior armed with a spear runs to the left, the greater part of his person being hidden behind his large round shield. By a strange conceit the palmette which decorates the middle of the shoulder of the vase is made to grow out of his helmet like a plume. Facing the warrior stand two draped bearded figures, and behind him is a third. Purple is used on the helmet and palmette and on the drapery of the figures. Up on the shoulder stand, one on each side of the palmette, two very similar draped figures, also apparently bearded. The work is careless and hasty throughout. If anything is represented perhaps it is an athlete in the panoply race.

With these vases were found a Cypriote jug, the three-branched foot of an iron candelabrum, three small black lecythi with red shoulders (one of them with alternate dots and dashes round the shoulder), a bronze mirror, and no less than seven cylices decorated outside with a band of palmettes and lotus buds carelessly painted in black and purple-red with white dots. Similar cylices were found in *K*. 4 (two), *K*. 7, and *K*. 46, cups with much the same pattern in *K*. 21 and *K*. 45, cylices with black dot and ray pattern occupying the whole external field in *K*. 4 and *A*. 20, a cylix with leaf and ray pattern in *A*. 2, and an askos with black lines radiating from a central boss in *K*. 65.

Probably a late survival of the black-figured style are the slender lecythi with black palmettes, ivy branches, macanders, etc., on white ground. Two were found in tomb I and two in *B*. 11.¹ The former tomb yielded also a large black-glazed cotyle with ivy pattern in pale creamy yellow.

Two more pieces of black-figured ware must just be mentioned. Both are of most degraded style, the one the body of a little lecythus with three seated figures playing on musical instruments (*K*. 2), the other a fragment with a Satyr (*K*. 49).

Where our black-figured vases were manufactured, whether in Greece

¹ Possibly also one in tomb 7.

Asia, or Africa, I must leave others to determine. They none of them much answer to our ideas of Attic art, but the notion that careless and inferior work could not have been produced both in an early period and in Athens has probably already received its death-blow.

5. *Red-figured pottery*.—Among the red-figured vases three stand out in the front rank of interest. The first is a lecythus of the usual straight type, from *A. 6*. A female figure draped in long chiton and himation stands facing to right at an altar, over which her extended right hand holds two ivy shoots. In her left hand she carries a thyrsus, the cone inclined back behind her. Her head is crowned with ivy, her hair gathered up behind, but a lock hangs down between her ear and cheek. The altar is of a common type, with a central drum between a broad base and broad top upon which rests an object, perhaps a bowl or cup. The style, which is strong and severe although not of any extraordinary excellence, seems to indicate the latter part of the sixth century. The eye is quite incorrectly drawn for a profile view. The under garment is distinguished by markings in brown not black. The vase was found in a shattered condition and is much damaged. As to the scene, the thyrsus and ivy sufficiently define it as a sacrifice to Dionysus.

The second vase is a cotyle from *B. 12*. On the one side a female figure, clad in a long robe with *διπλοῖς*, stands to front with both feet foreshortened. Her left hand is extended and bears a long flaming torch, the end of which rests on the ground. Her hair is closely bound by what looks like a metal diadem. On the other side stands a male figure (to right) muffled in his upper garment, under which show the spangled skirts and embroidered border of a long tunic. His right hand is enveloped in his drapery, his left is advanced and holds a thyrsus, his hair is bound in a plain square head-band. Behind him is an altar. The two sides of the vase are inscribed with the words *καλὸς* and *καλοε* respectively: if the latter is not a slip of the brush, it possibly stands for *καλὸς εἶ*. The cotyle, although found in several pieces not all lying in one spot, is complete. The surface about the upper part of the male figure is much damaged, but the other side is in good condition. The style is mature, and seems to belong to the rather sparsely represented period of the final transition from stiffness to complete freedom. In the slight awkwardness of the attitude of the female figure, in her foreshortened feet, and in a not unpleasing touch of severity in her air, we recognize traces of the elder style, but the figure is none the less a most graceful and charming one. In the persons represented we may see the god and goddess of a Chthonian character so often coupled together in ancient art, to whom are loosely given the various names Dionysus, Iacchus, etc., and Kore, Hecate, Artemis, and the like.

The third of these three vases is the incomplete lecythus from tomb 2 (Pl. IV.), the laborious search for which has already been described. The vase is a stemless lecythus of the fourth century type, with white and gold. In shape, technique, and style, it very closely resembles the lecythus found in Mr. Williamson's excavations with a representation of Oedipus slaying the

Sphinx.¹ The scene seems to be the Judgment of Paris, who sits upon a rock and leans upon a tree, resting his left hand upon a club. He wears the Phrygian cap. Opposite him is Aphrodite seated with Eros clinging behind her shoulder; behind whom are two figures, perhaps Pallas, unarmed, also seated and proffering an olive shoot, and behind her, laying her hands over her shoulders, Hera, her hair bound with a diadem. Whether the figure on the left of Paris is the local nymph, or the seductive Helen conjured up by Aphrodite, I will not take upon me to decide. But our plate may safely be left to tell its own tale; all who see it must feel what a beautiful and delicate piece of work the vase must have been.

The other examples of red-figured technique may be briefly dealt with. *B. 12*, besides the cotyle above described, gave us a pretty lamp, shaped like a duck, now in the Cyprus Museum. On the red ground the plumage, beak, eyes, and other details are drawn with firm, delicate lines, in good black glaze. The shape is not uncommon, and may be paralleled, *e.g.* by an early lamp from Camirus in the British Museum, and another of late style with figures in relief on the sides, or a little lamp with black cross lines and white dots, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, but I am not aware of any other example in the best red-figure manner. In the same tomb also was a black-glazed cotyle, with two painted red lines round it, a sort of inversion of the technique on the vase from *K. 33*, with black-glazed lines. Similarly treated are a small lecythus from *K. 19*, and a round-bellied jug with short neck from *K. 21*.

In *K. 4* was found a cylix, probably early, with the familiar Gorgoneion in the centre with staring eyes and tongue out. Tomb 10 produced a small lecythus with a Maenad holding a thyrsus, of fairly good style, and a little aryballoid lecythus with goose from *K. 1* is not without merit. Lecyths of inferior style came from *K. 12* (Sphinx), *B. 3* (man and basket), and *B. 9* (Sphinx). Still more degraded is the style of a cotyle from *A. 1* with two male figures on each side.

To be classed with the later red-figured vases are a lecythus with palmette (*K. 33*), a cylix with palmettes from the handles (*K. 36*), and a cup (*B*) with black and white decoration on red ground, including a broad band of upright white twigs alternating with vertical black spaces, and a narrower zone of white olive leaf and berry pattern.² With these may be put a small lecythus from tomb *S*, with a sort of cable pattern in black on a band left red, and several little lecyths of the late style with black cross lines and white dots, which is to be seen in most collections³ (*C. 14, 16, A. 7* (two)).

Quite a special feature of the find is the abundance of little aski and lamps, which as most of them are red-figured, had better be treated of here all together. There are a number of varieties, but little distinction of style.

¹ Published *J. H. S.* viii. pl. lxxxi.

² Perhaps of Italian manufacture; cf. half-a-dozen precisely similar cups in the Naples Museum. It is to be noted that the cup bears two symbols from the Cypriote syllabary scratched

underneath it, the same which appear on the lamp with moulded lion's head spout from the same tomb, mentioned below.

³ One is figured, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, pl. ii. 1. cf. p. 145.

Probably the majority of those found belong to the fourth and third centuries. Very similar little vessels were found in considerable numbers in South Russia and in the Cyrenaica. The usual decoration of the figured aski is an animal to each side of the handle. The style is usually careless and poor, but some few examples show a better type of work, *e.g.* those with a Satyr on one side who seems to be imitating the animal on the other *e.g.* *K.* 24 (goat), *K.* 51 (bull), *B.* 4 (bull).¹ An askos from 8 is larger than the general run, and has a raised central boss and two female heads on each side, the pairs facing one another. There is a similar specimen in the British Museum from the Cyrenaica, and an askos with two female heads of kindred type in the Ashmolean museum. Some few of the red-figured vessels of this class combine the stirrup handle with a tubular circular body (*K.* 65, *A.* 20). The deep shape, usually with a tube through the middle perhaps for fixing on the peg of a stand or bracket, appears in *K.* 24 (red fig.) and *A.* 21, *B.* 8 (plain black). Some aski are not figured but bear patterns of the red-figure style, palmettes &c. Many are plain black, a few have moulded black heads occupying the whole top (1 (negro) *A.* 2 (Gorgoneion) *M.* 3 (Silenus)), one has the form of a knuckle-bone² (*K.* 11). The distinction between aski and lamps is probably arbitrary, but is convenient to indicate a difference of form. The latter usually have an opening in the centre besides the spout, and the handle is not a stirrup but a small ring-handle at the side. The decoration is in general much the same, but one or two lamps may be specially mentioned—lamp from *B.* with three red figure beasts badly drawn, one of them must be a lion, for his head, which is moulded, forms the spout—pretty lamp with olive leaf pattern *K.* 35—black lamp covered with little impressed patterns, *K.* 20.

The following list will give some idea of the important place which these little vases occupy among our red-figured finds:—

Aski—red-figured.—*Oven site.* *L.* *S.* *Hag. Dem.* 5, 6 (two), 7, 8, 10, 19 (two), 22. *Site K.* 12, 19 (two), 20, 24 (two, one deep), 28, 29 (three), 34, 40, 45, 51, 53, 58, 59, 65 (circular). *Site A.* 8, 20 (circular). *Site B.* 4 (two), 8 (two), 9, 11. *Site M.* 3.

Patterned. 5, *K.* 65, *B.* 8.

Black (plain). *S.* 2, 10, *K.* 2, *K.* 9, *K.* 14, *K.* 44 (two), *K.* 51, *A.* 21 (deep), *B.* 3 (two), *B.* 4, *B.* 8 (deep).

(*With moulded heads.*) 1, *A.* 2, *M.* 3.

Knuckle-bone. *K.* 11.

Lamps, red-figured. *B.*

Patterned. *D.* 17, *K.* 35, *A.* 8.

Black, open with handle behind *B.* 12, *M.* 3, with impressed patterns *K.* 20, black-glazed Roman shape *K.* 53, *B.* 9.

6. *Black-glazed pottery.*—Formed the staple of the imported Greek fictile wares, and was found in extraordinary quantity. The shapes represented are

¹ Cf. with bull, Brit. Mus. E. 494.

Compte Rendu. One from the Cyrenaica, Brit. Mus.

² Not uncommon; one is figured in the Mus.

very numerous, but probably three quarters of the total number of vases were saucers with or without a handle and cylices with or without a stem. Leeythi also were found, as usual, of the aryballoid form, and the cantharus, cotyle, and askos appeared not infrequently. There were jugs, cups, bowls, lamps, and platters of various types. The pyxis (10) and amphoriscus (*B.* 4) were confined to single instances, the latter was covered with little impressed patterns, palmettes, &c. One little jug was distinguished by an abnormally high handle (*A.* 8), another with spout and ring-handle to the side had no neck (*K.* 47). The tiny vessels like ointment pots without a lid were fairly common, one of them had a stem (*K.* 21). The saucers and flatter vessels often derive interest from the symbols (now from the Cypriote syllabary, now from the Greek alphabet), which are so often found scratched underneath them, but these will be noticed in another section.

These black-glazed vases are either plain or bear little impressed patterns, palmettes, circles, strokes, &c., stamped on the clay. The stamping was apparently as a rule done separately for each member in the decoration; each palmette was singly impressed, and so on, for the arrangement is often careless and irregular. Ribbed or fluted vessels were comparatively rare (*S.* *K.* 24, *K.* 33 (stamped), *K.* 35 (stamped), *K.* 42, *A.* 20).

Occasionally parts of the vase, *e.g.* the centre of a cylix or saucer, or a zone on the outside, were not black but red-glazed. We found no instance of impressed patterns on this red and black variety.

Here and there we came upon a saucer red-glazed all over (*e.g.* 10, *K.* 62), and sometimes stamped. There is no difference from the black ware except in colour, and that may be due merely to a difference in the firing.

The plain and stamped varieties of the black-glazed ware are about equally common, and both extend down, I should say, well into Ptolemaic times, perhaps as far as the Roman period. The former appears constantly in our earliest tombs, and the latter in three of them, *K.* 4, *K.* 24, and *K.* 33. Of these *K.* 24 and *K.* 33 are very strongly suspected of a mixture of contents of different dates, the black-figured vases found in them were all more or less broken, and accompanied by red-figured ware to which one would naturally assign the fourth century as the earliest possible date. On the other hand the presumption is that *K.* 4 is a fairly early tomb, of the first half of the fifth or even of the sixth century. In it was found a black-glazed two-handled cup with several rings of carelessly impressed patterns. It is probable therefore that the stamped variety may be as early in its origin as the plain, but a single instance is but a slender foundation for the inference, and at least the impressed patterns do not seem to have become very common before the fourth century. Dr. Hermann,¹ vouches for them in sixth century tombs but does not state his evidence, which would doubtless have given desirable confirmation to *K.* 4.

The appended catalogue of the tombs in which black-glazed vessels were

¹ p. 30.

found will give some inadequate idea of the abundance of this ware in the Poli necropoleis.

Black-glazed pottery (*plain*).

Oven site. B, D, E, F, L, N, P, S.

Hag. Dem. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23.

Site K. 1, 2, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 38, 40, 42, 42a, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67.

„ A. 1, 2, 6, 8, 20, 21, 23, 27.

„ B. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12.

„ M. 3.

„ T. 5.

Stamped.

Oven site. B, F, H, O, S.

Hag. Dem. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19.

Site K. 4, 11, 19, 20, 24, 29, 33, 34, 35, 40, 44, 45, 49, 62, 65.

„ A. 2, 8, 20, 21.

„ B. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11.

„ M. 3.

„ V. 2.

Black and red-glazed vessels.

Oven site. B, L, P. *Hag. Dem.* 7, 10. *Site K.* 4, 10, 13, 24, 65. A. 8, B. 4, B. 8, M. 3, T. 2, T. 3.

7. *Terra-cottas*.¹ Numerous, but many of them very much broken. It might be expected that the terra-cottas would throw some light on the chronology of the tombs, but they seem on the contrary rather to need than to supply dates. There is little style about most of them, and some that look among the earliest are found in combination with others of the finest and most facile execution (*c.g.* in tomb 1). The best of the heads is a female head of good severe type and far above the average in style (tomb A). Inferior to this, but still above the average are the fragments of a larger female head from 9, and the head and shoulders of a female figure from 22. The latter has fluffy hair bound with a thick head-band, and pendent earrings, sharp beaky nose, and pronounced features. The type and style are not good, but the workmanship is fairly careful. The head bears a general resemblance to one figured on Dr. Herrmann's *Tafel* 2. It is probably to be assigned to the Ptolemaic period.

The terra-cottas fall naturally under a few types. (a) Very crude little figures of a kind well known in Cyprus (*cf.* for instance Cesnola's *Cyprus*, pp. 150 and 164 the horseman, or *Salamina*, fig. 247, 249-50, although the decoration is not parallel). These are sometimes horsemen, sometimes male, sometimes female figures. They are occasionally painted, *c.g.* those from 15 (a

¹ Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, esp. § III.

bright crimson red). These crude little images are rarely found actually within the tombs, but more often in the shaft. They appeared in 10, 11, 15, *K.* 1, *K.* 3, *K.* 48, *K.* 52.

(*b*) Small female statuettes, holding the right hand at the right breast, and the left by the side catching their drapery. The right hand probably always held a flower, although it is not often plastically indicated with any distinctness. Sometimes coloured. A pair from *A.* 6, found with the archaic red-figured lecythus, are interesting, for there can be no doubt about their genuinely archaic character. The drapery is exactly parallel to that of some of the early statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The type seems to be a very stable one. (*B.* 1 (five), 5, 7, *K.* 4, *K.* 17, *A.* 6 (two, one with traces of red), *B.* 3, and perhaps another instance or two).

(*c*) Small standing female figures without particular action. The greater number average only a few inches in height, but a few are rather larger, *e.g.* one from tomb *C*, which including the base but without the head measured seventeen inches. These statuettes were very numerous. A fine thoroughly early-looking example of the kind is the figurine from *B.* 14, now in the Cyprus Museum. The details, which are elaborate and carefully executed, are painted in red yellow and black. The other contents of the tomb were poor and insignificant. Many of the standing figures are almost columnar, straight, tall in proportion to their breadth, and rounded behind. Others are flatter and approximate to reliefs. The latter, I believe, were often produced by stamping in a mould, the want of precision in the outlines and details of many of them seems to confirm the notion.

Standing female figures were found in *Oven site. C.* *Site K.* 1, 15, 24, 28, 29, 35, 38, 56. *Hag. Dem.* 16, 20, 22, 24. *A.* 4. *B.* 5, *B.* 14. *M.* 3. *T.* 1. Some of the less distinct may really belong to the preceding type. The statuette from *T.* 1 (headless) is painted pink and white in a manner which no less than its style recalls some of the Tanagra figurines.

(*d*) Squatting figures of free style, both male and female. 1, 4, *K.* 42*a*, *B.* 3, *B.* 4.

(*e*) Little animals, usually terra-cotta but occasionally of soft limestone. *Boar or pig F.* 13 (two). *Bird F.* (stone), *J.* *S.* *K.* 15, *K.* 23, *K.* 29, *K.* 42*a*, 1 (cock and dove). *Dog H.* 4. *Calf (?) K.* 1. *Lion K.* 34 (stone), 4. *Tortoise* 4, 13, 17, *K.* 42*a*. *Uncertain K.* 35 (stone), *M.* 3.

(*f*) Larger terra-cotta figures, found usually outside the tombs in the shaft or *δρόμος*.¹ There are two types (1) male figures reclining on a couch, the left elbow propped on cushions. The idea is obviously that of the so-called 'funeral feast.' In one or two instances (*e.g.* one from *K.* 8), there seems to have been a female figure at the foot of the bed.² Two terra-cotta *plaques* were found with figures in relief, which probably came from the side of such beds—*K.* 8, six figures extant, and *K.* 63, one and a half. The scene does not explain itself, one of the figures on the relief from *K.* 8 is up a tree.

¹ Cf. Hermann, p. 44.

² I picked up a somewhat similar fragment of

fairly good style in the hedge of the vineyard, no doubt a relic of the former excavations.

The style is extremely bad. This relief is in the Cyprus Museum. (2) Figures usually female, but in one or two cases apparently male, seated, often on a high-backed chair. (A very fine instance figured Herrmann taf. 1.) In one instance (*K.* 23) a male figure holds in his left hand an animal, and in his right a round-bodied vase, if the latter really fits on in this position.

These large figures, which when complete must have measured from 15 to 18 inches in height or length, were very common. They seem to have been formed by the aid of a mould, the several parts being made separately and then combined; many were found resolved into *disiecta membra*, and the divisions seemed not to be true breaks. Not in one single instance did we find a figure with its head on, or any head that would fit on. But it is natural to connect with the class the larger terra-cotta heads which were found in considerable numbers. The male heads are almost always bearded, although the beard is only very lightly indicated on *e.g.* the coloured head from *A.* 9. Most of them are crowned with a wreath of pointed leaves. A painted head of exactly the same type, which came from a Roman tomb near Trebizond, has been shown to me in the British Museum by Mr. Cecil Smith. None of the heads we found can well be placed earlier than the middle of the Ptolemaic age and the style of most of them is discreditable to any period, but Dr. Herrmann (taf. 2) gives an illustration of one which is of a better type. The female heads make a better impression, probably only because the potter has left them just as they came from the mould, having no beard or wreath to tempt him to meddle with them. Many wear the edge of their mantle carried up over the back of the head.

The style of the reclining and seated figures is as poor as that of the heads, the drapery is lifeless and heavy, and the folds are rather laid upon it than produced by it. Yet it would be rash in view of the usual quality of Cypriote work, and the character of some of the tombs outside which some of these figures, or rather fragments, were found, to assert that they were not made in a time when far better things might be expected even of the furnishing undertaker.

Figures. Oven site. *A, C, E, F, H, I, M, N, O, R.* *Hag. Dem.* 5, 6, 22 ?, 24. *Site K.* 1, 8, 17, 23, 36, 40, 47, 58, 63. *Site A.* 5, 9, 12, 14, 16, 25, *B.* 4, *B.* 5.

Heads (bearded). *J, K, L, Q, K.* 5, *K.* 42, *K.* 63 ?, 17, *A.* 9, *A.* 12, *A.* 25.

Heads (female). *Q, K.* 23, *K.* 41, *A.* 5, *A.* 9, *A.* 12, *A.* 14, *A.* 16, *A.* 25, *B.* 5.

The above are all of the larger size, but *small* reclining figures were sometimes found, *e.g.* in 1 and *K.* 43 (two), and *small* seated female figures, *e.g.* in *N, K.* 4, *K.* 34, 1, 3, 8, 9, 14. Sometimes these latter hold babies (1, *K.* 34), and in one instance (1) two figures are seated together. There remain a number of heads which might belong to any small figures, or possibly one or two of them to figurines from vases. That from *A* has already been noticed, perhaps one from 24 deserves passing mention. It is a

little male head with an emotional expression, that reminds one of the later schools of sculpture. The head is perhaps of the second century. Trunkless heads came from *A*, *C*, *H*, *M*. 5, 22, 24, *K*. 17, *K*. 19, *K*. 25, *K*. 36, *K*. 63, *A*. 6 and perhaps some other tombs.

8. *Jewellery*.—Plentiful enough, but most of it very cheap stuff. That from tomb 10 was however of high quality. It included:—

(a) A bronze gilt ring with dark green scarab, engraved with an Assyrian-like king sitting over a sphinx (perhaps the side of his chair), opposite to a candelabrum, over which is a flaming cone (Fig. 1), round



FIG. 1.

the edge a cable border. A little plain scarab was found in *B*. 3, on a bronze ring which had perhaps been silver-plated, and a rude scarabaeoid in *T*. 4, with scratchings crudely representing a face.

(b) A pair of bronze silver-plated bracelets, the ends terminating in gilt rams' heads (Pl. V. 1). The work is fine, the fleece, the crinkling of the horns, the lines about the eyes and nose, &c., are carefully and effectively rendered. The eyes, one of which is intact, were filled with a white composition and painted with a brown iris and black pupil. The design is a familiar one (cf. a bracelet with lions' heads Cesnola's *Cyprus* p. 311, and a similar pair from Kertch in the Ashmolean Museum, &c.).

(c) Three gold pendants from a necklace, delicately finished with granulated patterns (Pl. V. 5). The shape is the ordinary amphora-like one, a similar pendant, but with only a line of granules at the top and bottom of the neck, was found in *K*. 14, and another in *B*. 4. (Cf. Herrmann, fig. 11. *Salaminia*, figs. 11, 15, &c.) Three little clay pendants shaped like vases were found in *K*. 36.¹

(d) Several bronze gilt spirals ending in lions' heads (Pl. V. 3). Cf. *Cyprus*, p. 310, and pl. xxviii.).

(e) A pair of bronze armlets with traces of silver plating ending in snakes' heads. Similar armlets came from *B*. 9, and *M*. 1 (cf. *Salaminia*, fig. 70: the traces of linen noticed by Major di Cesnola are paralleled by similar traces on our armlets from *B*. 9).

(f) A small gold ring found in the soil thrown out of the tomb; it bears in relief the device of a lightly draped standing female figure, perhaps Aphrodite.

¹ Cf. *Salaminia*, figs. 207-8-9.

The finger rings from the tombs have several noteworthy features. Many of them are so small that scarcely a child could wear them, they were probably made on purpose for sepulchral use. One, however, a bronze signet ring from tomb *B*, remains to this day on the bone of the finger that once wore it. The materials for rings seem to have been gold, silver, bronze (sometimes gilt or silver plated), iron, and glass. Besides those already mentioned with scarabs, only one ring was found set with a stone—the ring from the sarcophagus in *K*. 30, discovered with a silver coin of Alexander the Great, now in the Cyprus Museum. It is a small but very massive gold ring, with a large semi-transparent red stone, unfortunately not engraved. Small gold rings like that from 10 were found also in 19 (engraved nude figure holding wreath and taenia, very poor style, Pl. V. 9), 22 (bee and two birds (?) in relief), and *A*. 20 (engraved winged figure, Pl. V. 10). A metal collet almost invariably occupied the place of a stone and was usually engraved, but only in the case of the gold rings is it possible to make out the device without special cleaning. Silver finger rings were discovered in *N*, *K*. 9, *K*. 11, *K*. 23, *K*. 44, *K*. 65, *B*. 3, *B*. 4, *B*. 12. Bronze in *B* and *A*. 17. Iron in *L*, *N*, *K*. 45, *K*. 65, and *A*. 20 (perhaps silver plated). Rings, but rather for the suspension of ornaments, &c., than for the finger, of silver and bronze gilt in 19, *K*. 26, *K*. 28, *K*. 33, *A*. 17, *A*. 20, *B*. 4, *B*. 11. *B*. 4 produced an opaque white glass signet ring, the seal unfortunately had fallen out. Similar glass rings are figured in *Salaminia* figs. 91 and 175. A little oval of opaque white glass was found in tomb *S*.

Spirals were among the commonest articles of the precious metals (Pl. V. 3). The following list includes one or two of bronze, but the majority are silver and some bronze gilt. Perhaps some of the very small ones are rather to be regarded as links, such as seem to have formed chains in *B*, *L*, and *K*. 1. *Spirals*. *C*. 8, 10, *K*. 4, *K*. 12, *K*. 19, *K*. 26, *K*. 28, *K*. 44, *K*. 60, *K*. 64, *K*. 67, *A*. 18, *A*. 20, *A*. 21, *B*. 4, *B*. 9, *B*. 11, *B*. 12, *M*. 1.

Under the head of bracelets we may add to those already noticed two and a half silver bracelets from *B*, fairly broad and solid with raised lines round them, and what is probably a small silver bangle terminating in a snake's head, from *B*. 12. Very thin silver fragments perhaps from similar ornaments were found in *B*. 11 and *K*. 4. Certain little square plates of silver, two from *B*. 12, and three from *K*. 67, are interesting. They seem to bear each two embossed female busts, and strung together like the larger silver plates of the girdle published by Dr. Dümmler (*Jahrbuch* II.) might have formed a bracelet or the like. Until they are cleaned it is impossible to speak of their style, but they generally recall the little plates published by Major di Cesnola, *Salaminia*, pl. ii. 15, *D*, and by Dr. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* taf. 7, Nos. 2—7, and taf. 9, Nos. 11, 12.

To the pendants must be added a very thin little gold embossed double-sphinx from *K*. 28 (Pl. V. 7), a couple of silver pendants with beads from *K*. 41, and several crescent-shaped silver objects, perhaps from a necklace, *K*. 4. For the last cf. *Salaminia*, pl. ii. 15, *E*. Dr. Dümmler suggests that these crescent-shaped objects may have held scarabs, but if so, it is rather singular

that several should be found together. A little glass pendant from *K.* 22 is shaped like a grotesque head. The face is yellow, the hair and eyes blue, the top-knot over the forehead forms a loop for suspension, and there are ringlets to each side of the face. In the Ashmolean Museum are several such heads from Sakkâra and elsewhere, two of them exactly resembling ours, cf. *Salaminia*, figs. 200 to 203, especially 202.

One or two little light-blue porcelain ornaments may be noticed here—a minute seated figure of an animal-headed divinity, and a bead on a bronze wire (*K.* 1), a pair of 'sacred eyes' (*K.* 4), and a fluted bead (*A.* 12). Beads were very common, they were either of gold plain or ribbed, and often with a clay core, coloured glass, or clay coloured or gilded. Sixteen gold beads were found in tomb 9, fifty-three of gilt clay in *K.* 32.

Earrings of thin gold came from *F* (with beads upon it), *H*, *K.* 41, and *B.* 4. The one from *K.* 41 (Pl. V. 6) is finished off with a dolphin's head, a very common type of design, cf. for example *Salaminia*, the plate of earrings facing p. 39, *Cyprus*, pl. i. and p. 310, *Compte Rendu* 1865, pl. iii. 38. That from *B.* 4 is a circle with a little winged Eros in front, also not uncommon, cf. *Salaminia* fig. 39, *Compte Rendu* 1876, pl. iii. 40, 41. The silver earrings (*K.* 4, *A.* 6, *A.* 21, *B.* 9, *B.* 11, *B.* 12) were most of them of the familiar form like a wool-sack with a wire from the one corner.

Tomb *B* yielded a silver clasp-hook shaped like a snake in the position of a flattened Ω (Pl. V. 12), *K.* 41, a silver fibula set with a pearl. A little silver object like a diminutive sword, from the latter tomb, remains a mystery (Pl. V. 2). Two mouthpieces, the one silver (*B.* 9) (Pl. V. 11), the other of thin beaten gold (*K.* 63) (Pl. V. 8) are interesting. They are shaped to fit over the lips, and have a little hole at each corner for a thread to tie them on. Similar mouthpieces have apparently been found upon the lips of Egyptian mummies.¹ Dr. Herrmann, who does not seem aware that they were previously known, figures one (fig. 19), and Major di Cesnola two (fig. 8, and pl. ii. 10).

Mouthpieces of a different sort are the silver objects like candlestick tops, several of which were found in *B.* 9 and *B.* 11. They are perhaps intended to fit round the lip of the alabaster ointment bottles, so often found, which are without the wide rim characteristic of the little vessels.

A little thin gold *étui* (Pl. V. 4), with raised patterns and lid, appeared in tomb 5.² It contained nothing but sand. Gold leaf seemed to be a distinctive mark of late tombs. It appeared usually in the form of diamond-shaped leaves,³ perhaps from the actual prototypes of the wreaths worn by the bearded terra-cotta heads. Gold leaf was found in *K.* 22, *K.* 41, *K.* 53, *K.* 63, 21, *A.* 12.

9. *Glass*.—Enamelled glass alabastron-shaped bottles were found in *K.* 2, *K.* 32, and *B.* 12. The fragments from *K.* 32 appear to be of very inferior

¹ *Salaminia*, p. 24.

² A larger one of bronze is figured in *Salaminia*, fig. 69.

³ Cf. the Xylino tombs at Kuklia, *J. H. S.* ix. p. 269. *Salaminia*, figs. 232-3.

quality. The bottle from *K.* 2 is of the ordinary type in blue and white wavy lines, that from *B.* 12 is white with purple lines, very similar to one in the British Museum from Camirus. I do not think that the account given of the method of producing the zigzag patterns given by Major di Cesnola and MM. Perrot and Chipiez is correct. It seems to me that lines of glass of the second colour must have been wound round the vase in circles or spirals, and pressed in by hot rolling. A pointed instrument would then be drawn alternately up and down the still viscous surface, much as a brush or comb is drawn through the floating colours which are to be applied to the variegated paper inside the binding of books, drawing the colours into crescents or zigzags. A final polishing would turn the vessel out finished as we see it.

Little blue and white glass buttons were found in *H.* and *M.* 2, the former with a little bit of bronze wire through it. Similar buttons of bone turned up in *K.* 20, *K.* 23 (nine), *A.* 5, *A.* 7, *A.* 8. They can hardly be whorls, as they are generally called. An apparently genuine whorl, however, was found in *M.* 2, made of polished stone.

Two pretty glass cups came from tomb *H.*, one of them of a fine amber colour. Ruby-coloured glass fragments were found in *E.* *A.* 12 yielded a cup with ribs laid on outside, *M.* 2 the fragments of another with flutings and leaf patterns (vine?), and a glass tumbler bearing in raised letters the word ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ, 'Good cheer,' cf. *Salaminia*, fig. 195, p. 173, καὶ εὐφραίνου, καταχαίρε καὶ εὐφραίνου on glass mugs.

Fragments of glass with concentric circles painted upon them in yellow were found in tomb 21. Ordinary transparent glass bottles, &c., appeared in *E.*, *H.*, *K.* 32, *K.* 41, *K.* 50, 20, *A.* 3, *A.* 12, *M.* 2.

10. *Bronze and iron.*—Bronze mirrors and strigils, and iron strigils and knives, were staple products of the tombs, and seemed to persist without variation from the earliest to the latest. None of the mirrors were found to be engraved. A curious combination is seen in a bronze strigil with an iron handle (*K.* 11). The knives were of the common type with pointed ends and a slight forward curve in the upper part of the blade. Many were found with remnants of wooden handles adhering to them.

A double-headed iron axe was found in *B.* 13, fragments of iron swords in 2, 21, and *A.* 2, of iron spear-heads in 2, 8, 18, and 22. In 2 was also a large bronze spear-head, a ringed bronze tube with a rim (perhaps part of a handle of some sort), and a small bronze palmette ornament of good workmanship and well preserved. Bronze platters came from 22 and *B.* 4 (two), bronze lamps with pinched spouts, like those noticed among the coarse pottery, from 22 (two) and *K.* 59, and bronze bowls or remnants of them from *V.* 1, *B.* 22, and *K.* 1. They seem usually to have had swing handles over the top. Little bronze rods a few inches long thickened at one or both ends were very common, one (*K.* 32) had an oar-shaped blade, to which parallels may be seen in most collections, cf. *Cyprus*, pl. v., and *Salaminia*, pl. iv., *H.*

11. *Miscellaneous*:—

Alabaster bottles were found in great numbers, most of them were of the canonical, but one or two of the amphora shape. Cheap stone vessels of the alabastron form turned up here and there (*M*, *K*. 54, *A*. 19), and one example of clay (*A*. 9).

Coins were extremely scarce, and in bad condition; *K*. 30, silver, Alexander the Great; *M*. 3, small silver, and *A*. 12, small copper, probably very late; *K*. 50, fourteen copper coins, ranging apparently from Trajan to Constantine.

Pottery, a couple of eccentric vases; the one (*K*. 2) a fragmentary cylix exactly analogous to the black glazed ware with impressed patterns, not black, however, but chocolate brown and white; the other a three-handled brownish-red glazed pot, somewhat of the form of the vase figured *Salaminia*, fig. 280, with lid, and patterns added in cream colour. Round the body a sort of creeper design has been marked with a blunt tool before glazing. The tomb from which this vase was taken (*A*. 22) contained besides only two coarse jugs.

Shells were occasionally met with; they no doubt served the poorer Arsinoceans in place of saucer-lamps, &c. The instances are *H*, *J*, *K*. 32, *K*. 41, *K*. 62.

Finally, it may be of interest, in view of the prominence of the horse on sepulchral reliefs, to mention that horses' teeth were found in several of the tombs, a fact so easily explained without recourse to mythology or anthropology, that I should not recommend it as the basis of an argument, and here state only for what it is worth.

When we look back over the course of the excavations and review their products, the feeling is inevitable that all the hopes that were entertained of them have not been fulfilled. The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place exaggerated notions were current at home of the average quality of the tombs. It was not realized on what a large scale the excavators of 1886-7 had worked to produce their results, a scale admirably adapted to getting the best intrinsic value out of the site, but fatal to scientific accuracy. Taking only the number of tombs they thought worth recording, it will be found that they bear to ours the proportion of 8 to 3. Secondly, there were the difficulties at the outset. The failure of the first appointment of a director entailed consequences beyond the immediate loss of a month. The starting of the excavation was hurried, and its duration curtailed, for H. A. Tubbs and I, never expecting to be more than auxiliaries, had other arrangements to call us away at the beginning of the summer. The Chiflik negotiation was fruitless, the sites secured in advance were generally poor, and the barrenness of the eastern half of the vineyard was particularly disastrous, for it diverted us for a long time from the Eastern Necropolis, and fatally delayed the discovery of the promising site there.

But whatever unfulfilled hopes may have been cherished, it would be

absurd to underrate the value of the results actually attained. A large number of antiquities of very various character have been brought to light, and secured to enrich our museums in England and in Cyprus, and although they include no signed vases by the famous masters, many of them are of very high quality and importance.

Scarcely less valuable are the recorded facts of the excavation. They have already proved serviceable in furnishing a prompt refutation of certain erroneous theories about the site, which seemed likely to gain credence and authority, and they may be of assistance to future investigators. Lastly, although they do not stand forth as clearly as may be wished, some conclusions of wider application do appear probable. I can conceive that it might be plausibly argued that we have to do with a Necropolis thoroughly worked over in the Ptolemaic period, that the great mass of the find, and the tombs as we found them with few exceptions, are to be connected with *Arsinoë*, and represent the products of, say, the third century B.C. The suggestion has actually been thrown out by Dr. Dümmler (*Jahrbuch*, ii., p. 168), and beginning our work as we did among the later and inferior tombs, and noticing the striking general uniformity among the contents of all as we went on, we naturally, although unconsciously, formed some similar theory. Further experience, however, tended to modify our first hypotheses, and having striven to avoid stating any but fairly obvious conclusions in the above account, I may now give the general view to which I have been led, and now provisionally hold. Certain tombs may be distinguished as early, dating, that is, from the sixth and fifth centuries, certain others as late, from the second century downwards, but the great majority are of the central period between these two, ranging from the close of the fifth to the first decades of the second century. Within this period occurred the gap between the destruction of Marium and the foundation of *Arsinoë*, but it is hopeless to attempt to distinguish among the tombs those to be assigned to the one or the other. Many tombs indeed might almost be dated 150 years to either side of the year 400 B.C., according to fancy. The staple contents of the tombs preserve the same character unaffected by the lapse of centuries almost from first to last. Some classes of objects seem to extend down to a much later date than is generally recognized, most of the native Cypriote potteries, for instance, and terra-cottas, also the black glazed wares and red-figured vases. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that in the present state of Cypriote archaeology, to date the native fabrics solely by the criteria of style is to beg one of the principal questions at issue. On the other hand, some products seem to appear at earlier periods than might *a priori* have been expected, such as the black glazed ware with impressed patterns, and the inferior black- and red-figured vases. Like conflicting forces which produce an equilibrium, these two opposite impressions resulting from the evidence tend to the conclusion that all the periods are much alike, and by reducing style to a dead level of uniformity, and removing the landmarks of chronology, bring the mind of the investigator to the verge of desperation. We can only hope that future excavations under conditions more favourable to the attainment of trustworthy results will throw light on

the problems that have been raised, and in particular wish all success to the forthcoming exploration of Salamis.

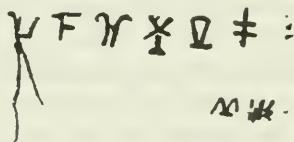
Nil desperandum Teuero duce et auspice Teuero—
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

J. A. R. M.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM POLI.

THE inscriptions found at Poli were almost without exception in the Cypriote character and of sepulchral import: numbers of graffiti were however also discovered on the vases. I will deal first with the inscriptions proper, arranging them practically in the order of their finding.

1.—Sandstone block, complete, except that a chip is broken away on the left:—has been used probably as panel of tomb-door. Found in *F*. Dimensions—10½ in. wide × 5½ thick: letters ¾ – 1¼ in. high,¹ in fair condition. At present in British Museum.



πα · ρα · με · νο · το · σε ·
ε · μι ·

Παρμένοντος ἡμι.

The form of *mi* compares with that of the same sign, No. 14 inf. The third sign is certainly *me*: though Deecke,² No. 1, following Pierides, reads an almost identical character in an inscription from Chytri as *mi*; to whose canonic form it bears no clearly demonstrable relation. I should prefer to read *me* in Deecke's inscription; the form *mi* for the enclitic being only known in a second Chytri inscription,³ and there probably a stone-cutter's blunder. For the shape taken by the symbol, cf. the alphabetic table on p. 73, especially instances among the graffiti.⁴

¹ As Cypriote inscriptions are very seldom regular, while many of the characters have 'tails,' the measurements given are the limits of variation of size. Wherever there is no indication to the contrary each inscription is to be understood as complete, and the limits of the stone are accordingly not drawn on the cut. [I may add here that of two sets of facsimile copies I had made, one has been unfortunately mislaid, the other not returned from the printer. I have therefore not been able to correct to my

satisfaction the proofs of the cuts: so far as I can judge from the copies in my note-book they have however been carefully prepared.—*Salamis*, March, 1890.]

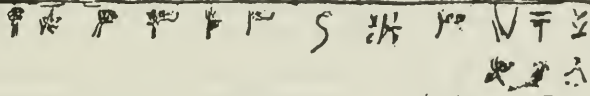
² In Collitz, *Sammlung d. griech. Dial.-Insch.* Heft 1. This, as the standard tract on Cypriote, is referred to here and subsequently simply as 'Deecke.'

³ In *Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch.* v. pl. A 3.

⁴ The right-hand sections of the double columns contain the forms given by the graffiti.

Tomb *F'* consists of three chambers [*F'a*, *F'b*, *F'c*], and it is possible that *F'a* is of rather later date than the other two: none of them however can well be assigned to an earlier period than the first century of the existence of Arsinoë. The stone was found lying in the middle of the floor, face downwards, having fallen in apparently from a tomb above, and had dispersed the bones of a skeleton in its fall. The number of burials in *F'a* was remarkable: at least three distinct layers of bodies could be traced.

2.—Limestone block, door panel: 2 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 1 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 2 in. Tomb *K*. Letters $\frac{3}{8}$ in., very shallow, poorly cut, and badly preserved. They have been picked out with bright red colour. Inscription enclosed by parallel lines. Surface much damaged: stone otherwise complete. At present in British Museum.



o · na · sa · se · e · pe · se · ta · se · to · i · ? .
re ? · o ? · e · ? ·

The characters in the first line, with the exception of the first six, are indistinct, and the reading given is not quite certain, although it is the result of repeated study both of the stone and of squeezes. The last sign of the first row may have been a 'pe,' judging from the manner in which the surface of the stone has gone, but no mark of the chisel is left. II. 2 seems to have been Σ , of which sign there is just a trace. I read therefore

Ὀνάσας ἐπέστασε τῷ [Φερέῳ].

The second name is without authority:—for Ὀνάσας cf. Deecke 30, where a father and son are called respectively Ὀνάσας and Ὀνασος, an instance of the poverty of Cypriote nomenclature. If there was no sign I. 12 at all, I should read in place of the second name ὑφ (υῖφ). The second line had no more than two signs: the marks at what would otherwise be II. 3 do not, I believe, indicate a letter.

For the form here taken by the sepulchral inscription—a form as yet, in Cyprus, confined to Poli—cf. Deecke, *Phil. Woch.*, 1886, p. 1290, No. II. Another inscription found at Poli in the earlier excavations [1886] gives the Attic form ἐπέστησε: the inscription is in Greek and was probably set up by a foreigner.¹ This dedicatory formula is comparatively late, and agrees with the character of tomb *K*, which is certainly not older than Ptolemaic times,²

¹ The name of the dedicator 'Tychon' suggests a foreign origin: it is not Cypriote. The tomb [*Nckr.* i. 67] is apparently of the 4th century.

² The main evidence for a date is supplied by a bearded terra-cotta head of poor style: the

tomb too belongs to an Arsinoite necropolis. In general where an approximate date is, in this section, assigned to a tomb, the evidence is that of the contents taken in conjunction with the position and circumstances of the grave.

and may very well belong to the second century B.C. A similar formula is however to be read on another stone found this year [*inf.* No. 13], which may with certainty be assigned to the fifth century.

3.—Limestone block : from door of tomb : 3 ft. 6 in. \times 1 ft. 11 \times 6 in. [approx.]. Letters 1–1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Stone much defaced, but complete. Now in Nicosia.



1. *pi* ? \cdot *lo* \cdot *pa* \cdot *i* \cdot *se* ? \cdot *e* \cdot *mi* ?
2. ? \cdot *vo* \cdot *se* \cdot

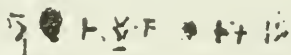
I. 8 is probably \cdot *te* \cdot but may be *o* : *II.* 1 is doubtful; after *II.* 3 there is a mark, apparently tooled, in the stone, but there does not seem to have been a character.

Φιλοπαῖς ἡμὶ [Θησεύς] Φως.

The father's name is very doubtful. Θησεύς as a name in common use is known,¹ but the reading is not satisfactory. Philopais as an ὄνομα κυριον has sufficient analogy. For the less usual nominative in the formula, cf. *inter alia Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1290 foll., No. iii., or Deecke, 93. The omission of the article before the father's name is unusual.²

This stone was so rough that the inscription was not at first discovered; the tomb from which it came cannot accordingly be determined with certainty but was in all probability *K.* 5. The date of *K.* 5 is difficult to fix.

4.—Block of soft biscuit limestone : 2 ft. 6 in. \times 9 in. \times 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Letters $\frac{3}{8}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ in. : poorly cut and in bad condition. Tomb *K.* 37. At present in British Museum.



c \cdot *lo* \cdot *ta* \cdot ? \cdot *to* \cdot *o* \cdot *ta* \cdot ? \cdot *vo* ?

The fourth character may be *ne* or *va* : it might also be *ti* or *u*. The first has perhaps more resemblance to *zo* than *e* ; the eighth space retains no mark of a tool, and there may have been none originally. There is a pit in

¹ It is found e.g. *Et Mag.* 145, 53 as the name of a Korinthian historian, and occurs also in several other places, v. Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*

² The shading in the cuts of the inscriptions will, I trust, explain its own meaning. It is

intended to indicate on the one hand the condition of the stone ; on the other, the faintness or strength of tooling in the characters as they at present exist.

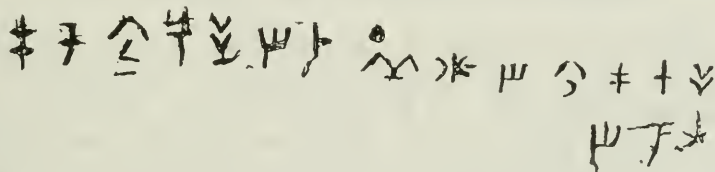
the stone at the point large enough to destroy all trace of a symbol had any existed. If there is no character between *ta* and *vo*, the latter, which might also be read *si*, will give the local adjective.¹

Ἐ(λ)ωταῦ τῶ Ὀδα . . ῖο.

Ἐλλωτας is only known as an attributive ² (cf. title of Athena at Corinth). I should compare the *e lo* scratched on a vase found in 1886 (v. Hermann, *Grabersfeld v. Marion*, p. 31—32: Sayce proposes to read the graffito Ἐλλω, not regarding it as an abbreviated form). The second name is probably non-Greek in origin and may be compared with the Ὀδέας of Jos. X. viii. 6. J. A. R. Munro suggests Ἐλλοδάμω which reads more satisfactorily, were the fourth symbol only more certain; as the stone stands it can scarcely be Ψ.

K. 37 is a Cypriote tomb, probably of the third century B.C.

5.—Limestone upright: 4 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Letters $\frac{3}{4}$ — 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Good condition, though the stone has suffered just at the beginning of the inscription. Tomb K. 45. Now in Nicosia.



πι · λο · ρα · το · σε · ε · μι · τα · σε · ο · να · σι · λο · ρα ·
ι · το · σε ·

Φιλοφάως ἡμὶ τᾶς Ὀνασίλω παιδὸς.

The interpunctuation at ἡμὶ is placed half an inch above the character *mi*. The form of the sign *vo* with its rounded head, and tail curving to left, is that usually found in the northern and western parts of Cyprus.

For Ὀνάσιλος cf. the doctor in Deecke 60: the name is also to be read scratched on a vase from Poli (*Journal of Excavations*, i. 23, 1886), and perhaps the first half of it on two other vases obtained this year (tombs 10, 11), and one, found in 1886, now in the United Services Club at Limassol. The daughter's name is hitherto unknown, but is formed in the ordinary Greek manner: it may be compared also with that in no. 3 sup. K. 45 is a tomb which has been twice used and at different periods. The later burial which

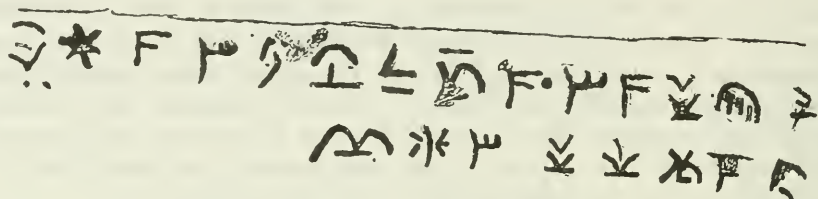
¹ If *vo* cf. perhaps *Ῥοτιῆς* of Steph. Byz. p. 319 ed. West; a district near Soli. If *si* is preferred—the change depends upon the significance assigned to a stroke at the tail of the letter (see facsimile) — possibly *Σ[ιδωνίου]*, though it is doubtful whether other than insular

appellatives can be represented in Cypriote by a single character.

² Attributives [*Beinamen*] of deities were used as proper names in Greece, but only, I believe, in compounded form.

our inscription probably records, may belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C.

6.—Limestone block, broken below: 2 ft. 8½ in. × 1 ft. 6¼ in. × 6½ in. Letters ¾ — 1 in., above them a line. Points of interpunctuation. Inscription has been inlaid with bronze, portions of which remain. At present in British Museum. *K.* 58.



ke · re · o · to · se · to · ki · li · ka · vo · se · to · a · ri ·
si · to · me · te · o · se · e · mi ·

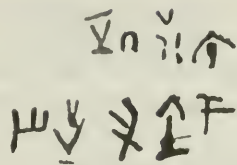
Κρεό(ν)τος τῷ Γιλ(λ)ικάφος τῷ Ἀριστομήδεος ἡμὶ.

This inscription is important for its alphabetic forms. The characters *re · ka · ri · si ·* and *me ·* are in shape closely akin to those found in inscriptions from Dali, Golgoi, Soli. It is not to be supposed that a reconstruction of local alphabets is possible from the inscriptions found in the several districts; nor must it be too readily assumed that distinct local alphabets of a recognized type existed, a view to which Deecke's syllabic table gives perhaps too much prominence. There are several variations which may be called local: a still greater number may rather be considered due to individual idiosyncrasy. The forms in this inscription denoting *ri · si ·* and *me ·* deserve to be especially noted.

Γιλλικάς, a Phoenician name, would seem to have been fairly plentiful in Cyprus (cf. Deecke, nos. 29, 120; *Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1290, foll., II.; a graffito from tomb *K.* 29 has *ki · li ·* which may be read with some probability Γιλ(λ)ι[κάφος], possibly also the *ki ·* of another graffito may be the first syllable of the same name). It is probable that, so far as present evidence goes, among less than fifty names of inhabitants of that Marion which Scylax calls Ἐλληνίς, at least three distinct persons called Gillikas are to be recognized.

In *K.* 58 two inscriptions, this and the following one, were found. They have no discoverable relation to one another, so that the tomb must be assumed to have been used twice and by different families. This practice was frequent at Marion and Arsinoe. Other instances, among inscriptions, are afforded by nos. 8—9 *inf.*, and by nos. II. *b* and III. *Phil. Woch.* 1886, p. 1290. So far as the contents of *K.* 58 are concerned, the tomb is probably of the latter half of the fourth century.

7.—Rough limestone: 1 ft. 9 in. × 7¾ in. × 4 in. Letters poorly formed, 7⁄8 — 1¼ in.: they have been inlaid with silver. Tomb *K.* 58. Now in Nicosia.



ti · ma · ko · ra ·
to · ka · ke · o · se ·

The character *ko* is unusual in shape and of very small dimensions. II. 2 may perhaps be read *si* if there was a second cross-bar to the tail of the sign. For similar forms of *si* see Deecke's table under 'Golgoi' and 'Coins': a related variety is found also at Old and New Papho.

Τιμαγορά
τῷ ?

Cypriote inscriptions give all three forms of the genitive in *-as* nouns: *-aFos*, *-av*, and *-a*. The second proper name in this inscription is not clear. The only Greek form resembling it that I have come across is the comic *Καγχᾶς* (from *καγχάζω*). Two alternatives remain, to look for a local appellation in the last four symbols, or to treat the name (*Κακεος*, *Γαγεως*) as non-Greek. In the latter case I should compare *Γάγα*, *Γάγαι* and *Γάγος*, different forms¹ of the name of a Lycian town, which may contain a Semitic root. If the former alternative be preferred a connection may be supposed—reading *si* for *ka*—with *Σίγγος*, *Σίγγα*, *Σιγγυά*, or better with *Σιγείον* in the Troad, one form of whose local adjective is *Σιγεύς*.²

Now *Σιγείον* was destroyed soon after the fall of the Persian Empire by the Ilions, to whom in Strabo's time the whole district belonged.³ If line two of the present inscription is read τῷ *Σιγέως*, Timagoras would then appear as a refugee from the destroyed *Σιγείον*, and the date could be fixed to within a few years.

8.—A socket stone of limestone, 11 in. × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ (the socket measures 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Letters 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ – 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. roughly formed: inscription on one end of stone. From which tomb the stone came is not quite certain, the inscription having been only subsequently detected. Now in Nicosia.



a · ri · si · ta · se
'Αρίστας.

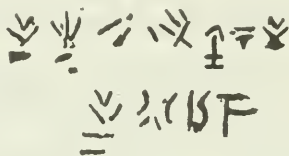
¹ See Scyl. *Perip.* 100. Dioscor. 5. 146. Hierod. p. 683, *Γαγαία πόλις*.
generally corrected into *Σιγείους*.

³ Strabo, xiii. pp 595 and 600.

² Dion. *Hal.* i. 72. 2:—The form has been

The name was a common one among Greek women. The Ariste here recorded may have been the wife of the Timokretes in no. 9 *inf.*, though the fact that the two stones were found in the same tomb does not prove, at Poli, that the persons they commemorate were closely connected. For 'Αρίστη cf. *Phil. Woch.* 1886, p. 1290, no. 1. Deecke there suggests 'Αρίσται, but his note (on his inscription, no. VI.) is confused. Probably the two, I. and VI., should be closely connected; in I. read 'Αριστοκύπρω παιδὶ (ἔστασε), and make the 'Αριστοκύπρα of No. VI. wife of Aristos and mother of Aristokypros. This avoids the unwarranted change of 'Αριστος into Αρίστα. Assuming a connection between the two inscriptions it may be noted that the tombs from which they were obtained are in different necropoleis (I. 106, and II. 99): a counterpart of the practice which associates members of different families in the same tomb.

9.—Limestone block, 3 ft. 6 in. × 11 in. × 11 in. (approximate). Letters $\frac{5}{8}$ —1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.: graving large but coarse. Tomb identical with that from which no. 8 was obtained. At present in British Museum.



O · na · si · ke · ? · te · o
to · zo · va · so ·

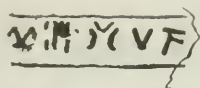
'Ονασικρέτεο(ς)
τῷ Ζοφασῶ

I. 5 must be *re* and with this the marks left on the stone suit. II. 2 is *zo* though the stroke is less curved than usual.

For -κρέτης as the Cypriote equivalent of -κράτης cf. Deecke 71 and 148: *Phil. Woch.* 1886, pp. 1290 foll., Nos. II. and VII. p. 1643, No. XXI.; for 'Ονασικρέτης as a Cypriote name cf. a late Greek inscription from Larnaca (Col. Ceccaldi in *Rev. Arch.* xxvii. pp. 69 foll., no. 13, where the Ionic form of the name is given).

For the father's name cf. *zo va* on a small black tray from K.44, and a similar graffito on a saucer of brown-glazed ware found in 1886 (*Journal of Excavations*, 1886, II. 60). Professor Sayce found the name Ζοφής in three instances at Abydos (Proceedings *Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1884, pp. 209 and following, nos. 9 and 10). A Greek form Ζωσᾶς is also known (*C.I.G.* 950 and 3665).

10. Limestone slab, 1 ft. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 1 ft. 3 in. × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.: broken to right and below. Letters 1—1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., cleanly and deeply cut between parallels, and square in form so as to give the appearance of having been stamped in a soft material, which had then been hardened. At present in British Museum.



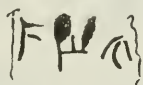
to · sa · ma · e · mi ·

(τοῦ δεῖνος) τὸ σᾶμα ἡμὶ

The full formula for a sepulchral inscription is not usual in Cyprus: I do not know another instance. Ordinarily the elliptical genitive is used alone.

This stone was found together with the Greek inscription (*inf.* no. 19) in a hole numbered A.10, which, though it contained some fragments of ordinary tomb furniture, seemed to have been in the main a shapeless lumber-hole. Beside the inscriptions there were unearthed among a great number of building-stones some architectural members—a moulded slab, an altar (?) &c. —of Roman style. Had A.10 been certainly a tomb there would have been some evidence for carrying the use of the Cypriote syllabary down even to the first century A.D.¹ (*v. inf.* on the Greek inscription). It is quite possible that A.10 was first a tomb, secondly a re-used tomb, and lastly a refuse-hole² for odds and ends of stone which for one reason or another it was requisite to clear off the surface of the ground. The earliest burial cannot have been, I think, earlier than the third century B.C.

11.—Fragment of fine-grained limestone, broken on all sides except at the top: approximately 3 in. square so far as the original surface remains. Letters $\frac{3}{4}$ —1 in. Tomb B.4. At present in British Museum.



. . . . to · se · to ·

Τιμοκλέ]φος τῶ (δεῖνος)

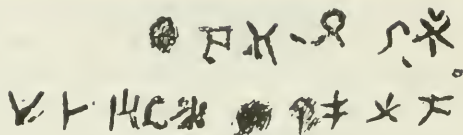
The tomb from which this fragment was obtained belongs, I think, to the first half of the fourth century.

12.—Rough sandstone upright: 4 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. 3 in. × 7 in. Letters $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. — 2 in.: roughly and unevenly cut, but pointed with red. Surface badly worn. Tomb B. 12. Now in Nicosia.

¹ If this could be established it would be an important result. Deecke's latest inscriptions are, he thinks, of the age of Alexander: Sayce [*Proc. Bib. Arch.* 1884, pp. 209 foll.] comes to a similar conclusion from an examination of the graffiti at Abydos, compared with their scarcity

at Thebes. Cf. *inf.* 'Inscriptions on vases,' no. 1, *note*.

² The tomb, if it existed, was quite shallow, some 4 or 5 feet deep at the most. It probably fell in, and the hole thus made was found useful as a receptacle for waste-stones.



1. *ku · po · ro · me ? · to · ? ·*

2. *to · i · pa · ti · ri · e · ? · se · ta · sa*

I. 4 is carelessly formed, but was probably intended for *me*·. I. 6 in its present state is merely a hole in the stone: but there was probably a sign originally, and that sign *ti*·. At II. 7 the stone has been both cut and coloured, but I feel by no means sure that there is anything more than a stone-cutter's blunder. The marks of the chisel are here peculiarly shallow, and the character, besides being of an unknown form, is strangely cramped in. A not very dissimilarly shaped symbol was found by Prof. Sayce at Abydos.¹ In the Poli inscription—if the marks are intentional—there can be, at most, two alternatives, *pe*· and *ne*·. The resemblance of the marks is greatest to *pe*·; the continuation of the tail to the right being probably accidental. If however it be assumed that the central stroke was originally carried down below the cross-lines, we must read *ne*·;² and in that case Deecke's No. 7 should be corrected. He there writes *κά μὲν ἔστασαν*, introducing a form of the enclitic unknown in Cypriote: it would be neater, as J. A. R. Munro first suggested to me, to write *κά μ' ἐνέστασαν*, though I think the use of *ἐνίστημι* is somewhat wanting in force. On the whole it seems preferable to render the Poli inscription as

Κυπρομέδοντι
τῷ πατρὶ ἔ[πε?]στασα.

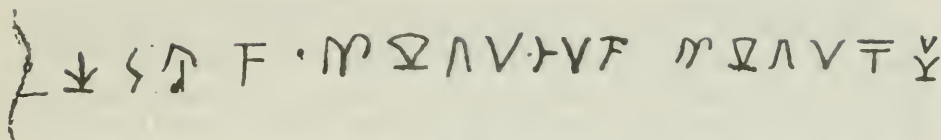
The name Kypromedon is new; but compounds with *κυπρο-* are common. The formula here resembles that of No. 2, though the use of the first person is strange, and, so far as I know, unexampled in Cyprus. Tomb *B. 12* may with certainty be assigned to the middle of the fifth century.

13.—Bar of fine limestone, surfaces dressed with a toothed-chisel: broken away at right-hand end and cracked through middle. Has served as one side of a built sarcophagus [*μνήμα*], and is a companion stone to No. 14 *inf.* Dimensions, in present condition, 3 ft. 3½ in. × 1 ft. 8 in. × 7 in. Letters 1½ in., neatly cut in an easy, flowing style. Obtained from tomb *M. 2* by the villagers after the excavations of 1886–7. Now in the stairway of a house in Poli.

¹ Prof. Sayce very kindly communicated to me a copy of the graffito in which the character occurs. The graffito itself is published by him in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1884, pp. 209 foll., no. 7. He read the sign *ka*·, which is certainly wrong; Deecke suggested *le*· which is possible, but not

very probable, as it requires the name recorded to be read *Meleermos*.

² In Prof. Sayce's graffito the character in question has certainly no tail. If it is to be considered a *ne*· the name will be *Meleermos*.

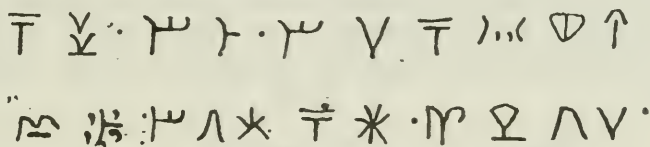


o · na · sa · ko · ra · u · to · sa · ta · sa · ko · ra · u · to · ti · pe · te · ra · ?

Ὀνασαγόραν τῷ Στασαγόραν τῷ Διφθέρα[υ · ἡμί]. The 15th symbol may perhaps have been intended for *fo* ∴ there is a sort of dot against the tail of the letter which is otherwise straight. Διφθέρας is hardly satisfactory as a name:¹ but I hesitate to read τῳδί Πτερᾶ [for Πτερᾶς see Pape-Benseler s. v.]. If the 15th sign were a *fo* · it would be just possible to interpret *to · vo* · as τῳῷ [cf. Deecke 68. 3, where *o · vo · ka · re · ti* · is read οὐ γάρ τι]: but to introduce two forms of the genitive of the article in one line is hardly permissible, and the form τῳῷ is not known in Cypriote inscriptions.²

The angular form of *pe* · is not usual, but is found at New Paphos. For the character of the script in general see under next inscription, where also the question of a date is considered.

14.—Fellow-stone to preceding, but complete. Has formed the side of a μνήμα. Dimensions 5 ft. 6½ in. × 1 ft. 8 in. × 6¾ in. Letters 1½ in., neatly engraved in one line, not as in the cut divided: interpunctuations. Tomb M. 1. At present in British Museum.



*ti · mo · va · na · sa · se · ta · se · o · na · sa · ko · ra · u · ku · na · i ·
ko · se · e · mi ·*

Τιμοφανά[σ]σας τῆς Ὀνασαγόραν γυναικὸς ἡμί.

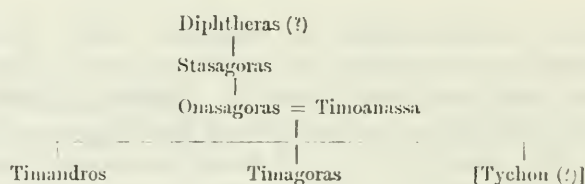
The script in 13 and 14 is peculiar. Cypriote epigraphic style is rather to be regarded as individual than local: and these two inscriptions preserve the handwriting of a man who had formed for himself a very distinct manner. The letters are generally, where possible, curved—notice especially *se · ra* . and *u* ·; and in a less degree *sa · ka* · and *ti* ∴ and though the style itself is contained and simple, these two inscriptions afford the best example of what might be done with the Cypriote characters in the way of an ornate epigraphy. It is important to bear in view the style of engraving here illustrated, as it throws much light on the question how far the study of Cypriote epigraphy can be reduced to a science.

¹ It may perhaps be supported by names like Μαλλίας, Οὐλίās.

as due to Greek influence. The family of Onasagoras may have been immigrant into Marion.

² Its introduction would have to be regarded

The Timoanassa and Onasagoras of this and the preceding inscription are wife and husband. They were buried side by side, each in a *μνήμα*, and the same tomb contained a number of other *μνήματα* of a similar kind. It is possible that the family of Onasagoras may be capable of reconstruction with the help of two inscriptions obtained in 1886 (*Phil. Week. l.c.* Nos. II.b and V.). The family tree may then be drawn out thus:



The Greek inscription (*Phil. Week. l.c.* II.b) was found in a tomb which seems from the character of its contents to be of the fourth century: Pteras (or Diphtheras) will then have lived about 450 B.C. This will require for the tomb of Onasagoras and Timoanassa a date not later than 350 B.C. The objects actually found in it are hardly sufficient either by their number or their character to confirm or refute this attribution.¹ If the genealogy is sound, it affords an excellent example of Cypriote nomenclature, and contains the elements of those names which were most in favour in the island. Timoanassa is new: Onasagoras occurs on a vase found in 1886 (*Phil. Week.* 1886, pp. 1611 foll., No. XVIII.), and on the bronze in Deecke's *Sammlung*, No. 60.

15.—Limestone block: incomplete cut away to right. It lies upside down in the wall of the house where No. 13 is also to be seen. Letters 1 in.



1. *te · ro · se ·*

2. *e · mi ·*

[Ἀριστοκύπρας τᾶς
Φιλοκύπρω θυγα]τέρος
ἡμῖ

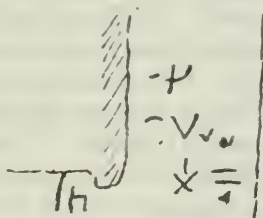
But it is not certain that the surface of the stone has been re-dressed: and, if not, *te · ro · se* must *begin* the inscription.

16.—Large rounded block of *chióni* in a street in Poli. Surface almost

¹ The tombs in the immediate neighbourhood of *M.* 1 are mostly of a late period, very often

Roman: two, however, which were entered from *M.* 3 [see plan] were probably of the 4th century.

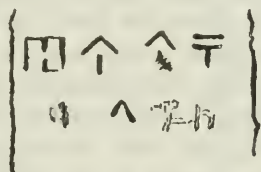
entirely gone. Two socket-holes have been cut in the block at a later date for some purpose. Letters large: but scarcely any remain.



1		|	? · se ·
2	socket	|	? · su · ? ·
	tu ?	|	? i · na ·

The transliteration here given is to be read from right to left, as it reproduces the actual condition of the stone.

17.—Sandstone block lying on its side in a house-wall in Poli: broken away at either end. Letters 1½ in., in bad condition.



? · na · si · ti · mo · ?
 ? · ? · ? · ko · ? ·

[O]νασιτίμος [τω]
 [Ονασα]γός[ραυ]

The faint marks in the second line give practically no indication of distinct characters. Only the \wedge is clearly tooled. If I am right in restoring 'Ονασαγόραυ, 'Ονασίτιμος might be regarded as another son in the family recorded under No. 14. The name Onasitimos would be especially appropriate to a son of Onasagoras and Timoanassa and a brother of Timagoras and Timandros. Deecke (No. 26) has an Onasitimos from Drimu, a village not far distant from Poli.

Further details of the preceding inscriptions are best given in the fac-similes accompanying them. The syllabary as found at Poli appears on a table p. 73.¹ The inscriptions on vases are dealt with later. Here it need only be added that, as appears from the preceding pages, the Cypriote character was during the fourth century in practically universal use for monu-

¹ It would have been interesting to complete the table of forms in vogue by embodying those given by the inscriptions found in 1886. In the alphabet obtained from the graffiti—illustrated

in the right-hand sections of the two columns—I was able to make use of a part of the 1886 Journal, thanks to the courtesy of the authorities at Berlin.

mental records: we did not find a single Greek sepulchral inscription in any but the latest period, and the former excavations produced only one, which may perhaps be of the fourth century, but, as it retains an Ionic form, may have been set up by a foreigner. It follows further from the results obtained this season that the Cypriote syllabary remained in use during the earlier part of the Ptolemaic period. It is scarcely, indeed, to be supposed that the destruction of Marion by Ptolemy Lagides caused the immediate substitution of Greek characters for the native Cypriote. Though Greek would be used in official documents, yet the tenure of the Ptolemies over Cyprus was at first too incomplete and too often interrupted to bring about the universal adoption of the Greek alphabet in the affairs of daily life. Religious feeling would cause the Cypriote syllabary to retain its place on sepulchral monuments even longer than might otherwise have happened. The finds of this year also emphasize the fact that the Cypriote syllabary must not too hastily be parcelled out into local alphabets. The political condition of Cyprus rendered a monumental style of epigraphy impossible: but the forms of the characters themselves share the responsibility. As Cypriote inscriptions are examined one after another the conviction is inevitable that the epigraphy of Cyprus is more like manuscript than monumental style, rising in its highest form to the level of art, and sinking on the other hand to the vulgarest scribble. It becomes an almost impossible task to date a letter from its shape.

The great majority of the inscriptions found seem to belong to the fourth century—a circumstance which deserves some attention. Taken as a whole, the necropoleis of Poli point to the conclusion that the fourth century was a most flourishing period in the existence of Marion. It seems sometimes to be assumed that the blockade of Marion by Kimon had resulted in the destruction of the town; and Dr. Oberhummer for example speaks of Arsinoe as ‘built on the site of Marion, destroyed by Kimon.’¹ But it was in the fourth century that the town achieved independence under its king Stasioikos, previous to whom there is no separate coinage known.² The evidence from the coinage, though incomplete, agrees with that of the tombs.

One other point perhaps may be noted here, though it is not connected directly with epigraphy. The stones which bear the inscriptions have been, probably without exception, architectural members. Sometimes they have served to form one side of a *μνημα*,³ or built sarcophagus; sometimes they are the panels or uprights of a door; sometimes the sockets in which those uprights rested. The actual tomb is sealed with the name of the dead. The grave is the possession for ever of the departed.

¹ *Sitz.-ber. d. Kgl. bay. Akad. d. Wiss. Hist.-phil. Classe.* 5 Mai, 1888, p. 320.

² Six does indeed assign an earlier series of coins to Marion, but on very insufficient grounds. See the section on Marion in Head, *Hist. Num.* I came across a small silver coin of Stasioikos, at Xeróbouno, near Liwniti: an interesting find

as tending to support the view that Marion did stand on the northern and not the southern coast. Kimon's simultaneous attack on Kition and Marion, though seeming to be adverse to the hypothesis, really goes to confirm it.

³ This is the name used by the men, and it is convenient to retain it as a specialised term.

To the Cypriote inscriptions I subjoin those in Greek character which were found during this season at Poli.

18.—A fragment of bacon-streaked stone picked up by Messrs. Gardner and Munro in a preliminary tour of the ancient site. Length $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $2\frac{1}{2}$ — $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. At present in British Museum.



ΙΩΘΣΑΤΤΑΒΕ
ΤΑΣ ΠΕΡ

The alphabet is Doric, resembling Rhodian, of about Ol. 50,¹ but the form *Φερσέφαττα* is Attic (*v.* Plato, *Crat.* 404, with Heindorf's note *all.* and Spanheim *ad* Arist. *Ran.* 683). There was a *Φερσεφαττειον* at Athens, yet the name *Φερσέφασσα* has somehow a foreign ring about it, and to find it domiciled at Marion early in the sixth century is interesting. The cult of Persephone has at least two distinct forms; either the myth depicts the goddess of nature, or it exhibits the consort of Hades—a fierce semi-savage power of the underworld. But it is a different and popular aspect of the goddess with which the name *Phersephassa* is associated.

The fragment, with its four letters of an inscription, was found in a field which is strewn with scattered pieces of *chióni* and limestone. Several fragments of stone very similar to that bearing the inscription were turned over, but a protracted search failed to discover any other piece engraved with the remainder of the sentence. Some two or three hundred yards away from the find-spot is the supposed temple-site, which is not necessarily to be connected with Strabo's *Διὸς ἄλσος*.

19.—Limestone block, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in. Found broken into three pieces, which however fit exactly, so that the stone is complete except for some trifling chips which have been lost. The surface is much worn, and is rounded as though the stone had been exposed to the action of water; the aqueduct stream runs within a few feet of the hole A.10 in which the inscription was lying. Now in Nicosia.

Τρύφων χρηστέ χαῖρε.

The formula is of very common occurrence in later stelae. The present inscription is of the first century, and may perhaps be more precisely assigned to about 50—60 A.D.

20.—In ignorance of Dr. Oberhummer's article in the Munich *Sitzungsberichte*² a careful copy was made, with a view to publication, of the Ptolemaic inscription so badly reproduced in Lebas and Waddington's *Voyage*

¹ Since I wrote thus I find that J. A. R. Munro has submitted a squeeze of this inscription to a conclave of Oxford archaeologists, and that their verdict is in favour of a Roman origin for the stone. In deference to their authority I wish to modify the opinion expressed in the

text so far as to make it less categorical: at the same time I cannot find that an alternative reading was proposed. The place in which the fragment was found tells neither way.

² *Sitzber. d. kgl. bay. Ak. d. Wiss.* 5 Mai, 1888, p. 320.

Archéologique, Tom. III., No. 2782. Having since been able to read Dr. Oberhummer's notice, I find little of value to add to his rendering. One or two letters which on the stone are not quite complete are given as perfect in his copy; but as they are certain in any case the trifling inaccuracy is of no moment. In line 3 the space after *-ρχουντος* is sufficient to make it doubtful whether any qualifying phrase *κατὰ Ἀρσινόην πόλιν* followed; the genitive of line 5 *[τῶν θεῶν φ]ιλαδελφῶν* probably depended on *ἱερέως* in agreement with *Στησαγορον*.¹ *[Γ]ιμωνακτ[ος]* in 6 is a second magistrate, and the real purport of the inscription probably begins with *ὁν χρ[ο]νον* in the last line now remaining.

21.—Fragment of marble, picked from under the door-sill of a house in Poli. The fragment seems to have once formed part of a stele—the cornice of which remains on the reverse—and then to have been redressed to receive the present inscription at a much later date.

† ΑΥΤΕΣΥΧ

† Ἀντες[τίου] εὐχ[ή].

I am indebted to Professor Hicks for the interpretation of the monogrammatic signs. The inscription is Christian, of uncertain date. For the formula cf. *C.I.G.* 8866, 69, 77, and numerous other instances in that section of the *Corpus*. That the engraver should have taken the trouble to abbreviate *εὐχή*—for the inscription stands complete as he left it—seems strange. Perhaps we should rather read—

Ἀντέστιος εὐχ[αριστῶν ἀνέθηκε.] [cf. *C.I.G.* 8873, 4, 5, &c.]

I add: 22.—Fragment of upper part of puteal (sandstone) which I picked up on the site of Soli. Now in British Museum.

CAI]Θ · CAESARI · D · [IVG . F .]
VSOLIORVM[

The inscription seems to belong to the period of Caius Caesar's mission to the East, 13—14 A.D.

INSCRIPTIONS ON VASES.

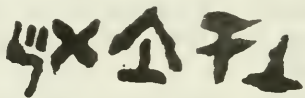
There remain the inscribed vases, which both in 1886 and 1889 have been found in such numbers at Poli. The inscriptions are in the form of graffiti scratched, with scarcely an exception, on the bottom of the vase; occasionally the letters are deeply and boldly cut. Graffiti of this sort are, in Poli, nearly confined² to a distinct class of pottery—the plain-glazed black

¹ For the title and office see the Rosetta Stone (*C. I. G.* ad init.)

² Beside the black-ware they are found not seldom on red-figured askoi.

ware, stamped and unstamped, which Athens produced during the fourth century especially. In addition to the graffiti there were found also fragments¹ of a large Cypriote diota, on one of which was a painted inscription—an uncommon feature in ware of this kind. To it the place of honour may be assigned.

1.—On a portion of a large diota; inscription on shoulder near junction of handle. Tomb A. 21.



o · pa · ka · lo · se.

The form here assumed by the characters *o* ·² *pa* · and *lo* · is to be noted. *se* · also has the appearance of being reversed, and might suggest that the signs should be read from left to right. Reversed symbols however are sometimes used when the inscription runs from right to left, and the vase before us is probably an instance in point. The phrase here may be read 'ὁ πα (ἰς) καλός'—according to the paiderastic formula which has tried the patience of every student of Greek vases. There is however no indication of a break between *pa* · and *ka* ·, and the omission of μχ may cause some surprise in so carefully formed an inscription. If ὁ παῖς καλός be the right interpretation, the appearance of that formula on a Cypriote jar of the purely geometric style (concentric rings) made in the fourth century B.C. (probably at Paphos) is a fact both interesting and important for the study of ancient vases. It is however possible to render the same characters in a different manner, and find in the inscription the signature of the potter, or perhaps of the owner for whom the jar was intended. We may read then: Ὡπα· καλός (ἐστιν ὁ ἀμφορεύς).³ This interpretation has in its favour the position and firm

¹ The vase has now been restored in the Brit. Mus., but some of the fragments do not quite certainly belong to the diota.

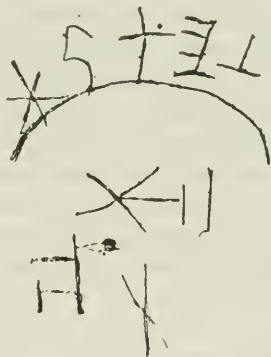
² The *o* · is Paphian, and indeed the inscription as a whole might be so termed. The x-shape of *lo* · is important: Deecke when he drew up his table was not prepared to admit this variety. *pa* · is one of the most constant types in the syllabary, but it does vary at Papho (*int. al.*). Its form on the vase is hitherto unexampled.

³ Deecke, no. 82, has another but doubtful instance of Ὡπας used as a proper name in Cyprus. He would read the two symbols *o* · *pa* ·, on a certain relief discovered by Cesnola, as the genitive of the name Ὡπας. The relief is a curious one: Gen. Cesnola speaks of it as a 'tablet representing a religious ceremony'; Dr. Hall says: 'upon the stone is carved a long procession of people. The idea of the sculpture it is hard to trace further.'—I presume this relief is identical with that figured roughly in

Col. Ceccaldi, *Mons. de Chypre*, p. 75, though Deecke gives no reference to Ceccaldi. M. A. Dumont, in a letter appended to Ceccaldi's quite vague remarks, thinks the plaque represents a sacrifice to Apollo, a dance in his honour, and the subsequent banquet of the θιασῶται, who had dedicated the stone. In that case what interpretation is to be put on the two Cypriote characters *o* · *pa* ·? It is not altogether impossible that they may stand for Ὁπά(ονι), a title under which Apollo was worshipped in Cyprus. In last year's excavations a cult of Apollo Opaon was discovered by Mr. Hogarth at Amargetti [*v. J. H. S.* 1888: report on Amargetti]. Mr. Hogarth there expresses the opinion that Apollo Opaon was a purely local divinity, and that his second appellative Melanthius conceals the ancient name of Amargetti. If Apollo Opaon was only the deity of a small village it would probably be a mistake to look for his name on a votive tablet from Golgoi. There are however

character of the inscription, and does not require the assumption of lost signs. Opas, however, though vouched for by Suidas, is not a well-known name. Clearly also even a third alternative is conceivable: "Ωπα[ς] καλός. I prefer therefore to leave the final reading undetermined, while regarding the second interpretation ("Ωπα· καλός) as on the whole the most probable.

2.—Scratched in on the bottom of a small saucer, which has been glazed of a brown-red, and is stamped with the customary pattern. Tomb K. 62.



α · πο · λο · νι · ο ·
να · ι ·

and a numeral sign (?).

The graffito is to be read from left to right, a change from the ordinary Cypriote custom due to the growing influence of Greek writing. The form for *νι* varies somewhat from the canonic type, and *ο* is again, as in the preceding inscription, written after the manner of Paphos.

Ἀπο[λ]λωνίω
ναί (monogram).

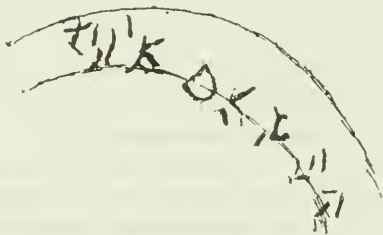
two inscriptions to this god which were found near the Salt Lake at Larnaca. So at any rate Ceccaldi states [*Rev. Arch.* xxvii. pp. 86-88, Larnaca. nos. 2 and 3]. They are obviously identical with the two inscriptions in Gen. Cesnola, *Cyprus* (Appendix nos. 3 and 4), where they are characteristically ascribed to Palae-paphos. Mr. Hogarth not having seen Ceccaldi's paper naturally assumed that the General had merely substituted Palae-paphos for Amargetti; but the evidence of Ceccaldi, who was frequently in Cyprus at the time when Cesnola was busy excavating, and often visited the diggings, speaks strongly for Larnaca as the find-spot. Gen. Cesnola's inability to command a wayward imagination would be restrained in the presence of an eye-witness.

If then Apollo Opaon was worshipped at Larnaca, he becomes at once a divinity of greater importance. Though he may have been merely a rustic power at Amargetti, at Kition he seems from the inscriptions to have been a true god of healing (*Opaon* therefore). If Golgoi may be added as a home of this cult, Opaon Melanthios will become one of the distinct Cypriote types of the god.

The relief is important also in another respect; it carries the use of the Cypriote syllabary down to the 1st century B.C. Dumont dates the work from the 2nd century; but if any reliance can be placed on the sketch in Ceccaldi, this date is considerably too high [and cf. *Gen. Cesnola, Cyprus*, p. 149].

What the remaining sign intends is difficult to determine. Read from right to left as a monogram it is *ov* (*o · ve ·*), which would be a curious addendum to the *naireté* of the *val'* with which Apollonius affirms his ownership. The symbol may however have been rather intended as a mark of number,¹ or even as a dealer's memorandum. That it should have been intended to represent a closed syllable, an alternative, which, if Deecke's discovery is sound, must always be kept in sight, is here scarcely possible, as the character contains no *leading* sign. The use of monogrammatic writing, as in the *val'*, is interesting as it goes to confirm the hypothesis of symbols for closed syllables, and also to explain how such symbols arose. Another graffito found this season has similarly *Ona[silos]* written in monogram, and a third, discovered in 1886, may be read *ᾠπα[ς]*² *Στα[σιја]*, both names being rendered by compounded signs. Herrmann, in his *Gräberfeld von Marion*, has given an instance of a monogram in Greek characters; but his interpretation [*ᾤ* = *Πατρι-*] cannot be correct, as the monogram in question really moves up an ascending scale of *ᾤ*, *ᾤ*, *ᾤ*. Other monograms of Greek letters are *Α*, *Ξ*.

3.—On a fragment [bottom] of a large saucer-tray, black-glazed, with stamped pattern. Tomb *V. 2*.



ti · ri · o · li · ja · ? · ?.

The third character is doubtful, but was probably intended for *σ*; the fifth must be *ja* as *li* precedes; the sixth may have been *to*, the additional strokes being merely adventitious. What further sign there was beyond *to* can be matter of conjecture only. It may be possible therefore to read *Δριολίja τοδί*, connecting the name with *δρῖος*.

4.—I may add here an inscription cut on a fine hydria which is adorned with a sort of scroll filled with sea-horses in white on brown. The vase was formerly in the possession of C. Christian, Esq., of Limassol. I have only a copy of the inscription, and not an impression:

¹ If as a number, I would refer to a whole series of signs, which seems to start from a simple form, such as *V*, and, by the addition of single strokes, to be thence raised in power. *λ* was in Deecke's table set down as a presumptive numeral sign, and it will be seen that the series illustrated at the bottom of the table practically passes through *λ*.

² For *ᾠπαs*, *v. sup.* under *l* and *n*. . . If this be the right reading of the monogram here it will support the reading in *1*; but the monogram may be intended only for the familiar *'Ova-*, an illegitimate stroke having been accidentally introduced.—The two graffiti referred to are from tombs *11*, and *11. 78* (1886) respectively.

ⲡ Ⲙ Ⲛ Ⲙ ⲛ

ti · mo · ke · le · si ·

Τιμοκλῆς.

The inscription is interesting as affording an instance of *si*, instead of *se*, if the character is rightly read, used as the final consonant; and also as being one of the rare cases where a Cypriote artist has signed his work.¹

As a rule graffiti on vases do not preserve complete words or names. Those found this season proved no exception. Their value consequently is diminished, and the service they may render to archæology is scarcely more than to furnish forth an alphabetic table,² such as is drawn up on p. 73. One little series however is of greater interest, though in the present state of Cypriote epigraphy its importance does not rank high. There are a few graffiti which are bilingual. On a red-figured askos from K.45 the first syllable of the name Δι[ογένης] is written both in Cypriote and Greek: on a black-glazed saucer-tray from 17 is scratched *zo · me ·* in Cypriote and Ζ³ in Greek. Of two similar saucer-trays from 7 one bears the legend ΘΕ, the other *te ·*; while on still another we may read in Paphian character Ο · and in the corresponding Greek Οδ, or perhaps better 'ΟΛ[ύμπιος]. Similarly among the graffiti found in 1886 Κ is written over against the Cypriote *Ko*, or, in another case, against *Ku*.

The frequency with which graffiti are found at Poli on the unfigured black ware and the red-figured askoi, when contrasted with their comparative scarcity on similar pottery unearthed elsewhere, requires some explanation. As these scratches are in the great majority of cases written in Cypriote, it is clear that they are not, as Deecke supposed, potters' marks—for the ware is foreign and imported—unless indeed it is argued that because they are potters' marks the ware must be a native manufacture. In general the graffito seems to give the name of the owner, either in full or abbreviated; but Herrmann is certainly wrong in supposing that it has always this meaning and this only. Such a series as that mentioned by Deecke (*Phil. Week.*, 1886, p. 1643, foll.) probably preserves the name of the dealer, not the potter; and the number of vases inscribed *o* or *o na* seems almost excessive in spite of the frequency with which Cypriote names begin with these syllables. Thus also when *α* is graved in small character, and some other sign in larger, the former may represent the dealer, the latter the owner. Often again the legend Ι† appears, and is probably to be interpreted τι[μην] 1 [obol]⁴; while a fragment from a black-glazed saucer-tray has in the Cypriote script *πιέ*, and

¹ The letters are carefully cut, and have been burnt in. The signature is on the shoulder of the vase. Cf. no. 1 *supra*.

² Graffiti as a rule would not be of much use for determining epigraphic forms; but in Cypriote there is not that decided severance between the monumental and cursive styles. *v. sup.* p. 73.

³ The Ξ is closed at one end, but this is probably accidental. For an alternative view see later.

⁴ For graffiti indicating prices on Greek vases *v. R. Schöne, Comm. in hon. Momms.*, who however does not introduce much fresh material.

so determines the use to which this class of vase was put.¹ Another small saucer-tray from tomb 8 is thus inscribed :



Τέττα is a strange word to find on a piece of fourth century pottery ; it is not even a word of very certain meaning. Eustathius²—whom every one follows perforce—makes it ‘a respectful address of a younger to an older man,’ and the *Et. Mag.* adds a derivation from *τῆτα*. Is then the inscription on the vase to be understood as ‘Father from S.’? Vases of this kind were certainly given as presents.³ There is nothing to indicate that ΤΕΤΤΑ is an abbreviation.⁴ On the contrary the neatness and precision of the letters suggest that the writer said all he wished to say. Other trays have *φίλω*, or simply *φι*,⁵ and these should be rather compared with *φιλίας* of the Berlin vases than read as *φίλο*—the first half of a compound name. They must then be classed with the ΤΕΤΤΑ graffito and have reference to the interchange of gifts. Yet other vases have numeral symbols or the ubiquitous cross, which, though it *may* be read *lo*, has probably nothing to do with the Cypriote script. In several cases new characters are presented, and these will be found collected on p. 73.⁶ It is most important that such signs should be no longer overlooked. Graffiti are often uninviting in appearance, but they contain much evidence that cannot be got elsewhere. Deecke has lately discovered the existence in Cypriote of symbols for closed syllables. Mr.

¹ This fragment is from tomb *S*. On a similar saucer-tray from *A*. 2 are the characters Σ ς, *ke' ra'* i.e. *κέρα*, a form of the imperative known in comedy. However, in this instance these may be merely the first part of a name *Κεράμων* (*Xen. Mem.* ii. 7. 3).

The ‘saucer tray’ seems to have taken the place of the *cylix*; at any rate the latter is generally absent where the former is found.

² ad *Il.* iv. 412.

³ To go no further, cf. nos. 2866, 69, 73, 75, in the Berlin Antiquarium, which have the painted inscription *φιλίας*.

⁴ If it were an abbreviation it could only represent *τεττα(ρα)*, and apart from the unlikelihood of finding a numeral written and not symbolized, *τέτταρα* as a purely Attic form would scarcely be used in Doric Marion.

⁵ *pi' lo'* on a saucer-tray from β [*K*. 2], an askos from *II*. 60 [1886 :—the *Journal* has (by a mistake) √ +] :—*φι* on two trays from *I*, and a third from *17*. *pi' lo'* I take to be the Cypriote *genitive*.

⁶ The right-hand halves of the two columns

are compiled from the graffiti : signs indicated in brackets are only known from the *Journal* of the 1886 excavations, and as the *Journal*, though complete, is by no means scientific, and has in several instances palpably confused an inscription, too great value must not be set upon its evidence for varieties of form. I have however, wherever possible, verified these forms from the fragments and vases purchased by the Berlin Antiquarium at the Paris sale. In the table will be found a suggested new form for *tu'*. This rests on a graffito which apparently is to be read *tu' no'* ; cf. the name *Τυννώδας* *Plut. Sol.* 14. 1. Two vases from *B*. 11 have the signs √ × and √ × respectively. The two groups have obviously the same meaning. The typical symbol for *tu'* is formed from that for *to'* by addition of an apex, generally applied to the second horizontal bar of √. If the present graffiti are to be read as I suggests something like a principle in the variations of secondary symbols in Cypriote makes its appearance.

Petrie's finds have shown that something like the Cypriote syllabary was known in Egypt as early, in his opinion, as 1250 B.C., if not at even a more remote date still. When then we have, as in popular scribblings on vases or stone, a means of enlarging our knowledge of the syllabary in its entirety, the help is hardly to be declined. And in fact among the graffiti obtained this year I have been able to match at least three unknown signs, or forms of signs, occurring among the fragments brought home by Mr. Petrie.¹

It has been already remarked how in monumental inscriptions the native syllabary holds its own to the entire exclusion of Greek characters. The graffiti allow us to enter into the every-day life of the period; and among them accordingly a considerable percentage are Greek. In many cases the graffiti from one tomb will be some in the one some in the other script. It is rare to come across a case where *only* Greek letters are used. There must have been a contest in the fourth century between national sentiment and the aspirations after a higher, and Hellenic, culture. In the rise of Stasioikos it may be well to see the triumph of the national Cypriote faction. So far as the evidence from epigraphy goes, it might, I think, be said that the island syllabary is more universal at Marion in the later half-century of its existence than in the fifty years just preceding that epoch. The two distinctly Hellenizing tombs which were opened this season may both be placed before, rather than after, 350 B.C.

Cypriote Names supplied by the Poli Inscriptions.

[Agedikos?]* ²	Gillikas
[Andron?]*	Keramou ??
Apollonios*	Kreon
[Aristagoras]	Kypromedon
Ariste	[Nika]
[Aristias]*	[Nikandros]
[Aristoanax]	[Onaios]
[Aristokypra]	Onasagoras
Aristomedes	Onasas
[Aristos]	Onasikretes
Diptheras ?	Onasilos
Driolias ??*	[Onasithemis ?]

¹ Thus Ψ is found both at Poli and Kahun. The ornate form of Ψ at Poli may be represented by Mr. Petrie's Ψ ; and the Π of a vase from 17 may be connected rather with one of the signs on Mr. Petrie's one continuous inscription than with Greek Z [see however *sup.* p. 73]. A curious compound Ψ , occurring on a vase obtained at Poli in 1886, compares with Ψ in

Mr. Petrie's collection. It is not possible here to dwell at length on these coincidences, especially as it is understood Prof. Sayce is at work on a paper dealing with the results of the Egyptian finds in their relation to the Cypriote problem.

² Brackets indicate 'found in 1886'; asterisk 'occurs on vase only.'

Onasitimos	[Stasandros]
Opas ?	[Themistokypria]
Parmenon	Timagoras
[Philagoras]	[Timandros]
[Philokretes]	Timoanassa
Philon ?*	[Timokretes]
Philopais	[Timokypros]
Philophao	[Timos]
[Pnytagoras]	Tryphon
[Prytilla]	[Tychon]
[Psotis]	Tynnondas*
[Solon ?]*	Zoasos
Stasagoras	

H. A. T.

EXCAVATIONS AT LIMNITI.

FURTHER work at Poli being impossible owing to the failure of negotiations for the Chiffik and other lands, it was resolved to devote the remainder of the season to a spot in the Limniti valley, which had already in the previous year been surveyed by Mr. Hogarth on behalf of the Exploration Fund. Illicit digging here by the villagers was known to have produced a considerable number of terra-cottas—in some cases of colossal size—and statuettes of limestone, several of which passed, through the hands of Mr. E. Constantinides of Nicosia, into the possession of the Berlin Museum. Dr. Oberhummer also had visited Limniti in 1887, and had then been shown many fragments of interest, while there was a further report that the villagers had found 'the arm of a large bronze statue.'¹ There seemed accordingly good reason to expect some interesting finds which, though they might fail to satisfy the fastidious taste of those who will have nothing but what is pure Greek, would yet be of real value in archaeological research.

In strictness there is no place in Cyprus called Limniti, although the Government survey does dignify with this name the single house in the valley which served as a shelter during the progress of the excavations. It is however convenient to adopt the name to indicate the valley near the site of our work, and I use Limniti accordingly in this sense, not—in its proper attribution—of the river. Passing eastward along the northern coast from Poli, the broad bay of Chrysochou is followed by the yet finer curve of Morphou bay, almost at the head of which the Limniti river, spreading out after the confinement of its upper course, issues into the sea. The coast-line makes here a long gentle sweep, falling back from the headland of Askas, whose outlying spur, the Petra tou Limniti, is a landmark for miles, and

¹ I made inquiry for and purchased this arm on my arrival. It proved to be some 3 in. long, the forearm of a statuette of Cypriote-Greek workmanship. No further portions were dis-

covered, and the fragment itself is quite probably not from Limniti at all. No reliance can be placed on the tales of the villagers, at any rate in the Limniti district.

running out again at Androgynon, a little beyond which the roadstead of Karavostási, the harbour of Soli, begins. Prettier country, fresher air, or more complete seclusion than is to be found at Limniti the traveller could not desire; unless however he is prepared to live entirely on goat's milk he



LIMNITI AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

may run some risk of starvation. Close down to the shore, almost in fact the first cultivated land, is the plot known to the villagers as Mersincri, the temple-site to which the efforts of the excavators were to be directed. It lies at the foot of a hill some 500 feet in height, while fifty yards away on the left, as one looks up the valley, is the river-bed, here some 200 to 250 feet

wide, thickly overgrown with ladanum, tamarisk, and other shrubs, the refuge of innumerable lizards and a few snakes. The road to Soli and Lefka crosses the river almost within a stone's cast of Mersinéri, Lefka itself being some two hours' ride distant. The nearest villages however are Loutró and Xeróbouno, a mile and a half of rough hill-climbing, where a poverty-stricken population has skilfully hidden itself to escape the notice of Turkish requisitioners. Formerly the villages stood down on the low ground to the right of the river,¹ sheltered by the rugged rocks of Lymbi; for here alone is there room for a hamlet, the valley itself being scarcely more than a broad torrent-bed with a delta-shaped tract of alluvial land near the sea. Two miles inland the hills close in, shutting out the upper course of the river from view.

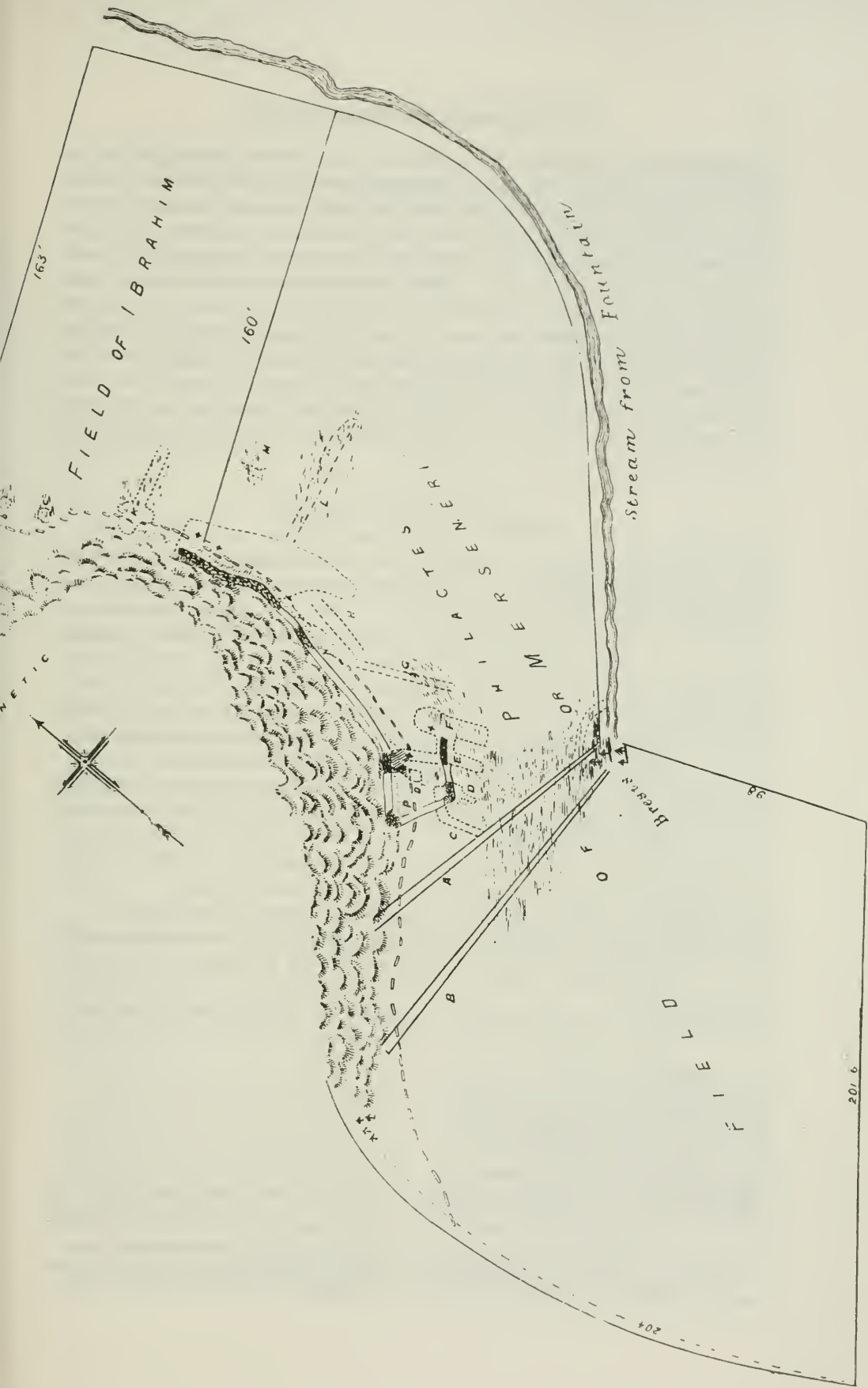
The district about Limniti has many ancient remains. Beside Mersinéri and the neighbouring Ai Demetri, whither the sanctity of the ancient Cypriote shrine was transferred by the Christians, there is a similar sacred spot, 'Ai Nicóla,' half a mile or so away on the opposite bank of the river. On this latter site I found a fragment of a Cypriote inscription², some portions of statuary and innumerable broken tiles, which induced me after closing the work at Mersinéri to sink some probing shafts here also. These brought to light close under the surface the drum of a Roman column, a slab of the architrave, two stelae, quite plain except that on the base of one were cut the letters EF, and several feet of a modern wall.³ To the left, seaward, of Ai Nicóla there are several tombs of a very poor class, almost without exception rifled by the villagers, who found little to reward their pains. The tombs lie in the first rising ground at the foot of Lymbi, a hill which has been used in ancient times as a quarry. In a dip alongside the road to Lefka are three columnar blocks of stone, apparently unfinished work which had simply been rolled down the slope and left. Two of them bore inscribed letters, probably meaningless, although on one it seemed the word MAXIM(US) had once stood. The age of the cutting could scarcely be determined, as the stone had long been exposed to the weather. Still further along the Soli Lefka road, just beyond the highest point of the ascent, rises on the left the sheer bluff of Vouni, where there are remains of walls built on the levelled rock. The hill-crest is flat, and towards its centre is a fine old well, which, though only some six feet in diameter at the mouth, opens out at a depth of a yard or two into a spacious chamber, shaped like a diving-bell, fifteen feet from wall to wall, and cut entirely in the rock. The present depth is about twenty-four feet; originally it must have been far greater, for the owner of the land has used the well as a convenient receptacle

¹ So the inhabitants state themselves. There is little or no trace of buildings, which however need cause no surprise, as a few years suffice to turn a deserted house into the mud of which it was originally made.

² Only a single letter Ψ was preserved; it had formed the end of a line.

³ The Fund had only secured the owner's

rights for Mersinéri. By an arrangement with the owner of Ai Nicola I was enabled to test the character of the site, and found that to clear it would have required more time and money than were at my command. It is more than doubtful whether the site would repay the expense of clearing.



PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT LIMNITHI · SCALE 40 FEET TO THE INCH.

for the numerous stones which interfered with his cultivation of the soil, so that I found nothing more in it of interest than the rotting bones of a stray ram. On the hill were many fragments of pottery of various kinds, and the hand, holding a dove, from a statuette of Cypriote style; while from a villager was obtained a terra-cotta figure with the type of face¹ which clearly marks the influence of Phœnician art. On the seaward slope of the hill are other openings in the ground, either wells or grain-pits, all more or less encumbered; and half-way down the owner of the land had got together a 'pocket' of various fragments, in the hope of striking a lucrative bargain for land which had never contained a single antique. Vague stories of other sites were to hand, but the suspicious fear of the villagers being at least equal to their cupidity, guides were not easily procured, nor when they were obtained had they anything worth note to show.

DESCRIPTION OF PLAN.

A.—Trench, 99' long, 2' 9" — 4' broad, 1' 6" to 6' 6" deep.

B.—Trench, 121' long, 2' 5" — 3' 6" broad, 1' 6" to 7" deep.

C.—Trench, 9' long, 3' broad, 4' deep.

[Head of *C* subsequently carried round to *D* with a view to strike wall]

D.—Trench, 18' long \times 2' 9" to 7' 6" broad \times 4' 6" deep.

*D*₁.—A short shaft, 5' deep, sunk to ascertain character of ground: working subsequently continued underground as indicated by shading and a junction effected with a similar prolongation of trench *E*.

E, F.—Two trenches subsequently united. From rock-wall at head of *E* (underground) to other end of trench 31', width variable, depth 4' to 6' 6". *F*, 25' long.

G.—Trench, 33' long, width variable, about 4', depth 3' 6" to 4' 6".

H.—Trench, 21' long, width variable, about 4', depth 3' 6" to 4' 6".

*H*₁.—Short shaft—4' 6" deep—to ascertain continuance of rock-wall.

I.—At first trench, afterwards digging was carried up to the natural rock of the hill slope. Space excavated 61' long \times 16" broad \times 4' — 5' 6" deep.

K.—Shaft and trench to strike, if existing, the continuation of rock-wall. 32' \times 13' \times 4' 6".


L.—Probing trench, 49' \times 4' to 5' \times 1' to 2" deep.

M.—Probing trench, 9' \times 3' \times 2"

P.—Shaft to lay bare angle of wall.

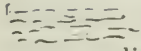
a, b, c.—Three probing shafts.

Z.—Cutting for draining purposes.

 Wall of loose unworked stone: where it runs along base of hill only a working of the natural rock filled in here and there with stone.

¹ The type exhibited for example in a great number of objects from Kameiros and found spread over the whole Mediterranean, from Syria to Sardinia.

The dark portions represent parts actually laid bare: the plain double line indicating the practically certain course of the wall as it once existed. Both in *P* and *I* the wall breaks off abruptly, and no evidence was afforded by further digging of its return. Yet the villagers make vague assertions of its occurrence in the ground crossed by our trenches *G*, *I* and *L*.

 The presence of water is indicated only where found by actual digging or sounding. But it is abundantly clear from the level of the ground and the look, taste and consistency of the soil that the whole tract below the hill-slope is at a uniform level saturated with water, whose probable presence is indicated by a line in distinct character.

xxx.—Chief find spots.

To return, however, to Limniti itself. The more precise nature of the site Mersinéri, as well as of the excavations, will be readily seen from the accompanying plans; a detailed description is therefore unnecessary. One circumstance caused no little trouble. Drainage from the neighbouring slopes of Askas, and underground springs, turned the soil into a swamp two spades' depth from the surface; even where the land began to rise water filled the trenches as soon as the same level was reached, here some five feet down.¹ The ground moreover had been greatly disturbed; not only had it long been under cultivation, but the villagers had dug over the site, leaving confusion behind them. There can be no doubt that the shrine suffered greatly in antiquity: not a statue at Limniti has been found complete, or even nearly so,² but the numerous heads are less injured than might have been expected.³ In one spot was a refuse heap of rude idols packed so tightly together that the workmen could not get their knives in between them.⁴

Actual digging began on Tuesday, April 23rd, after a delay due to the Easter festival and the difficulty of getting the crops on the site cut. Two long trenches, *A* and *B*, were first run from the fountain across the one half of Philactes' field to the slope of the hill, and from their result it was clear that what was to be found at Mersinéri would lie to the north. Subsequent digging proved that the antiquities all clustered closely under the hill,

¹ Attempts to drain off the water produced no appreciable result: the fall into the stream from the fountain is too slight, and had the excavating trenches at this point been dug anything like the proper depth they would have received the whole of the water from this very considerable spring (see plan).

² Some of the smaller objects were more fortunate, though few even of them are left entire. The numerous fragments of arms, legs and feet need not all have originally formed part of

statues: bodily members as *ἀνθρώματα* are not necessarily, though certainly in most cases, rounded and finished off so as to be complete in themselves. At Limniti however not one of the fragments but showed a broken edge. It is singular that scarcely anything remains of the torsos: the loss of those in terra-cotta may perhaps be explainable.

³ Thanks to the wet loam in which they have been imbedded.

⁴ Head of trench II [see plan].

following the line of its base; in fact, no wall could have been placed near the fountain if the land was at much the same level in 400 B.C. as to-day. In the course of our four-and-a-half days' work it became certain that 'the temple' at Mersinéri had been one of those grove-shrines so frequent in Cyprus and peculiar to Phoenician ritual¹—the parish church of a simple agricultural folk. The whole enclosure was of humble dimensions, in general shape roughly resembling the outline of an egg placed lengthwise. Portions of the ancient wall were laid bare and are marked on the plan; the masonry consists merely of unworked round stones of differing sizes held together by a mud mortar. The entrance to the enclosure no doubt lay on the east side not far from the fountain; opposite, and nearer the hill-slope, was the main altar,² before which the ceremony of incense-burning³ probably took place. All along the hill-wall from *D*, round to the corner at the end of trench *I*, were ranged the dedicatory gifts, statues, and statuettes;⁴ but where certain colossal figures stood is less clear, possibly not far from the entrance and near the altar.⁵ Rudely made figures representing players on various kinds of instruments,⁶ fruits and animals in terra-cotta, may be taken as the offerings of those who were too poor to provide themselves with the costly dress suited⁷ to the musical services with which the god was honoured, or to present before his shrine fresh every festival the fruits and flowers whose tithe was fitly given to the power that had made them spring up, bloom, and ripen. Wealthier devotees perpetuated their sacrifices by dedicating animals in stone or bronze; just as they endeavoured to keep their memory green in the mind of their god by confronting him with statues of themselves dressed in the robes of ceremony. Probably at stated intervals a *παννυχίς* was celebrated, at which the grove was lighted up by the lamps carried by priests and people; but other features in the ritual of the Limniti temple can hardly be learnt from the antiquities found on its site.

¹ The difference is curious and rather instructive: while the Phoenician grove was a 'high place,' the Cypriote shrine was regularly down in the valley.

² I came across no indication of the altar itself, although a chance coincidence produced some animal vertebrae [sheep and ox] from a spot near by. It was probably of rough stones, or even of earth only: as generally with a ritual borrowed from the Phoenicians [cf. *e.g.* Gen. xxii. 9, Ex. xx. 24 and 25, Judges vi. 25, 1 Kings xviii. 30—in fact O.T. *passim*].

³ Two *θυμιατήρια* were found—one in *D*, not far from which near *D* the altar, as I suppose, stood; the other in *I*. (It should be mentioned that the trenches are lettered consecutively in the order in which they were begun.) Other and similar objects, intended probably for the same use, were turned up in *F* and on the surface. Cesnola, *Atlas*, lxi. 434 and 433, illustrates two 'altar-shaped offerings' of stone from

'the temple of Golgoi.' They bear, he says, 'traces of fire': in those I recovered there were none.

For the practice *ex.* xxx. 1–10, Levit. v. 1–5.

⁴ The 'images,' which in the O. T. are so often mentioned in connection with the 'groves and high places,' need not be understood always of the god worshipped, but rather as representing his worshippers, and corresponding to the numerous figures of men found in Cypriote *τεμένη*. Cf. Isai. xxvii. 9.

⁵ There are two heads in Berlin, and I found one or two fragments from similar colossi in *D* and *F*. Large-sized statues of terra-cotta were sometimes given the requisite strength by a rough core of stone-baked clay.

⁶ The instruments represented are the double flute, cymbals, tambourine.

⁷ For the dress of the professional musician cf. Hdt. i. 24. 6. It is as a god of music that the full dress is proper to Apollo.

Of the objects of more general interest—a summarized list is given below¹—a few deserve especial mention. As it was mainly with the hope of securing valuable bronzes that the Fund decided to carry out excavations at Limniti, it may be as well to deal first with such antiquities in that metal as were discovered. Of considerable interest is a small statuette $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. high (Fig. 9) inclusive of sillage-pieces and plume, which fortunately was recovered



FIG. 9.

entire. It represents a warrior figure, unarmed save for a plumed Cypriote helmet from under which a heavy wig of hair falls on to the neck: the left arm

¹ In stone: *Statuettes*.—The body treated in the lazy, flat style habitual in Cyprus, the heads rendered with more care, and showing the gradual adoption and final supremacy of Greek art-teaching. The stone statuettes are generally female, whereas those in terra-cotta are male.

Miscellaneous: lamps, *θυμιατήρια*, animals, cone, clay-mill stone.

In terra cotta:

Statues above life-size.—Only fragments found.

Statues life-size.—Heads and fragments.

Statues small.—Heads and fragments.

In one case only was part of the torso discovered.

Masks: generally life-size.

Figurines:

[a] Cypriote in style and conception.

[b] Greek: probably imported.

[c] Rude *ἀγάλματα* of native fabric.

[d] Rough genre figures of musicians, having reference to the ritual; also mounted figures.

[e] Horned centaur. Several were found in the previous digging by the villagers, and are now in Berlin.

Miscellaneous: Fruits, flowers, animals; part of chariot; *θυμιατήριον*; object somewhat resembling a strigil; discs (weights, cf. similar objects in Berlin, 6082, 6743-4, 6789, 8162, which however are stamped with names or moulded with figures. See also previous note); lamps; fragment of black-glazed stamped and fluted pottery.

In metal: iron, head of dart; nails.

bronze, three statuettes [two imperfect]; animals; coin: leaves of bay; nails; fragments.

In addition I need only mention a blue paste scarabaeoid, with device of a lion and goat (!).

with closed fist is brought across the chest, the right hangs quietly against the hip; the left leg is slightly advanced. The figure is nearly nude, its only dress being a girdle arranged about its loins in a manner not very dissimilar to that represented¹ in Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Ancient Art* ('Phoenicia,' vol. ii., figs. 27, 28, Eng. Trans.). One end of the girdle hangs down in front, the other behind, resting on the left thigh. Nose and ears are extravagant in their proportions,² but as regards the ear the extravagance may be intentional, the artist having in view an ear-covering such as is so frequent on Cypriote figures.³ The rendering of the body is quite flat at the back, and hardly less so in front. Nothing is given but a bare scheme of the human figure, and no attempt is made to express the musculature or roundness of life. Altogether the bronze has a decidedly primitive air, which is not diminished by its stiff pose and the sullage-pieces still left on the feet. That the work is archaic is not however a necessary inference, and in fact the little figure belongs at the earliest to the latter half of the fifth century B.C.⁴ The attribution of the statuette is not certain, but it may with con-

¹ Perrot takes these figures to illustrate an earlier style of Phoenician dress, afterwards exchanged for a long alba. Instead however of claiming the girdle of the Limniti statuette as the peculiar property of Phoenicia or Cyprus, it may more justly be looked upon as an appropriate 'active service' costume. The girdle is generally so recognized in the East. In the O. T. it is continually mentioned, and always in connection with some form of exertion [cf. *c.g.* 1 Sam. xviii. 4, 1 Kings ii. 5, 2 Kings i. 8, Isa. viii. 9, xxii. 21, Exod. xii. 11, Job xii. 18, and indeed O. T. *passim*. The use of the metaphor, 'a girdle about the loins,' speaks even more plainly. The handling of the bronze in the statuette seems to indicate a leather girdle (for which cf. *c.g.* Matth. ii. 4, 2 Kings i. 8); but the workmanship is not sufficiently good to make this certain.

² Cf. the Marach bronze illustrated, 'Perrot and Chipiez' II. fig. 43 (E. T.).

³ That the statuette is male raises no objection. The ear-tire is generally associated with female heads; but for the opposite practice see *c.g.* Cesnola, *Atlas*, pl. xxiii. 55, and cf. also a rude helmeted *ἀγαλμα* from Limniti now in Berlin [Antiquarium, 2nd Cyprus case], and its counterpart, a terra-cotta head of ordinary size, also in Berlin [*ibid.*].

The ear-ornament is generally accompanied by a profusion of jewellery—gorget necklaces and stomachers; in at least one case the nose-ring is added [Berlin Antiq. 1st Cyprus case, no. 55; from Dalij]. An ear-tire was therefore part of religious full-dress. Such adornment naturally suggests a cult of Aphrodite; and in fact a

statuette from Papho shows a female figure carrying, besides these ornaments, a dove [Berlin, *ib.* no. 64]. It is not necessary to call the statuette an Aphrodite; it may be only a mortal woman wearing the sacred costume of the goddess she worships [cf. Cesnola, *Atlas*, pl. x. 12, wrongly described as an Aphrodite]. In the Brit. Mus. is an Astarte-like figure from Kameiros, with similar ear-tire [1st Vase R. Table-case B], and the ornament is not infrequent at Kameiros, which was under the same Phoenician influence as Cyprus. In two, among the several, examples found this season at Limniti, the ear is closely covered by a sort of muslin cap, then drawn together and *gaffered*. Ordinarily the ornament takes the form of a tassel split lengthwise; when Greek style obtains the upper part it gradually disappears, but is represented for long by a large disc turned full to the front [apparently the sculptor intends a rosette].

The interest of the practice consists in the light it throws on the extent to which Cyprus was, in daily life and manners, oriental.

⁴ In Cyprus especially the rule obtains that the primitive is not per consequence old. A bronze like that in Perrot, *Phoenicia*, vol. II. fig. 1, is not to be accepted off-hand as an example of early Phoenician work. Perrot remarks: 'to the feet [of the statuette], which are bare, still hang the sullage-pieces, which may be taken as evidence of the extreme age of the bronze.' But such 'evidence' is extremely doubtful: the sullage-pieces were not left on because the maker did not understand the use of a file, any more than in the Limniti figurine; nor is there anything in Perrot's bronze to con-

siderable probability¹ be called an Apollo Amyklaios (Resef-Mikal). Resef-Mikal was at once a deity of war and of nature, associating himself also with an orgiastic worship; in Cyprus he is found in company with Astarte-Aphrodite, enjoying a common shrine.

The flat and lazy, rather than helpless, workmanship of this statuette of Apollo² explains itself when the political condition of Cyprus is taken into account. All through the fifth century the island was but little in contact with Greek art. The attempts of Athens, victorious as they were in appearance, brought no solid or lasting advantage to the cause of Hellenic culture, and Cyprus remained wholly in the power of Persia. Accordingly the period of development in Greek art finds little or no reflection in the island: having been to some extent cognizant with the archaic school the Cypriotes do not again encounter Greek plastic till, from 400 B.C. onwards, it is presented to them as a method already perfected. It is this fact among others which goes to explain the superficiality of Cypriote art in its imitation of Greece. On the other hand the training imparted by Phoenicia was almost forgotten. The introduction by conquering powers, first of Egyptian then of Assyro-Persian art, had effectually disturbed the course of such development as Cypriote plastic might otherwise have followed. Taught by his first master to imitate, the Cypriote artist improved upon the lesson and turned courtier. In a bronze like this from Limniti an older technique survives, which, having for the moment freed itself from the adventitious elements of foreign styles, has still failed to attain self-sufficiency.

The two other statuettes from Limniti are quite distinct in manner of rendering, a difference they largely owe to the unique method of their fabrication. While the Resef-Mikal figure is solid-cast, these are produced by a process resembling that *en cre perdue*.³ The clay core at Limniti seems however to be made of a somewhat ferruginous earth, a circumstance which calls to mind the iron centres found in some bronzes from Assyria, as also in an

nect it with Phoenician art beyond the fact that it comes from Latakiah, where a considerable trade is done in 'Alexandrian' goods.

It would be an advantage if the term 'primitive' were never used in archaeology without the addition of a date. Nothing can be more misleading than simply to describe an object as 'primitive': such a description is generally an intentional ambiguity. The 'primitive,' 'Mycenaean, and earliest Cypriote' pottery is manufactured still in the island, and may be had any day in the bazaar at Nicosia; it is not intended for the archaeological market, but is simply the ware in common use. 'Primitive' vases with geometric devices, especially the concentric rings, are plentiful down to Roman times [and so Colonna Ceccaldi rightly states, *Mons. ant. de Chypre*, &c. p. 279]; the best examples come from 4th century and Ptolemaic tombs.

¹ For details cf. preceding description; some

confirmation is added below. In a poor district like Limniti the use of solid-cast bronze is significant; there is no question of ideal art. Several little bronzes superficially resembling this from Limniti are in the Lang collection, and are catalogued as 'kings.' They are however obvious imitations of the Egyptian 'Pharaoh' type. A similar figure in stone, Cesn. *Atlas*, pl. xlviii. 286.

² See illustration.

³ For the process *en cre perdue* v. Bischoff *Das Kupfer und seine Legirungen*, p. 204. It is not much used now. At Limniti this method must have been still somewhat rude, the core being but roughly-shaped and the wax scarcely moulded at all. The result is that the figures have a general, easy roundness which leaves much to be desired in point of accuracy and truth; but the artist can at least claim that this mode of casting was 'all his own invention.'

early Etruscan statuette from Lessa on the Volturno, now in the British Museum. The latter figure has split under the pressure of its core, and the same fate has overtaken the objects from Limniti, among which must be reckoned beside the statuettes several animals of various kinds.¹ Neither of the statuettes is well preserved; in one the head, right shoulder, arm, and foot are wanting; in the other, though the head remains, it is so encrusted and so deformed by pressure, internal or external, that the value of the work is gone.² Both figures are quite nude, except that in the one there is a strange,



FIG. 10.

nearly conical, mass on the front of the abdomen, possibly intended for the phallus, but also possibly marking that peculiar 'bathing-drawer' costume which occurs sometimes on Cypriote statues.³

A detailed description is not necessary of the heads in terra-cotta and

¹ All of rough workmanship and conventional; the legs are mere stumps. The Berlin Antiquarium also has one such animal and part of a second. The subjects are a sheep, an ox (?), a dog (?).

² The former is at present in the British Museum; the latter at Nicosia.

³ Examples may be seen in Cesnola, *Atlas*, pl. xxv.

limestone; they belong to the class of which every Cypriote *τέμενος* furnishes indeed numerous examples but few data as to their meaning. At Limniti three varieties may be distinguished. There are, first, male heads, both bearded and youthful, wearing a helmet,¹ sometimes higher, sometimes lower, and in style distinctly Cypriote (Fig. 10); secondly, there are female heads, which again subdivide into two classes, the one of a Semitic and masculine type, the other Hellenized and apparently later in date. As the male heads reproduce in large the prevalent type of the rude *ἀγάλματα*, so too at least the first class of female heads have a peculiar *ἄγαλμα* corresponding to them. They wear a high stephane; on their neck rest two long locks of hair, or, as they ought more probably to be described, two ornamental pendants; and one head at least has, sprouting from her left temple,² an unmistakable horn (Fig. 11). In this subdivision must be included also some heads which show already the influence of Greek style, but are yet a long way removed from the other, and thoroughly

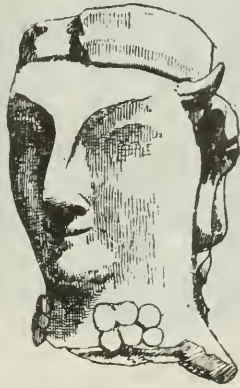


FIG. 11.

Hellenized, family. These latter generally wear a wreath, in most cases of oleander or olive, the sculptor endeavouring to represent in stone or clay what when actually worn was a metal stephane, composed of a band of leaves

¹ This trait is obviously a reproduction of the type of the *ἀγάλματα*.

² On the right temple the clay has been broken away, but there was evidently a horn there also originally. On another head there would seem to be some remnant of this feature: the appearance presented by the terra-cotta is just as though the horn had been broken and were hanging down from under the stephane by the skin only. This makes me somewhat doubtful whether the horn may not be simply a part of the head-gear, rendered by the artist in an abbreviated fashion; otherwise there must clearly be here an instance

of the 'horned Astarte,' appearing however not in her own person but in that of her worshipper and imitress.

This class of figures may help to explain why at Limniti centaurs appear with horns, long hair falling on the neck, and outstretched arms so curved as to suggest a crescent.

Some of the female heads of this type have either a *κίτταρις* or helmet.

The three classes of heads and the types of *ἀγάλματα* will be best understood by the accompanying illustrations.

affrontis, and finished off below with a row of rounded points resting on a frisette of hair, which crowns the forehead after a formal fashion of coiffure (Fig. 12).¹



FIG. 12.

¹ A fashion hieratic rather than archaistic in purpose, if a distinction can be drawn. It is useful to compare the 'Artemisia' and the head known as 'Aphrodite' from the Mausoleum, where there may be a similarity of thought. For shape of wreath *v. Cesn., Atlas*, pl. lxxv.

The meaning of these Cypriot statuettes is by no means as yet completely explained. Two or three points are certain: there is always a more or less strong suggestion of portraiture: consequently there is not at any temple a single fixed type, such as might, though in a humble sense, be treated as ideal and divine. On the other hand, there is a certain element of continuity in the different groups, supplied by a fixed scheme of dress and ornament. With these data to work upon the theory that kings and priests were represented in these statues was early put forward—a theory accepted apparently by the late Dr. Birch [*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*

1883, May 1st, p. 121]. Ermann thinks the theory has been too hastily adopted, and believes that the statues being ex-votos are therefore necessarily deities. 'Surely a closer inspection would render it almost a certainty that the two long series of bearded heads, one helmeted, the other crowned with a wreath, ought to represent the two forms of Apollo mentioned above [*Ἀμυκλαῖος* and *Ῥάδτης*. Ermann, 'On the Origin of the Cypriot Syllabary,' *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1883, pp. 113 and foll.]. Ermann's view rests on a quite unsound hypothesis; but neither is the alternative theory altogether satisfactory. The Limniti heads afford some help to a third and, I think, preferable explanation. If they represented kings, these could only be the kings of Soli, and there are far too many statues for the number of reigning kings during the period (*v. infra*) during which this sanctuary was open. A similar objection, though with less

As these heads in most cases are strongly under the influence of Greek style,¹ so those of the opposite sex are almost purely Cypriote. It is interesting to observe how Greek forms and mannerisms are used as a sort of top-dressing for the distinct social type of the people of Cyprus; and superficial as the union may be, it is handled sometimes with no inconsiderable skill. Many writers still, to all appearance, assume that it was only Phoenicia who combined and fused foreign schools of art to form a style of her own, and have, in consequence, when dealing for example with Cypriote pottery, made this assumption their sole *fundamentum divisionis* for the workmanship of the two peoples. Cyprus quite as much as Phoenicia borrows her art; the difference between them lies in the spirit of the borrowing, and the elements in their style which the respective nations regard as permanent. In Cyprus the element of permanence is found in the racial type, which, whatever the surface style may be—Assyrian, Egyptian, or Greek—forms always the background. The Cypriote artist did not invent portraiture, but he is always groping after its principles.

Another very distinct class among the antiquities from Limniti comprises female figures moulded to a strikingly hieratic pose. One hand is folded across the breast and holds a flower,² the other placed by the side sometimes grasps the drapery. All made of terra-cotta and small in size, these objects are peculiar in that the back is left quite flat, while the figure as a whole is often decidedly convex. There is no mistaking the obvious resemblance to a sarcophagus-lid with its recumbent figure in relief; the moulding only of head, arms and feet, the butt against which the latter rest, the stiff 'laid-out' pose, the flower, the very type of face distinct from that of neighbouring work in the round, mark a very close analogy to the series of Phoenician sarcophagi, whatever the date to which the latter should be assigned.³ These terra-cottas

force, applies to the theory which makes them priests; moreover the presence of helmeted heads is here a little awkward. The statues are certainly ex-votos; but instead of being images of the god they are those of his worshippers, whether king, priest, noble, or merchant. By an idea very prevalent in at any rate the Hebrew section of the Semitic stock, the devotee honours the deity by conforming to his likeness [cf. also Plato's well-known doctrine, *Rep.* x.]. The Cypriote statues represent the worshipper under the aspect of one who in assuming some of the attributes of his god pays him the highest honour he can. In one instance in Berlin [*Antiq.* 2nd Cyprus case] a helmeted head from a statue is an almost exact reproduction of an ἀγαλμα which has been a little more fully rendered than usual. Contrary to the opinion just expressed, this comparison might seem to require the attribution of both statue and ἀγαλμα to the same deity. But the statue cannot be separated from its fellows; nor can its individualism of rendering be overlooked.

¹ The torso, where preserved, is on the contrary quite free from this influence.

² Sometimes the flower is absent, but the type is not, in strictness, complete without it.

³ Terra-cottas of this class are frequent also in other localities. [Cesn., *Atlas*, pl. xxvi. nos. 66, 67, 69, where the flower is clearly a lotus, showing both the origin and the meaning of the figures. Nos. 68, 70 on the same plate should be contrasted; they are in the round, and have a different purpose.] There are also male figures belonging to the same type [*Atlas*, pl. li.]. 'A stele of calcareous stone, with figure in relief [*Atlas*, pl. xiv.], is also to be compared; it so far varies from the canonic type that the left foot is slightly raised, a freer motif perhaps due to the necessity of placing the stele upright.

At Limniti there were also examples of the Greek method of handling the theme. The figure becomes quite free, almost *négligé*, and the butt of the sarcophagus-lid appears as a true pedestal. This class was by no means infrequent in the

bring us once more within the wide sphere of ideas belonging to the ritual of the dead, a ritual which, according to Milchhöfer, came to Greece from Lykia, but in reality, so far as it was not of native growth, found its way to both Lykia and Greece from the same source in the East, where an immortality of the soul was a popular rather than a mystic or philosophical doctrine. But why figures having so undisguised reference to the grave should be placed as *ἀναθήματα* in a temple is not self-evident; their proper place is in a tomb, where indeed they are frequently found.¹

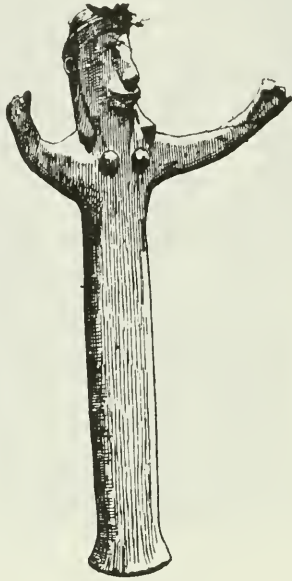


FIG. 13.

Lastly, the *ἀγάλματα* deserve a moment's notice. These are rudely fashioned figures—almost without exception male—dressed in a long robe whose ends are brought crosswise over the breast,² and wearing high helmets,

tombs at Poli; it is represented also by a number of terra-cottas from Kameiros [Brit. Mus. T.-C. R^m]. Those found in Cyprus are very possibly imported, at least specimens from Limniti and Poli have come from a single mould. The Kameiros figures show the sense in which the type was understood in Greece. They are reproductions, with omission merely of one or two attributes of a scheme which, in Greece, can only be assigned to Persephone. Similarly the Cypriote variety is almost a copy of the figure of Aphrodite, as used for the body of an alabastos [several vases of this kind from Kameiros are in the Brit. Mus.]. The dead

clothe themselves with the character of the goddess with whom they are associated [cf. *sup.* p. 41, n. 3].

¹ Were it critically possible it would be natural to follow the hint supplied by several terra-cottas from Cyprus which are caricatures, and suppose that this type, in a temple, has a satiric meaning. For such figures cf. Cesn., *Atlas*, pl. xxiv. 57-59, two of which are given also by Perrot, *Phoenicia*, II. figs. 137 and 138. Cf. also examples in the Lang Collection.

² So apparently the lines of paint, appearing on the better-shaped specimens, are to be interpreted [*De dea Syria*, 35; for the beard *ibid.*].

shaped like an exaggerated *κίτταρις*, which in some instances have bosses upon them. The face is bearded, the nose large: on the neck there is indication of a gorget: from the waist down the body is simply a roughly rounded column, at times extravagantly long, and against it the arms are closely pressed. One or two *ἀγάλματα* of the female sex were also found, of a slightly less rude type, having outstretched arms, and for head-tire a sort of stephane (Fig. 13). In Berlin also are two figures¹ with the now familiar *motif* of a nude woman pressing her breasts.

That these *ἀγάλματα* are rightly so named, and do in fact represent divinities, is beyond question: the inevitable comparison with the numerous statues of a Cypriote *τέμενος*, which, as most archaeologists are agreed, do *not* reproduce a divine ideal, brings out into relief the prevailing character of religion in Cyprus. 'Deity' among the Hellenes was an apotheosis of national culture, and therefore, if the contradiction may be allowed, human: among the Cypriotes it belonged, as an idea, to the infinite, a mysticism not comprehensible by men and therefore incapable of realization by art.² The Greek attempted a portrait of his divinity in black and white, the Cypriote symbolized the godhead. As a consequence the sensuous enervated Cypriote was still religious, the Greek was not. There are three stages in religion as we pass from Syria to Greece: Judaism was, in essence, free from, to use its own term, idolatry: Phoenicia employed symbolism, to express however rather locality than idea: Cyprus halts a little between two opinions, and allows pure symbolism to acquire an anthropomorphic bias.³

It remains to speak of the attribution of the *τέμενος* at Limniti and the date of the antiquities found there. Some archaeologists have thought that at Limniti was the *Διὸς ἄλσος* of which Strabo speaks: I have even seen it suggested that Limniti was Strabo's Limenia and 'the harbour of Soli' (!!). The first identification is unsatisfactory, the second all but impossible:⁴ at

¹ One of them however cannot with certainty be ascribed to Limniti: style, clay, and type of head rather suggest the neighbouring Vouni. The objects in Berlin have been obtained from Messrs. Constantinides and Richter of Nicosia, who in turn had purchased from the villagers. It is the statements of the latter which are the only ground for designating the find spot.

² *De dea Syria* § 35.

³ Some of the Ionic towns, Ephesus *e.g.*, show the extent to which Greek religion could assimilate itself to the Oriental. In Cyprus, Orientalism tries to assume a Greek dress.

⁴ Strabo says: *εἶθ' ὁ Ἀκάμας ἐστὶ μετὰ Πάφον· εἶτα πρὸς ἔω μετὰ τὸν Ἀκάμαντα πλοῦς εἰς Ἀρσινόην καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος· εἶτα Σόλοι πόλις*

λιμένα ἔχουσα.....ὑπέρεται δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ (i.e. inland from Soli) Λιμενία πόλις· εἶθ' ἡ Κρομμύου ἄκρα κ.τ.λ.

(a) The Greek makes it clear that Arsinoe and the *Διὸς ἄλσος* are to be closely joined: otherwise the article is otiose, there being no famous 'grove of Zeus' along the Northern coast. Strabo goes by stages, and Limniti, were it mentioned, would be included in the Soli district.

(b) A grove of Zeus is not antecedently probable in a purely Cypriote and perhaps somewhat rude district. [At the present time it is the most barbarous in the island.] As against this however stands the fact that Soli was a centre of Greek influence. So however, and probably to a greater degree, was Marion

best Limniti was a small and unimportant shrine, frequented probably by no one but the rustic population of a tiny though fertile valley, and by the casual traveller journeying by the coast-road from Soli to the west, or sailors putting in for water before making the long and troublesome run to Carpas. There was no πόλις in the Limniti valley in Strabo's time: at most a small village may have stood there: and the god worshipped was a form of the Cypriote Apollo,—Apollo Amyklaios, as he may best be called.¹ There was also a goddess associated with Apollo at Limniti, and if so she is not Artemis but Aphrodite, who as Astarte is the appropriate companion² of Resef-Mikal, sharing with him a common office, to lead the Semites on their wanderings, and to watch over the increase of the people both by war and colonization and by the processes of reproductive nature. Aphrodite cannot however have played an important part at Limniti: reference to her worship in the objects found there is not frequent.³

With regard to the date of the antiquities there are several indications of value. Terra-cottas of Greek style were unearthed which cannot be earlier than 350—300 B.C.: fragments of Attic pottery, black-glazed, with stamped patterns or fluted, belong to the same date: and a portion of a marble tablet

(Arsinoe), Ἐλληνίς as Scylax calls it [*Perip.* 103].

(c) There exists a yet unexplored temple-site at Poli.

(d) The antiquities found at Limniti have no discoverable relation to Zeus, but are closely connected with Apollo in his Cypriote form. The helmeted ἀγάλματα can only represent Apollo: helmeted heads, like those here dedicated by worshippers, have been found in other τεμένη of Apollo. Other evidence is afforded by details already described.

As to Limniti being Limenia, the writer who suggests this view can never have read Strabo; and when he makes it the 'harbour of Soli' he shows an equal ignorance of the topography of the Soli district, and the practical conditions of commerce.

¹ For Apollo Amyklaios and his warlike character cf. Paus. III. 10. 8: 19. 2: Plut. *de Pyth. Or.* 402 A: the helmeted Apollo on coins of Kalymna; Ross *Insc. Ined.* 282: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879. 322, compared with Hesych *s.v.* ἀγρέτην, &c.: — See generally Preller, '*Gr. Myth.*' ed. Robert, p. 274. Apollo 'Amyklaios' is simply Apollo 'Mikal'; the adoption of the title being helped by a popular etymology. But Resef-Mikal had another side: he became identified with 'Adonis,' the 'greatest of the gods' and patron of Byblos [Strabo XVI. ii. 18, p. 755] the father of agriculture, and the same person as Sanchoniathon's Ἀγρότης or Ἀγρότης [*Sanch.* p. 20 ed. Orelli: for Adonis in

this character cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei* vii. 21]. Apollo-Amyklaios was also a nature-god: and hence his association with Hyakinthos. A Cypriote festival corresponded to the Hyakinthia and had the same meaning [cf. the Apollo Mageiros of Pyla: Ceccaldi *Mons. de Chypre*, &c. p. 199, Pyla Inscr. No. 1]. In Greece Apollo, as the god of agriculture and cattle-rearing, is given the name of Nomios [his functions as Karneios and Amyklaios are similar in many points]: in Cyprus this side of his character is probably represented by the Apollo Opaon Melanthios of Amargetti and Kition.

² The connection between Apollo and Aphrodite is expressed also in the person of Kinyras, the favorite of Apollo and his rival in skill on the harp, but also high-priest and darling of Aphrodite. Kinyras is *kinnor*, 'the harp.' Apollo and Aphrodite are joined together, *e.g.* at Golgos.

³ Beside the ἀγάλματα already mentioned I found a cone-shaped object of stone, conceivably a copy of the sacred emblem [similar shaped cones are in Donaldson *Arch. Num.* XXX. from a bronze coin of the British Museum; *ibid* vi., pediment of the Artemision at Ephesos. In the Papho temple the cone has a different form, *ibid* xxxi.]: a fragment of a statuette holding a hare [for the hare as sacred to Aphrodite cf. Philo *Her. Erot.* and for the reason Hdt. III. 108. 3]: a horned centaur [several others are in Berlin] and the hand of a statue holding a dove.

with the mutilated inscription $\begin{smallmatrix} \Theta \text{EO} \\ \Theta \Upsilon \Gamma \end{smallmatrix}$ is also of this period.¹ Thus the lower limit may be fixed with comparative certainty at 300 B.C. The higher limit is a little more difficult to determine: but as terra-cottas were found in which the style of the sixth century is still a living tradition, and as there is a considerable number of objects showing no trace of perfected Greek art, while on the other hand neither Assyria nor Egypt has left its impress upon them, we may safely posit 450 B.C. as the date beyond which the age of the finds cannot ascend. Possibly even 450 B.C. is too high a limit. The antiquities found on the site will then all fall well within this period of a century and a half, from 450—300 B.C.: and the attribution of this date best explains the peculiarities of their several styles. An apparent archaism is thus accounted for: freed from servility to the art of a conqueror's court, the Cypriote lacked a stimulus, and with his accustomed sloth fell back, where they were not forgotten, on the lessons of an older training. As yet Hellenic culture was a sealed book. And it is just here that so much of the interest of the Limniti statues lies that we can in them trace the march of the Greek style from its first victory to its ultimate triumph.

H. A. TUBBS.

¹ Possibly we may restore --

$\begin{smallmatrix} \Theta \text{EO} \\ \Theta \Upsilon \Gamma \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \Delta \Omega \text{Ρ} \text{Ο} \Sigma \Upsilon \Gamma \text{Π} \text{Ε} \text{Ρ} \text{Τ} \text{Η} \Sigma \text{Ε} \text{Α} \Upsilon \text{Τ} \text{ΟΥ} \\ \text{Α} \text{Τ} \text{Ρ} \text{Ο} \Sigma \Theta \text{Ε} \text{Ο} \Delta \text{Ο} \text{Τ} \text{Η} \Sigma \\ \text{Τ} \Omega \text{ΙΑ} \text{Ρ} \text{Ο} \Lambda \Lambda \text{Ν} \text{ΙΑ} \text{Μ} \Upsilon \text{Κ} \Lambda \text{Α} \text{Ι} \Omega \text{Ι} \\ \text{Ε} \Upsilon \text{Χ} \text{Η} \text{Ν} \end{smallmatrix}$

The date given is that assigned it by Mr. Hicks, to whom I submitted a squeeze. As the fragment was obtained from the surface by a villager, and as no further portions were found, nor any place where it might have been set up, its connection with the shrine is not quite certain.

TWO FOURTH CENTURY CHILDREN'S HEADS.

It is commonly supposed that the treatment of children in the finest period of Greek sculpture is a subject that can be very lightly dismissed. Children, it is said, are not represented in Greek art before Hellenistic times—not represented, that is to say, with any truth to nature or reproduction of the characteristics of childhood. Of course it is never denied that young children appear in statues or reliefs of the fifth or fourth centuries; but when they so appear, they are said to be treated carelessly, conventionally, with no regard to their proper forms or proportions, but just as men on a smaller scale. This assertion is on the whole a correct one. Of careless treatment the infant Dionysus carried by the Hermes of Praxiteles is an example; the child is regarded merely as an accessory, and the execution is in marked contrast to the extreme finish and delicacy of work which we see in the Hermes himself. Even where there is no such contrast in the execution, a conventional treatment may often be seen, as in the case of children on grave-monuments and elsewhere. Nor are one or two children in sculptural groups belonging in origin to the fourth century to be regarded as exceptions (for instance, the infant Plutus carried by the Eirene of Cephisodotus); for these only survive in later copies, and in them the child is modified to suit the requirements of a later period, when children had been studied with as much care as had been spent upon the mature figure by the sculptor of the original group.

So much may be admitted to be true—in almost all known instances where children appear in the fourth century sculpture, they are not treated with truth to nature. But to go farther, and to assert that in the fourth century no children were so treated and therefore that a head of a child treated with truth to nature cannot be of fourth century work, is to make an induction from insufficient instances. In such a case, considerations of style and circumstances must be allowed to outweigh a mere presumption.

These considerations led me in 1888 to ascribe to the fourth century the head of a boy which we discovered in our excavations at Paphos in Cyprus, and published in this *Journal* (1888, pl. x.), nor do I imagine that my view would have been disputed, but for the preconceived opinion just mentioned, that so natural a representation of a child's head could not belong to the



STELA OF CEPHISODOTUS.

fourth century.¹ I am now able to publish, for comparison, another child's head which shows a treatment as true to nature as that of the Paphos head, and even less conventional.² And in this case we are, fortunately, not left merely to indications of style, which may always be disputed; but there is an inscription, in fourth century characters, cut upon the stela to which it belongs; and so in this case we may be quite certain that the head is earlier than the Hellenistic period. The common assertion that a child rendered with truth to nature cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic period is thus proved to be false; and if one such child exists, it cannot be impossible that there should be others. Moreover, there is enough resemblance between the two heads here considered to justify us in believing that they belong to the same period. Let us then examine the two heads in detail, and see what we can learn from them as to a class of representations hitherto not supposed to exist—life-like statues of children of the fourth century.

For more than thirty years the chief ornament of the little collection of antiquities from Argos and its neighbourhood has been the stela of Cephisodotus. So long ago as 1855 it was noticed by Bursian as a tomb relief 'von vortrefflicher Arbeit,' and Dr. Milchhöfer describes it as 'sehr lieblich.' But beyond these general expressions of praise, I do not know that it has yet received any description or study; and though all visitors to Argos have admired the smiling boy's head, unique in its kind, it yet remains unpublished in the cases of a local museum.³ We are now enabled by the kind permission of M. Cabbadias to publish here a reproduction of the work (from a photograph taken by myself); it is of especial interest because of its resemblance to the boy's head from Paphos, already mentioned. These two heads, from their resemblance to one another and their difference from all other representations of a similar subject with which I am acquainted, deserve a detailed study and comparison. Before we pass on to the details, I may simply call attention to the general resemblance in character and expression which cannot, I think, fail to strike any one at first glance. In confirmation I may add that this resemblance has not been noticed only by myself, but that three or four different friends have quite independently, on seeing the photograph of the boy from Paphos, remarked its resemblance to the head they had previously seen at Argos, or else have told me on returning from Argos that they had seen there a head just like the one we had found at Paphos. Thus it can hardly be denied that a resemblance exists, though on a careful examination the differences between the two also force themselves strongly upon one's notice.

¹ I may add that Dr. Waldstein and Professor Furtwängler expressed their opinion that the head from Paphos belonged to the fourth century before seeing my new evidence from the stela of Cephisodotus.

² Dr. Brückner tells me there is another head of similar style on a fourth century stela at Constantinople. Mr. Arthur Evans suggests as

a parallel the gem of Phrygillus of late fifth century work published in the *Jahrbuch d. d. Inst.* 1888, p. 197, Pl. 8, 4. But though the forms of the body are boyish, the head there is, as Professor Furtwängler observes, of a more developed type.

³ I am glad to learn from M. Cabbadias that he hopes soon to transport it to Athens.

The history of the Paphos head, which is now in the British Museum, has already been recorded. It was found in the excavations of the Cyprus Exploration Fund upon the site of the temple of Aphrodite at old Paphos, in a hole beneath the Roman mosaic pavement of the great south stoa.¹ Other objects were found with it, which were almost without exception of fourth century origin; but, under the circumstances, this did not seem quite conclusive evidence as to date. An examination of the head itself, however, led me to believe it also to be of later fourth century style, and probably of Attic work—it certainly is not Cypriote.

It is not easy to ascertain with equal certainty the history of the stela now in the Argos Museum. The label now upon it, visible in our illustration, reads as follows: Λέρνης, 503. Δῶρον δήμου Ναυπλίου. Hence it seems a fair inference that there is a record or tradition of its being found at Lerna. Those who saw the stela before this label was attached give varying accounts. Thus Bursian, who saw it in the gymnasium at Nauplia in 1855, describes it as 'aus Argos.' The collection was transferred later on (1878) to the basement of the town-hall (Δημαρχεῖον) at Argos, where it still remains; this may explain the statement of Dr. Milchhöfer² that it is 'aus Nauplia.' As it is certain that several things in the collection thus made at Nauplia and transferred to Argos did come from Lerna, we shall probably be justified in assuming the present label to be correct. Among the other antiquities which have belonged to the collections at Nauplia and Argos, the best known is the head from Lerna now in the National Museum at Athens.³ This has been by some taken for the head of the statue of Demeter Prosymna; but others, as Furtwängler, regard it as rather resembling a head from a grave monument. It certainly seems to resemble far more the heads upon the numerous Attic stelae in the National Museum at Athens than the heads from statues among which it is placed. And another grave stela from Lerna may remove the somewhat fanciful objection raised by Prof. Furtwängler, that one would not expect from the description of Lerna in Pausanias to find any funeral monuments there.

The stela of Cephisodotus is of a very common fourth century form. It is surrounded by an architectural frame, representing two antae bearing a pediment. In the middle of the pediment is a rosette. The whole stela is sixteen inches broad, the height of the head is about six inches. Along the architrave runs the inscription ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΟΤΟΣ in fourth century characters. The head, which occupies the right half of the preserved portion of the field, faces to the left; it is broken off at the neck. The boy was probably represented as standing, and playing with some pet animal which occupied the lower part of the field on the left. Thus the remarkable laughing expression will find the most natural explanation. The relief is so high that it is possible to obtain a view of the head almost full-face, by looking at the stela from the left (see photograph). Thus it is possible to see the relief in various aspects,

¹ See *J. H. S.* 1888, p. 218.

² *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen.* 1879, p. 154.

³ *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen.* 1883, p. 195, Pl. X.

almost as if it were a statue in the round: and thus too our two photographs may easily be compared with the two views of the head from Paphos given in this *Journal* (1888, pl. x.). Of course allowance must be made in any such comparison for the differences in technique between sculpture in the round and relief; after allowing for these, I think enough resemblance will be left to outweigh the difference between the two.

This difference cannot be denied: indeed, though at first glance the resemblance is striking, after a detailed examination one is almost inclined to think that the resemblance was only superficial and the difference essential; but after all the result of their first impression must be allowed some weight, especially when it is borne out by more general considerations such as the similarity in subject and treatment.

Cephisodotus is represented as a boy a little younger than the boy from Paphos, that is to say, of six or eight years, if the other is eight or ten. This would seem to follow from the difference in the proportions of the head in the two cases. In the Paphos boy the proportions of the three measurements, the top of forehead to the nose, the nose itself, and the nose to the chin, is 8 : 6 : 7; in the case of Cephisodotus the same proportion is 7 : 5 : 5; or, to put the same fact in another and perhaps a clearer way, the proportion of the portion of the head above the line of the brow to the portion below it is in the Paphos boy 12 : 13, in Cephisodotus 12 : 11.¹ Now it is a well-known fact that in a new-born child the part above the brow is greater than the part below, while in a fully developed man the part below exceeds the part above. It appears, however, that the change from the one to the other proportion is not a gradual one, spread over all the years of boyhood. According to Froriep (*Anatomie für Künstler*, p. 93), the two parts become equal at the end of the second year, and remain so during the whole period of childhood. Only in the fourteenth year does the lower part begin to preponderate, the proportion then being 11 : 12 (in a full-grown man it is 11 : 13). Thus the proportion seems to remain constant between the ages of two and fourteen, and in the case of two boys who are between those ages but not very near to either limit, one would not now expect to see a preponderance of the upper or lower part of the head according to younger or older state of development. It is not, however, certain that the circumstances of development in Greece were identical with those upon which modern statistics are based; nor is it likely that anthropometric study had taught the artist in the fourth century those facts that he now may learn from any hand-book. The study of proportion had of course already been carried to great precision by such artists as Polyclitus and Euphranor; but this, so far as we know, concerned only the proportions of the mature figure, and there is no reason to suppose that a similar study was given to the process and stages of development in childhood. We know, indeed, that even the forms and proportions of children were not accurately represented in early times, but were merely

¹ In the Dionysus of Praxiteles the lower part is if anything larger than the upper—a strange inversion for so young a child, and a

proof how little attention the artist gave to this part of the group.

deduced with some modifications from those of the mature figure. So important a characteristic as the greater size of the upper part of the head in an infant would be sure to strike an artist who in this matter worked from observation, without the help of statistics or theories of proportion; from this observation, and from his knowledge that the lower part was the greater in a man, he would very naturally draw the inference that the proportion gradually changed through all the stages of development; and thus we may safely infer the age of the boy he intended to represent from the proportion of the part of the head above the brow to that below it, even though students of anthropometry may tell us that such an inference would not be a safe one in reality for judging the age of a child.

It is almost a commonplace among writers on Greek Art that sculptors of the best period did not render the forms of children with truth to nature, but represented them 'like smaller men.' A natural representation of their rounded forms and infantile proportions seems to have been first attempted in Hellenistic times, and may be seen in the numerous *genre* statues of children that begin to appear in the third century, and among which the boy with a goose of Boethus is the best known. The two heads with which we are now concerned have little or nothing in common with this class of *genre* representations. It is very unfortunate that we have not in either case any part of the body left, but from the treatment of the face, and more especially from that of the neck, it is easy to see what the body must have been like; it is impossible to imagine these heads set upon fat chubby bodies like those of the children in Hellenistic art; and if the amount of neck that remains in the case of our two boys be contrasted with the neck or rather absence of neck in works like the boy with the goose of Boethus or the little silver statuette of a similar subject in the British Museum (published in this *Journal* 1885, p. 1), the contrast is obvious. Yet Cephisodotus, at least, is not to be considered as much older than either of these boys. Thus we are brought back again to the question—How are we to explain the resemblance between the head from Paphos and that of Cephisodotus, and their contrast to all other representations of children that have come down to us from Greek art?

The answer is, I think, simple enough; these two heads represent, for us, the way in which a Greek artist of the fourth century represented a young boy; while almost all other representations of children belong to a later period, when young children were a common subject for artistic representation, and when consequently the proportions and characteristics of young children must have formed a regular part of the elementary teaching of an artist. In the fourth century, on the other hand, though boys of fourteen or fifteen were often represented, especially as Eros or similar divinities, young children were but rarely chosen as a subject—hardly ever indeed, from the artist's choice. In the Hermes and Dionysus of Praxiteles, for instance, the child is treated as an accessory; and on grave stelae, if a young boy appears, he is usually in a subordinate position, and no very great care is expended upon his representation. With our two heads the case is quite

different. The artist has evidently made a faithful attempt to render the forms and proportions of a child of a certain age; and it is very interesting to notice how far his own observation has enabled him to render truthfully a subject which in his day was usually treated in a conventional manner.

Of the proportion of the two heads we have already spoken, and of the attempt which is evident in them to render the change which takes place between infancy and maturity. In all the features we can also clearly see a wish to represent the forms of a young boy, so far as was possible to the artist, working from observation and not from training; this comes out more conspicuously in the head of Cephisodotus, when compared with the maturer forms of the Paphos boy. The forehead of Cephisodotus is unformed and the skull beneath seems not yet joined; his eyes are wide open, and have not yet any concentration or definition of glance; they thus may be contrasted with the half-shut eyes and dreamy expression of the Paphos boy; his nose, though unfortunately broken, seems to have been shapeless and undeveloped; and the chin also is more flabby and shows less the form of the bone beneath. But it is in the rendering of the mouth and cheeks, and in the expression thereby produced, that we see most clearly both the resemblance and the contrast between the two heads. There is a smile in both cases; but in Cephisodotus the muscles and the flesh hang loose and lack definition; while in the Paphos boy, though the working of the marble is exquisitely soft, the forms are clear and the muscles appear almost consciously set. The ear, strangely enough, is in the case of Cephisodotus like that of a grown man—almost the sole instance of conventional treatment in the head. The hair in both cases is short—a remarkable coincidence; for short hair in so young children is rarely to be seen in Greek art; but the treatment is different in the two cases, though in both the hair lies flat along the head. In Cephisodotus it is treated freely in wavy lines, in a style which cannot be later than the fourth century, while in the Paphos boy it is divided into a set of short curved locks.¹

It is however by the expression and by the general impression produced by the two heads that they are distinguished both from other works and from each other. The wish to render the lively expression of childhood with a life-like truth to nature has led in both cases to a smile—in Cephisodotus purely unconventional, and imitated directly from the artist's observation of nature; in the Paphos boy more conventional, but still based upon observation, though modified by the artist's training in other types. The result is in the one case an innocent and unconscious expression, but perhaps exaggerated in the upward curve of the lips; in the other case a half-conscious set smile. It is curious that these are two varieties of expression that also mark the transitional period from archaic to the finest art; and though our two heads are

¹ Dr. Waldstein has remarked to me that, while the treatment above the forehead shows the character seen sometimes at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the Helle-

nistic age, that on the top and back of the head shows a rough and sketchy blocking out such as is only seen in fourth century work.

more than a century later, yet we must remember that children are still unfamiliar subjects in sculpture and that consequently we may in them expect to see characteristics such as mark the period of successful experiment. It is much to be regretted that when children came to be favourite subjects for representation in Hellenistic art, the type was developed along a different line, and consequently that these two fourth century heads remain isolated and without succession.

A final question cannot be avoided. Are we to believe that there is any artistic connexion, of school or otherwise, between these two heads from Lerna and from Paphos? In discussing the style of the Paphos boy in this *Journal* (1888, p. 219), I expressed the opinion which I still believe to be correct, that it shows the characteristics of the Attic school of marble sculpture, such as they were in the late part of the fourth century, after the days of Praxiteles. If we are then to believe there is any connexion between the two, it must be by means of Attic influence. Nor is such influence at Lerna very improbable. On the other hand, it is hard to detect in the head of Cephisodotus any resemblance to the Argive style, such as we might naturally have expected. One is tempted to quote the name as Attic, from its artistic associations; but there was an Argive as well as an Attic Cephisus, and so a child might as well bear the name Cephisodotus in the one as the other district. But other traces of Attic influence are known at Lerna. For instance, the head now in the Central Museum, and by some identified as Demeter Prosynna, resembles, as has already been said, many of the heads upon Attic stelae; and thus it, as well as the head of Cephisodotus, may belong to a stela of Attic type. And, again, if we include the whole Argive region, Prof. Furtwängler is unquestionably right in recognizing Attic influence in some fragmentary figures with floating drapery from the Heraeum, which also resemble those from Epidaurus. However this may be, we have enough examples of Attic influence even near the centres of Peloponnesian art in the fourth century for one more instance not to surprise us. And so we may ascribe to the Attic school of the fourth century what is common to the boys from Paphos and from Lerna, while the difference in their age and in the intention of the artist, as well as local circumstances, will amply suffice to explain the differences between the two. We must remember also that on the grave stela we may expect a portrait, though hardly with individual treatment at such a period: while the Paphos boy is likely to be an ideal figure, perhaps Eros, and the more conventional treatment is in favour of such a view.

We have, then, gained a new episode to add to our history of art in the fourth century. We knew already that in the time of Praxiteles boys of fourteen or fifteen were often represented. This is an age at which the proportions of maturity are already approached, so that no new canon or study is required, while the softness of youth still gives the utmost scope to the delicate treatment of marble for which the Attic school of this period was most famous. We also knew that during and after the Hellenistic period young children were frequently represented especially in *genre* groups and in decora-

tion reliefs like those on sarcophagi,¹ and that in these the short figures and chubby proportions of children were truthfully represented and in later times even exaggerated. But it is new to us to find young children in Greek art neither conventionally assimilated to fully-grown men, only smaller in size, nor with the roundness of infancy such as we are used to see in later 'Cupids,' but showing a treatment different from either of these. In the two examples which we have been considering the artist has endeavoured to render the expression and character of childhood without departing altogether from the sculptural traditions and dignity of monumental art; thus we see a type produced which is worthy of the fourth century, and which adds one more to the varied attainments of the sculptors of the period.

E. A. GARDNER.

British School of Archaeology, Athens.

¹ See, for instance, the sarcophagi from Patras and Sparta, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pp. 1552—3.

CERAMUS (Κέραμος) AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS.

MR. W. R. PATON, who is very well acquainted with the Gulf of Cos, has been good enough to send me some impressions and copies which he recently made of inscriptions at Keramo, the site of the ancient Ceramus. So few are the documents hitherto published from this town, that I readily consented to edit these copies for the *Journal*, the more so because I had been led to study the history of Caria somewhat minutely in connexion with another town of this region, Iasos.¹ It happens also that one of the very few instances where Ceramus is named, even in inscriptions, is in a decree of Ephesus, discovered by Mr. Wood and now in the British Museum, which I have recently prepared for the press.² We shall have occasion to refer to it presently.

Before proceeding to examine the inscriptions, I am glad to transcribe an account of the neighbourhood of Ceramus which I begged Mr. Paton to draw up, knowing well how interesting such particulars are to less-travelled students of Greek antiquities.

‘Ceramus is situated on the N. shore of the Gulf of Cos. The site has been described by Lieut. Smith (Newton, *Halicarnassus* etc. vol. ii. p. 627). The physical features of the north and south shores of the *inner* Gulf of Cos are widely different. The south shore is formed by the peninsula which separates this gulf from the Lycian Sea. Here, from Port Giova in the innermost recess of the gulf, to the Dorian Isthmus, extends a chain of wonderful harbours, which, as the country is unproductive and uninhabited, tempt chance visitors from harbourless Greek islands to be sceptical as to the wisdom of Providence. On the south side of this same peninsula there lies the famous harbour of Marmarice, which has the honour of occasionally sheltering our fleets, and of being, in consequence, connected with Smyrna by telegraph. The sterility of this region is (it is a comfort to think) no new thing. There are singularly few traces of what may be called, for this unrecorded land, prehistoric inhabitants. The only Hellenic, or quasi-Hellenic town, of any importance was Cedrae, and this was on an island near the coast.³ Callipolis (now called Gelepol by the Turks) was situated in an

¹ See my paper on Iasos in an earlier number of the *Hellenic Journal*, viii. (1887) p. 85; compare *ibid.* ix. (1888) p. 338.

² Published by Wood, *Ephesus*, ‘Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs,’ No. 16. It will form No. cccclvii. in the forthcoming Part iii. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. The name [Κ]εράμιοι was not recognized or read

by the earlier editor.

³ The island is called by the Greeks Νησί τῆς Παναγίας and by the Turks Seiroglou: the town was identified as the ancient Κεδραεά by MM. Diehl and Cousin by means of an inscription found there (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. 1886, p. 426).

exceptionally fertile little valley, but I found nothing there which spoke of a past. At Seyout, the next harbour to the W., is a well preserved fortress, probably dating from the period of Rhodian dominion. There is another smaller fortress of the same period on the top of the Altin Sivrisi (Golden Peak), a mountain 1500 feet high between Seyout and Marmarice. I am sure that there can be nothing else very remarkable in the neighbourhood, because I was everywhere counselled to ascend this Altin Sivrisi where there were marble statues and inscriptions galore. I eventually did so with the greatest difficulty on a very hot day, and when in rags and tatters I reached the summit, I suggested to my guide, a celebrated hunter of the district,¹ that he had not chosen the least trying route. It was only then I discovered that this was his first ascent, and I concluded that all these desirable things were to be found at the top of the Altin Sivrisi for the same reason that so many even more desirable things are to be found in other places—because no one had ever been there.'

'At present the only interesting, if not valuable, product of this district is the styrax-tree (*styrax officinale*), which grows in great abundance in the beds of streams. It resembles the plane-tree, but seemingly never attains a great size. The fragrant sap, used by the Turks as incense, stinks in the nostrils of orthodox oriental Christians.'

'The northern shore of the Gulf is formed by what seem to be a range of lofty mountains, closely fringed by the sea. It is only when we climb them that we find that they are but the edges of a great plateau, that we are really in Asia, and that the Mediterranean with its odour of the West is, like ourselves, an intruder here. No great river penetrates this plateau to discharge itself into the Gulf of Cos. The water from the upland plains, such as that of Moughla, finds its escape underground. Near Ceramus, west of the old town, and at the head of the gulf near the ancient Idyma,² abundant brackish springs issue from the foot of the mountains and find their shortest road to the sea. At Idyma this phenomenon is very remarkable. A series of such springs extending about two miles from E. to W. unite to form a river so deep, that it is possible to ascend it for a considerable distance in a boat. These springs are all of them, like those of Ceramus, slightly salt; but the water is drinkable, and watercress and celery thrive in them and form an excellent salad. The superfluous water of winter does not find room to escape by these underground channels, and in some places torrents have cut their way through the plateau.'

'It is to the largest of these streams that the plain of Ceramus owes, I suppose, its origin. The river-bed was quite dry when I was there in October; but I was told that its valley, which is of considerable breadth, is thirty or forty miles in length. Its sources must be in the high mountains near Eski-Hissar (Stratonicea). This is the longest valley which descends

¹ I subsequently saw him annihilate a partridge while it was drinking: I ate the fragments of this bird, and am grateful to him.

² Identified with the modern Giova by MM.

Diehl and Cousin, on the strength of an inscription found there (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. p. 429): Judeich speaks more doubtfully (*Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 338, note).

to the gulf of Cos on the north, and the plain of Ceramus is the largest plain on the northern shore. There is no harbour, and boats cannot anchor here with a high westerly sea. But the bay of Akbuk, which could easily be reached with a westerly wind, affords sufficient protection. The plain has great capabilities of cultivation. At present it is, to a large extent, rough pasture-land. The climate must always have been bad; the heat in summer, owing to the high overhanging mountains on the N. which exclude the North-wind and reduplicate the sun, is very oppressive. The Turkish Agas, to whom the land belongs, reside in a village on the hills; the inhabitants of the modern village of Keramo are their shepherds and labourers. This village occupies a small portion of the site of the ancient town. It is situated on the edge of the mountain and just to the E. of the opening of the river-valley. The ruins which now exist are very extensive, and are chiefly of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Ceramus was the seat of a Bishop, and one of the most notable ruins is that of a very large church: most of the inscriptions come from here. The only existing Hellenic remains of importance are the city-walls, remarkable as having a polygonal substructure of limestone and superimposed rectangular blocks of pudding-stone (see Lieut. Smith's *Report*, p. 628). Water was brought to the town by an aqueduct which runs along the E. side of the river-valley and (so I was told) comes from far. The arches which span side-valleys are in several places well preserved, and this aqueduct was the pleasantest companion I had when I left Ceramus and went up the valley for a few miles, before turning eastward on my road to Moughla.¹ Coins of Ceramus are extremely rare; and I have never met with them in the market. I only procured three bronze autonomous coins on the spot. One has a magistrate's name *Λέων*, a common name also at Stratonicea: on another I think I read *Ἱερογένης*.

If we are inclined to wonder why the Greeks founded a settlement in so unpromising a spot, we should bear in mind the great fertility of the land: no doubt diligent husbandry here, as in other regions of the ancient world, not only brought a rich return to the cultivator, but also diminished the unhealthiness of the climate. Lieut. Smith² says: 'The valley is covered with impenetrable thickets, and is very unhealthy. The ground, when it is cultivated, is very fertile; but I saw large crops of ripe grain standing uncut for want of labourers.' It is to be observed, however, that the towns along even the north shore of this gulf were few and far between, and these were of no great consequence. Strabo's words are (xiv. 656): *εἴτα μετὰ Κνίδου Κέραμος καὶ Βάργασα πολίχνη ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης*. *Εἰθ' Ἀλικαρνασός κ.τ.λ.*³ In other words, Ceramus was a second-rate town, not to be compared with its distinguished neighbours Halicarnassus and Cnidus. Yet it appears to have been the most important town within the Gulf of Cos, to which it gave its name

¹ A brief note of this journey from Ceramus to Moughla will be found printed in the *Classical Review* of 1888, p. 328.

² Newton's *Halicarnassus*, &c., ii. p. 631.

³ The site of Bargas is still unknown, if

Giova is rightly identified with Idyma: see note 5 *ante*. The words of Strabo would lead one to seek for Bargas between Ceramus and Halicarnassus. Pliny's geography of this region (v. 29) seems confused and faulty.

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος from early times, as we learn from Herodotus i. 174 (ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίας πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει κ.τ.λ.).¹ But the surest measure of its importance may be obtained from the tribute-lists of the Athenian Confederacy. These reveal that while Cnidus was assessed at 3 talents which were afterwards raised to 5 talents, and Halicarnassus (not yet refounded by Mausolus) at 1½ talents, the assessment of Ceramus was 1½ talents. It thus stands distinctly above Cedreæ, whose tribute was ½ talent, and Idyma which seems to have paid ⅔ talent. See Böckh-Fränkel, *Staatsh.* ii. pp. 362, 452; Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, pp. 183 foll.

Very little is known of the history of Ceramus. Of written record there is absolutely nothing. A few fragmentary inscriptions and a very few coins, none earlier than the second century B.C., afford a glimmer of light which only makes the darkness visible.² For the illustration, therefore, of the following inscriptions we have no help but to fall back upon the general history of Caria, the various vicissitudes of which the town of Ceramus inevitably shared. This chequered history I have already traced with sufficient care in a previous number of the *Journal*.³ None of the inscriptions from Ceramus appear to be earlier than the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia B.C. 190, upon which the Roman senate handed over Lycia and Caria to the government of Rhodes. The Rhodians had long enjoyed possession of the strip of territory on the opposite mainland—the Rhodian Peraea: and this new assignment was but an extension of the influence they already enjoyed in Caria. It lasted, however, only twenty years. At the close of the war with Perseus, B.C. 168, the senate, being bent on humbling Rhodes, deprived her of those possessions on the mainland which had been assigned her in B.C. 189. Caria was declared to be free. We are to understand this declaration as applying not to the towns of the Peraea to which Rhodes had a prescriptive title, but to her dominion over the rest of Caria and Lycia, which rested only upon the decree of the senate.⁴ Accordingly Caria in general and her cities enjoyed a brief period of autonomy for the next thirty-five years until the whole of Caria, and therefore Ceramus along with it, was merged in the Roman Province of Asia, B.C. 133.

It is to this period of autonomy, B.C. 168—133, that we may in all probability assign the earlier of the extant coins of Ceramus,⁵ as well as the first of Mr Paton's inscriptions. Nos. 2 and 3 belong likewise to about the second century B.C., but their subject is religious, and they contain nothing to determine their date more closely. The same may be said of another

¹ In Xen. *Hist.* i. 4, 8: Κεραμικὸν κόλπον, *ibid.* ii. 1 § 15: Κεράμειον κόλπον, if the texts are right.

² See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 522.

³ In connexion with Iasos; *Hellenic Journal*, viii. (1887), p. 85.

⁴ Polyb. xxx. 5: κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλε δόγμα διότι δεῖ Κάρας καὶ

Λυκίους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι πάντας, ὅσους προσέειμε 'Ροδίοις μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. *Ibid.* xxxi. 7: ἀλλ' Ἰώας, ἔφη, ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδάκαθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ κ.τ.λ.

⁵ There are only eight coins of Ceramus in the British Museum; so rare are they. Only four contain magistrates' names.

document which relates to the religious observances of Ceramus. It is a list of deputies (*θεωροί*) sent from Ceramus to take part in the festival of the Cabiri at Samothrace, and was discovered by Prof. Conze in that island (*Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, p. 70); it runs thus:—

Ἐπὶ βασιλέως Πυθίωνος τοῦ [δείνος
 Κεραμητῶν θεωροί,
 Μύσται εὐσεβεῖς.
 Ἱεροκλῆς Δημητρίου τοῦ Μο.....
 5 Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστομένους
 κα[θ'] ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Δωροθέου.

I incline to assign this list to the third century B.C. rather than the second. Two inscriptions copied by Captain Spratt at Keramo to be mentioned presently, and an inscription from Stratonicea published in the *Bulletin* (ix. 1885, p. 437), form the only other materials available for the illustration of the history of the town or to elucidate these new inscriptions which we will now proceed to examine.

One word as to the gentile adjective of this town. The name of the town is *Κέραμος*, and is so given not only by Strabo *l.c.*, Pausanias (vi. 13 § 2: *ἐκ Κεράμων τῆς ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ*), and other writers, but also once in the Attic tribute-lists (*C.I.A.* i. 229: where the editors restore *Κέρ[αμ]ο[ς]*). The gentile adjective in the tribute-lists is usually *Κεράμιοι*, but also in two places *Κεραμῆς* (Böckh-Fränkel, *Staatsh.* ii. p. 452). In Wood's Ephesian inscription the form is *Κεράμιοι*, but Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Αἴγιναι* gives *Κεραμικήτης*, as also Strabo, xiv. 660. This also occurs in Conze's Samothracian list, and on the coins (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 522, who gives also from the coins *ΚΕΡΑΜΙΕΩΝ* and *ΚΕΡΑΜΗΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ* ¹).

1.

'Bluish stone, found at Keramo.' From Mr. Paton's copy and a good impression. The marble is evidently incomplete at the top and the bottom: it is somewhat injured on the right edge, and a very little on the left. The readings are quite certain. Height (as measured by impression), 16½ in.; width 2 ft. 6 in.

¹ [I suspect that *ΚΕΡΑΜΙ ΕΩΝ* (Mionnet, *Supp.* No. 207) should be read *ΚΕΡΑΜΙ ΑΕΩΝ*: the *ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ* of the other coin is also a magistrate's name, see No. 11 *post*, and we should read *ΚΕΡΑΜΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ* W. R. P.]

- § 1. ια καλο ω
 αν π ἡδυπαθεῖ, ἐκτενῇ καὶ πρόθυμον ἡν ἐαυτὸν παρέχε[ν ἐν τοῖς ἀν-
 αρκαίο]τ[ύτοις καιροῖς οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε κακοπαθίαν ὑφορόμενος περὶ πλείστου δὲ ποιουμ[εν-
 ος τ]ῇν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις δόξαν.—§ 2. ἔν τε τῷ τῆς συνπολιτείας χρόνῳ διετέλει πάντα κα[ὶ
 λέγ]ων καὶ πράσων ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων, πάντι τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἰδίας εὐνοίας τὰς κρατ[ίς]-
 τα[ς] ἀποδείξεις ποιούμενος ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προηροῦν-
 το] προσεφέρετο φιλοστόργως.—§ 3. μετὰ τε ταῦτα ἐν δυσχερεῖ καταστάσει γενομένου τοῦ πο-
 λιτ[εύματος οὐ καταπλάγεις τὴν τινῶν ἀνάσασιν πολλὰ βεβαιότεραν ἐπειράτο τὴν πρὸς τὸ
 πλήθος αὔξεν εὐνοίαν γνησίως καὶ ἡληθινῶς ἅπαντα καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσσων, διὸ [καὶ
 κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον ἀντιλαμβανόμενον αὐτὸν συνέ[β]η τῆς αὐτῆς τυχῆν τῷ δῆ[μῳ]
 π[ερ]ιστάσεως, ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολιτῶν παρακληθεὶς γενναίως ὑποστῆναι [τὰ ὑπ-
 αντηθέντα, πάντα δεύτερα τὰ καθ' ἐαυτὸν θέμενος τοῦ κοινῇ συνφέρο]ντος,
 οὐθενὸς ἀφίστατο τῶν πρὸς τιμῇν καὶ δόξαν διατεινόντων τοῖς πολίταις, [καὶ τοῦ
 δήμου κρίναντος ἀναγκαιοτάτην εἶναι ἐαυτῷ τὴν πρὸς Ῥοδίουις συμμαχίαν αἰρε-
 θεὶς πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέδωκεν ἐαυτὸν προθύμως, καὶ προσεδρεύσας ἐπιμελ[ῶς ἐπὶ
 χρόνον πλείονα παρεστήσατο μετὰ τῶν συνπρεσβευτῶν Ῥοδίουις ποιήσασθαι
 τῇ]ν συμμαχίαν, δι' ἧς συνβέβηκεν οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις τὴν ὑσφάλειαν ὑπ[ἀρχειν
 εἰς] τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν.—§ 4. πάλιν τ[ε] πρὸς Ῥ-
 ρακκ]εώτας ἀποσταλεῖς πρεσβευτῆς ἐποιήσατο τὴν δικαιολογίαν μετὰ [τῶν συνπρεσ-
 βευτῶ]ν ἐνδόξως εἰς τὸ μήτε κατὰ κοινὸν μήτε [κ]ατ' ἰδίαν μηθέν[α αὐτῷ ἔχειν
 ἀντιστ]ῆναι, πολλὰς καὶ ψευδεῖς κατηγορίας πο[λη]σημένων τινῶν, ἀξίως δι-
 αλέξάμεν]ος τῶν ἐξαποστειλάντων σὺν
 ἀ]λλὰ καὶ πεπολιτευμένους ἐν α
 δ]ιὰ παντὸς ὑπάρχειν.

A few words first in respect of the readings. Line 1: ΛΑΟ I give from Paton's copy: I cannot read them on the impression. Line 2: ἡδυπαθεῖ is probable, but the letters are omitted in Paton's copy, and the impression suggests them but faintly. Line 3: with οὔτε κακοπαθίαν ὑφορώμενος compare πᾶσαν [ἀν]α[σχ]όμενοι κακοπαθίαν, said of foreign dicasts in *C.I.G.* ii. *Addenda*, No. 2561b. line 29. Lines 6—7: ΠΡΟΗΡΟΥ are perfectly plain. We should expect τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν (*sc.* πραγμάτων) προηρεῖτο προσφερόμενος φιλοστόργως. Line 8: ἀνάτασις is a word that smacks of Polybius, 'intensity,' 'violence'; περίστασις, in line 11, belongs to the same age. Lines 11—12 [τὰ ὑπ']αντηθέντα is a rather unusual form, but it is almost certainly right.

We have here part of a decree of Ceramus according honours to a citizen of the town in return for signal services. The heading is lost, and with it the name of this benefactor; lost also is the conclusion which specified the honours he was to receive. The portion which remains is occupied with a recital of the man's career, four different occasions being mentioned in which he had rendered conspicuous service. The document therefore belongs to a class of decrees which became common in the third and later centuries B.C., a typical example being the Athenian decree in honour of Phaedrus and his son of the same name, *C.I.A.* ii. 381 (date about B.C. 272; see my *Manual*, No. 167).

I place the decree shortly after B.C. 168, when the cities of Caria were liberated from Rhodian control. The sudden grant of autonomy seems to have involved Ceramus in a conflict of factions. The rival parties, oligarchical and democratic, which had been kept in check by the rule of Rhodes, were now free to struggle for the mastery in the town, and as the man honoured in this decree evidently took the democratic side, we may infer that the victory ultimately rested with the popular party (see especially lines 5, 9, 10).

§ 1: lines 1—4. This may refer to the troublous times immediately succeeding the defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia, B.C. 190, when Manlius and the Commission of Ten were sent to Asia and in 189 handed over Caria to the dominion of Rhodes.

§ 2: lines 4—7. A second chapter in his career is described. He had displayed activity as a public man and as a democratic leader (τῷ πλήθει line 5) 'in the days of the league,' ἐν τῷ τῆς συνπολιτείας χρόνῳ. What is the league, and what is the time referred to?

We need not hesitate to identify this συνπολιτεία with the League of Carian townships which met yearly at the temple of Ζεὺς Χρυσαορεὺς near Stratonicea. It is thus described by Strabo (xiv. p. 660), and his words have an especial bearing upon the status of Ceramus: Στρατονίκηια δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία Μακεδόνων· ἐκοσμήθη δὲ καὶ αὕτη κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων. ἐστὶ δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων δύο ἱερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνοις¹

¹ Laina (Λάγινα) 'is situated about two hours north by west from Eski Hissar (Stratonicea)' writes Sir C. Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., p. 554.

τὸ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσσαορέων, συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κωμῶν· οἱ δὲ πλείστας παρεχόμενοι κώμας προέχουσι τῇ ψήφῳ, καθάπερ Κεραμιηταί· καὶ Στρατονικεῖς δὲ τοῦ συστήματος μετέχουσιν οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους, ἀλλ' ὅτι κώμας ἔχουσι τοῦ Χρυσσαορικοῦ συστήματος. We must not indeed assume that the circumstances of this Chrysaorian League were in all points the same at the beginning of the second century B.C. as in the latter part of the first century when Strabo described it. But the main conditions remained unchanged. Ever since the first planting of the Doric colonies along the coast, the Carian natives had found themselves thrust out of the way; they retired into the interior of the country establishing themselves in fortresses among the hills, or dwelling in *κῶμαι*, townships. These *κῶμαι* are frequently mentioned in connexion with Carian history; they are grouped into cantons which found their respective centres in one or other of the old native sanctuaries (see Newton, *l.c.* p. 14). It was inevitable that, as the Hellenic cities became more numerous and powerful, the Carian townships and cantons became mere dependencies of the greater cities, precisely as Strabo points out (*l.c.*) in the case of Stratonicea. Strabo indeed speaks as if the *Χρυσσαορικὸν σύστημα* was in his day the only confederation in Caria: and this no doubt was practically the case, since Sulla rewarded Stratonicea with exceptional privileges for its loyalty to Rome in the Mithridatic War.¹ But Herodotus knows nothing of this league of Chrysaoris (see St. Byz. *s.v.*); he speaks only of Mylasa as a national and religious centre (i. 171): ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μύσοισι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι, ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί...τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ, ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος, ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Only sixty stadia from Mylasa, and connected with it by a sacred way, was Labranda, with another aboriginal shrine of Zeus Stratios,² which is also noticed by Herodotus (v. 119): Καρῶν...οἱ διαφυγόντες κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα, ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾰρές εἰσι οἱ Διὶ Στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. We must conclude therefore that in early days Mylasa was the chief religious and national centre of the native Carians, and that the sanctuary and gathering at Chrysaoris, if they existed (as is likely), were merely local and possessed no political significance. But when Hecatomnus, the father of Mausolus, transferred his seat of government from Mylasa to Halicarnassus, the influence of Mylasa suffered a partial eclipse, which was made more complete by the founding of Stratonicea by the Syrian king and the especial favour shown to it by the Romans under Sulla. Not that Mylasa ever ceased to be an important town. It stood at the junction of several great roads and thrived under Roman rule: its ancient sanctuaries still commanded the veneration of Caria. The

¹ See the important *Senatusconsultum* inscribed at Lagina (*Bulletin*, 1885, ix. p. 437).

² Newton, *l.c.* pp. 33, 615.

symbol of Zeus Labrandeus was the double axe, which appears not only on the coins of Mausolus and his dynasty, but also of a number of Carian towns; and the adoption of this symbol was an acknowledgment of a connexion with Mylasa and Labranda. But without doubt in the second and first centuries B.C. Mylasa had a serious rival in Stratonicea, and in the time of Strabo the league of *κῶμαι* which met at Chrysaorium near Stratonicea was the only Carian league of any political importance.

And now to return to our inscription. At the time of this decree the League of the Chrysaorium (*συνπολιτεία*), which had for some time been a rival of the League of Labranda, had been disbanded; it is spoken of as a thing of the past (*ἐν τῷ τῆς συνπολιτείας χρόνῳ*, line 4). What had dissolved it? No more probable course could be found than the freedom granted to Caria in 168. 'Freedom' in Greece too surely meant disintegration, and the breaking up of ties which kept the cities together. I imagine that under the Rhodian rule the cantons of Carian *κῶμαι* had met at the respective centre of each league, the Chrysaorium, Labranda, and others perhaps as well. Stratonicea was the especial property of Rhodes, and paid a heavy tribute to the sovereign island¹; we may be sure therefore that Stratonicea would be safeguarded by the Rhodians in full authority over the *κῶμαι* pertaining to its territory. At a later date (B.C. 81, see the Sullan *Senatusconsultum* already quoted) Stratonicea claimed even Ceramus as one of its *κῶμαι*. But we are not sure that the claim was granted; if it was, the subjection of Ceramus was not of long duration. In Strabo's time, and for centuries after, it was no inconsiderable member of the Carian league of cities. Under the Rhodian dominion (B.C. 189—168) Ceramus and its associated *κῶμαι* formed one of the cantons of the Chrysaorian *σύστημα* or *συνπολιτεία*, although much inferior in influence to Stratonicea. During this period the citizen honoured by this decree had done good service as a political leader of democratic sympathies (lines 5—7).

§ 3: lines 7—18. A third stage of the benefactor's career began with the granting of freedom to Caria and the break-up of the League. The 'community' (*πολίτευμα*) of Ceramus was at once involved in confusion, the democratic and oligarchic party confronting each other. Our hero took more openly the part of a popular leader (line 8), and in the political revolution that ensued he shared the danger and the victory of the democrats (lines 10—11). The exiled aristocrats would probably look towards Rome for help; it was equally natural, now that Rhodes was out of favour with Rome, that the democrats should wish to strengthen themselves by an understanding with Rhodes (line 14). But seeing that Rhodes had lately been ousted by Rome from Caria, it was a delicate task to ask the Rhodians to accede to an alliance which might seem to humble her pride and also to expose her to the suspicion of Rome. This task however our hero undertook, and achieved (lines 15—16). The relations of Ceramus with Rhodes are further illustrated by the Ephesian decree discovered by Wood (*l.c.*); it begins thus:—

¹ Polybius, xxxi. 7.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·
 Ξενόκριτος Ἀριστέως εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ
 Φίλων Διονύσιος Ἱεροκλῆς Μένιππος
 Κ]εράμιοι διατρίβοντες ἐν Ῥόδῳ πᾶσα[ν
 εὖνοϊαν καὶ χρεῖαν παρεχόμενοι δια-
 τελοῦσιν καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ
 τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ πολιτῶν καὶ
 ὅτ]αν αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος παρακαλῇ—

then follows a grant of citizenship. The four men of Ceramus were probably merchants residing at Rhodes.

The word *πολίτευμα* (lines 7—8) is important: it exactly describes the canton of Ceramus, as described in the passage of Strabo just quoted; a community which was not identical with the *πόλις*, but was made up of the *πόλις* and its associated *κῶμαι*. Hence in line 18 we read of *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν*.

§ 4: lines 18 foll. He had also acted as ambassador to Heraclea: whether Heraclea ad Latmum or Heraclea Salbace, is doubtful, as both were Carian towns (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 500, and p. 527). I find in this a confirmation of what was said above. The freedom of Caria had meant disintegration: the Carian towns are quarrelling with each other.

2.

‘Block of blue marble, which has been cut by the owner to make it into a roller. From a site near the sea, about four miles west of Keramos; there are considerable ruins of Byzantine structures, into which ancient marbles have been built.’

ΙΣΤΗΛΙΣ
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΕΟΥ
 ΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΙΟΥ
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΟΥΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ

Ἡρα]ι Ἀκ[ρ]αί[α]ι
 Ἡράκλειτος Ἀριστέου
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ
 Ἀριστέου δεκάτην.

It is doubtful whether *ἄκραϊος* or *ἄκταϊος* was the epithet originally inscribed; see *Lexicons s.vv.* I supply Ἡρα from Euripides *Medea*, 1379, as suiting the space, but as a mere conjecture.

3.

Inscribed upon one block of blue marble; height 57 cms., width 93 cms. Mr. Paton writes: ‘Whether these two inscriptions, *a* and *b*, are on two sides

of the same stone, or on one side and separated by a space, I cannot remember; but I think, if the former, I should have noted it.'

(a)

ΑΙΑΟΥΓΑΙΙΟ
ΝΤΟΣΗΣΚΥΡΙΟΣΔΡΑ
ΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΤΗΝΕ
ΑΑΡΤΕΜΟΥΝΑΡΙΣΤΟ

5

ΘΕΟΙΣ

"Ηδεῖα Μητροφάνου, κ]ατὰ θυγατρο-
ποῖαν δὲ Δράκο]ντος, ἧς κύριος Δρά-
κων Δράκοντος] τοῦ Λέοντος, τὴν ἐ-
αυτῆς θυγατέρ]α Ἀρτεμοῦν Ἀριστο-
κράτου.] θεοῖς.

5

(b)

ΗΔΕΙΑΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΟΥΓΑ////////ΠΟΙΑΝ
ΔΕΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣΗΣΚΥΡΙΟΣΔΡΑΚΩΝΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑ
ΤΗΝΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙ

5

ΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΗΝ

ΘΕΟΙΣ

"Ηδεῖα Μητροφάνου, κατὰ θυγα[τρο]ποῖαν
δὲ Δράκοντος, ἧς κύριος Δράκων Δράκοντος
τοῦ Λέοντος, τὸν ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα Ἀριστοκρά-
την Δράκοντος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-
ας τῆς εἰς ἐαυτήν· θεοῖς.

5

Apparently from the base of two statues erected by Hedeia to her daughter and her husband respectively. The date is about 200 B.C. The word *θυγατροποιᾶ* is worth noting: it occurs in an inscription from Cos (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vi. p. 265), and in another from Heraclea Salbace in Caria (*ibid.* ix. p. 331); in the latter the form is debased to *θυγατροποιᾶ*, as in the document before us. On the *κύριος*, or *tutor*, whose permission is necessary before Hedeia can expend money upon the erection of these statues, see Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 112.

4.

'A marble base: height 66 cms.; width 88 cms.; no apices.'

ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΝΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΑΝΤΑΘΑΔΕΛ
ΦΟΣΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ

5

ΚΛΕΟΥΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΤΟΝ
ΘΕΟΙΣ

5

Εὐάνδρον Θεμιστοκλέους
στεφανηφορήσαντα ὁ ἀδελ-
φὸς Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεμιστο-
κλέους εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ
φιλοστοργίας τῆς εἰς ἑατόν·
θεοῖς.

The name Themistocles occurs again in No. 5, and also as a magistrate's name upon the coins of Ceramus. The form ἑατόν is a mark of the Augustan age; note also ἔνεκα and not ἔνεκεν.

5.

'White marble: height 98 cms.; width 64 cms.'

5

10

15

20

ΤΥΧΗΙΑΓΑΘΗ
ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΝΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΙΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΟΝ
ΗΠΑΤΡΙΣΚΑΘΑΔΙΕΤΑΖΑΤΟΘΕΙ
ΡΗΝΑΙΟΣΕΚΠΡΟΔΟΜΑΤΟΣΤΗΣ
ΠΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΚΟΣΑΕΤΙΑΣΗΣΕΜΙ
ΣΘΩΣΕΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝΠΑΙΛΙΟΣ
ΓΛΑΥΚΙΠΠΟΣΑΓΡΟΥΟΥΚΑΤΕΛΙ
ΠΕΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΕΝΤΗΟΛΟΣΣΙΔΙ
ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΕΞΩΑΓΡΟΥΚΑ
ΤΑΤΗΝΚΡΙΣΙΝΤΟΥΑΖΙΟΛΟΓΩ
ΤΑΤΟΥΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΥΑΥΡΔΙΟΔΟΤΟ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣΠΑΙΛΠΡΩΤΟ
ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΥΙΟΥΑΙΛΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ
ΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΥ
ΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΤΗΣΑΝΑ
ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΝΑΤΟ
ΜΕΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΔΗΜΗΤ
ΟΥΤΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΟΥΑΝΑΣΤΑΘΕΝ
ΤΟΣΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΗ
ΓΟΥΝΤΟΣΤΟΒΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥΜΕΛΑΝΤΑΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟ

Τύχη ἀγαθῇ·
Εἰρηναῖον Δρακοντομένους
τὸν γενόμενον ἱεροσκόπον
ἢ πατρίς, καθὰ διατάξατο ὁ Εἰ-
ρηναῖος ἐκ προδόματος τῆς
5 πρώτης εἰκοσαετίας ἧς ἐμί-
σθωσεν στρατηγῶν Π. Αἴλιος
Γλαύκιππος ἀγροῦ οὐ κατέλι-
πεν τῇ πόλει ἐν τῇ Ὀλοσσίδι
10 καλουμένου Ἐξω Ἀγροῦ κα-
τὰ τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ ἀξιολογω-
τάτου λογιστοῦ Αὐρ. Διοδότου,
στρατηγοῦντος Π. Αἴλ. Πρωτο-
λέοντος υἱοῦ Αἴλ. Θεμιστο-
15 κλέους ἀσάρχου καὶ χιλιάρχου,
ἐργεπιστατήσαντος τῆς ἀνα-
στάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Λεοννάτου
Μενεστράτου τοῦ καὶ Δημητρί-
20 ου τοῦ εἰρηνάρχου, ἀνασταθέν-
τος τοῦ ἀνδριάντος στρατη-
γοῦντος τὸ β Θεομνήστου
τοῦ Μελάντα Ἀπολλωνίδου.

A statue is erected (lines 17, 21) by the city (line 4) to one Irenaeus (line 2), who had left by will a certain estate to the city called Ὁ ἔξω Ἀγρός (line 10). This land was accordingly let by the *στρατηγός* of the city (lines 7 foll.) on a twenty years' lease, the lessee paying down a consideration for the lease at the outset (*προδόμα*, line 5). Out of this payment the cost of the statue is defrayed in accordance with the testament of Irenaeus (line 4). It appears that this application of a public bequest, even though directed by the testator, could not be made without obtaining the sanction of the *λογιστής* (line 12) or *curator*, for whose functions the reader is referred to Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. p 488. The word *κρίσις* however may imply that the will had been disputed, perhaps by the relatives of the deceased, and the curator had upheld the bequest made to the city. The word *προδόμα* seems to be unknown.

6.

'A portion of an architrave. I have not made a drawing of it, but my notes are as follows: The total length of the block can be estimated; about twenty letters may be missing on the right of lines 1, 2; these lines are complete on the left. Line 3 is broken on the left; only about six letters can be missing. I am however inclined to think we have the beginning of line 3, as there is between the p and the break a somewhat wider space than the usual interval between the letters. If line 3 is complete on the left, and was engraved exactly in the middle, only about twelve letters are missing in lines 1 and 2 on the right. The restorations given below accord with this supposition. The letters have apices: those in line 1 are more widely spaced.'

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΝΕΡΟΥΑΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΑΙΘΕΟΙΣΚΕΡΑ
 ΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΚΑΙΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΥΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΕΣΚΑΘΩΣΥΠΕΣ
 ΡΙΟΝΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΓ

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Νερούα Τραιανῶ Σεβαστῶ Γερμανικῶ καὶ θεοῖς Κερα[μ]ητῶν καὶ
 τῇ πατρίδι Ἑρμόφαντος Διονυσίου καὶ Ἑρμόφαντος Λυκίσκου ἀγορανομῶντες καθὼς ὑπέσ[χ]οντο τὸ ἀλιπτή-
 ριον ἐκ θεμελίων κατασκευάσαντες ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέθ[η]καν.

Dedication made in the reign of Trajan: the dedication No 9 is apparently a generation later.

7.

'Black slab of marble, broken at left and at top; height 70 cms., width 75 cms. Letters very broad: all the lines are complete on the right.'

ΙΟ / ΙΑΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ
 ΛΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙ
 ΕΜΝΩΣΚΑΙΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΙΚΩΣ
 ΝΟΝΔΕΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗΝΑΙ
 5 ΤΟΝΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΟΝΤΑΕΙΣ
 ΛΣΚΕΥΗΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΡΓΥΡΙΑΚΑΙΠΑ
 ΝΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΩΣΙΝΧΑΡΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΨΧΩΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΑΤΙΜΗΘΕΝΤΑ
 ΣΥΠΟΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗ
 10 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΔΕΥΤΕ
 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΜΕΤΑΤΟΥ
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΩΝΚΟΜΒΩΝΔΥ
 ΤΡΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΙΕΡΩΝΟΣΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
 ΝΟΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΑΥ
 15 ΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ
 ΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΙΚΟΝΑΠΑΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ

. σαντ]α καὶ ἀγορανο-
 μήσαντα κ]αὶ γραμματεύσαντα καὶ
 καλῶς καὶ σ]εμνῶς καὶ κηδεμονικῶς,
 ποιησάμε]νον δὲ κατασκευασθῆναι
 5 ον βαλανεῖον καὶ δόντα εἰς
 τὴν κατ]ασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ἀργύρια καὶ πά-
 λιν εἰς τὴ]ν συντελείῳσιν χαρισάμενον
 μεγαλοψύ]χως ἀργύρια, τιμηθέντα
 10 πολλάκι]ς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή-
 μου ταῖς] μεγίσταις τειμαῖς καὶ τὸ δεύτε-
 ρον συν]γυμνασιάρχῆσαντα μετὰ τοῦ
 νιοῦ] Θεοδώρου καὶ τῶν ΚΟΜΒΩΝ δυ-
 οῖν . . . σ]τράτου καὶ Ἰέρωνος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ
 15 ὁ δῆμος εὐ]νοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐ-
 τὸν κατασ]κεύισαντες καὶ ἀναστ(ή)σαντες
 τὸν ἀ]νδριάντα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

Statue in honour of a wealthy and munificent citizen, dating apparently from the first century A.D. In line 12 ΚΟΜΒΩΝ is unintelligible; we

might conjecture *γαμβρῶν*. The last line also is obscure both in sense and in grammar. Does it mean that the senate and people in erecting this statue (*ἀνδριάντα*) to his honour have taken the opportunity of placing with it also a portrait-bust or statuette (*εἰκόνα*) presented by the man himself (*παρ' ἑαυτοῦ*)? We are aware that *ἀνδριάντες* erected at this period to express the gratitude of impoverished towns were not always likenesses of their benefactors, but merely old honorary statues with a new inscription (see Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodiaca Oratio*, No. 31).

8.

'On an architrave of blue marble, partly buried; height 40 cms. Height of letters 4.2 cms.'

ῬΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΗΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣΑΡΧ

Ἡ δεῖνα Ἀριστοκράτους ἡ ἀρχιέρεια καὶ στεφανηφόρος Ἀρχ

'On the Architrave of a Gateway. Length 210 cms.'

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΤΡΙΣΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΣΥΓΙΟΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΗ
ΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΕΙΚΗΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΗΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΤΟ

ΒΑΛΑΝΕΙΟΝΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΝΑΥΤΩΙΕΡΓΑΠΑΝΤΑΣΥΝΠΑΝΤΙΤΩΚΟΣΜΩΕΚΤΩΝ

ΙΔΙΩΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

Ἰεροκλῆς Ἑρμοφάντου ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ στεφανηφόρος καὶ τρεῖς γυμνασίάρχως, υἱὸς πόλεως, καὶ ἡ
γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστοκράτους ἡ ἀρχιέρεια καὶ στεφανηφόρος, ἀρχιερατεύοντες, καὶ τὸ
βαλανεῖον ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔργα πάντα σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῶν
ἰδίων κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθηκαν.

10.

'Two portions of one architrave; height of letters 7.5 cms. The measurements of (a) are not given; (b) measures in length 195 cms., in height 38 cms.'

(a)

ΗΣΑΠΦΙΟΥΓ

(b)

ΕΤΟΥΑΒΡΟΝΕΙΚΗΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΑΠΦ

(a)

(b)

. . . . ης 'Απφίου στου 'Αβρονείκη 'Ερμοφάντου 'Απφ

The name ΕΡΜΟΦΑ . . . occurs as the name of a magistrate on one of the coins of Ceramus; see also No. 6 *ante*.

By way of appendix I repeat here the five inscriptions of Ceramus which were copied by Captain Spratt and published by Professor Babington (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Lit.* vol. x.).

11.

'On a column in a plain below the city, apparently the site of a temple.' Published in cursive only, which I reproduce.

	Τὸν θεοφιλέστατον
	Καίσαρα Γάϊον Βάλεντα
	Ὅστιλλιανὸν Μέσ[σ]ιον
5	Κοῦϊντον Εὐσεβῆ, Εὐ-
	τυχῇ, Σεβαστὸν, υἱὸν
	τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο-
	κράτορος Καίσαρος
	Γαίου Μεσσίου Κοῦϊντου
10	Τραϊανοῦ Δεκίου, Εὐσεβοῦς,
	Εὐτυχούς, Σεβαστοῦ,
	ἡ Κεραμιητῶν πόλις
	εὐτυχῶς.
	Μ. Αὐ. Β. Πολεῖτη β̄ τϕ̄
	ἀρχιάτρῳ πρώτῳ ἄρ-
15	χόντι τὸ β̄.

The editor remarks that this inscription establishes the fact, hitherto doubtful, that Hostilianus was the son of Decius. The document belongs to

the year A.D. 251. Babington misunderstood the last three lines. They read thus: M(άρκῳ) Αὐ(ρηλίῳ) Β(άλεντι) Πολεΐτη (Πολεΐτου) τῷ ἀρχιάτρῳ πρώτῳ ἄρχοντι τὸ β, *i.e.* 'when M. Aur. Valens Polites, the archiater, was *π. α.* for the second time.' The dative is equivalent to the Latin ablative, and β in line 13 merely implies that Polites bore his father's name (see on *C.I.G.* 2455, &c.). For the title *πρώτος ἄρχων* see the *Index* to *C.I.G.* The name Polites is noteworthy: perhaps the only man of Ceramus known to fame was an athlete Polites, who won both the long and the short race at Olympia on the same day (Pausan. vi. 13, § 2).

12.

'On another upright column: the last three lines. All the upper part is so obliterated as to be unintelligible; but the column appears to have been inscribed four or five feet further up.' Given in cursive only.

. Σεκοῦνδος (?)
[Τε]ρεντία
. . . νου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου Ἀππιανοῦ (?) Κλάρου

13.

'At a well in midst of ruins of city, and near a very beautiful doorway, apparently the entrance of a temple.'

Ἀντωνεινῷ Σεβ[αστῷ].

14.

'In wall of a small modern house in midst of ruins of ancient city.'

τέκνοις αὐ . . .
μφ.

15.

'In the same house. Perhaps a part of the same ancient monument as the preceding.'

Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίας (in three lines, two garlands below).

E. L. HICKS.

THE PROCESSES OF GREEK SCULPTURE, AS SHOWN BY SOME UNFINISHED STATUES IN ATHENS.¹

THERE are several unfinished statues now in the National Museum at Athens which seem not to have attracted as yet the attention they deserve. Whatever be the reason which has led the ancient sculptor to leave them unfinished, they are full of instruction to the modern student. In them we almost seem to see the artist at his work, and to be admitted to his studio. Even if they were given up because of a flaw or a mistake, that very mistake may teach us more as to the methods of the artist than many a completed statue. Fortunately, also, these unfinished statues in Athens illustrate various periods, from the archaic to one which is certainly later than the finest; and thus we are able to see what changes, if any, took place in the technique of sculpture during this interval, and, above all, we are not forced to generalize as to Greek sculpture from isolated examples of only one place or period.

I.—ARCHAIC.

Our first example (Fig. 1)² is a statue about $\frac{2}{3}$ of life size, which was seen by Ross (*Inselreise*, I. p. 41) lying just below the quarries at Naxos, where he saw also the well-known colossal unfinished statue. There can therefore be little doubt as to the place where it was made; it was evidently never finished, perhaps because the sculptor saw his proportions would not come right, and so remained where it was, until it was transported to the National Museum at Athens. It happens most fortunately that this statue is—or was going to be—a typical example of the first period of Greek sculpture. It clearly represents what is commonly called the archaic 'Apollo' type, a nude male figure, standing up stiffly, with the left leg advanced and with both arms pinned down to the sides. It was also intended to have long hair. There is no necessity to discuss here this well-known type or its various meanings and applications, whether to represent a god or a man. All we are now concerned

¹ For several suggestions in this paper, especially on the subject of practical sculpture and technique, I am indebted to Mr. W. Goscombe John, gold medallist (sculpture) of the Royal Academy, with whom I visited the mu-

seums and examined most of the unfinished works described in this paper.

² I have to thank Dr. Walter Leaf for the photographs reproduced in this cut and the next.

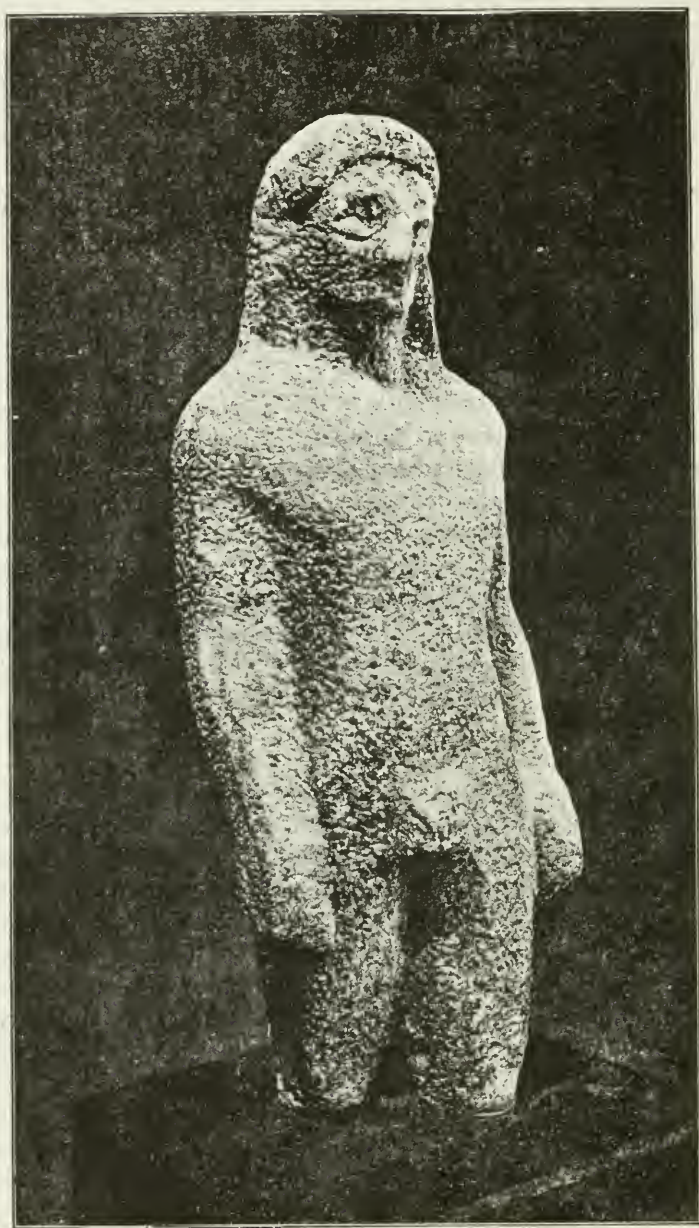


FIG. 1.

with is to notice the manner in which the artist sets to work, when he intends to make a statue of this type.

The statue is nearly perfect in preservation, only the legs from above the knees being lost. Though the treatment of the knees and feet might have farther exemplified the sculptor's methods, I think enough is left for us to be able to see clearly what those methods were.

The first thing that we notice is the extreme flatness of the surface at front, back and sides, so far as the original outline is left. In the back this is clearest; taken vertically, there is a marked curve; but a rule held horizontally against the back at any height would touch every point in the whole breadth from shoulder to shoulder or side to side. In front we see almost the same thing. At the sides there is a similar flat surface of the breadth of the arm; but the outline of the arm has been cut in parallel to the back and front planes from the side, and parallel to the side planes from the front, so that almost rectangular pieces are cut out. The result may best be realized, if one imagines the statue cut through horizontally at almost any height; the section resulting will be contained by lines parallel to the back and front of the statue, and others at right angles to them, parallel to the sides. In fact at most parts of the body the section will present a rectangular parallelogram, with a smaller rectangle attached at each side for the arms. The corners are not of course left quite sharp, but they are not rounded off enough to obscure the rectangular shape. Now when one considers the freeness of the outlines of the figure taken vertically—that is to say, viewed from the front or side—and compares it with the two sets of straight lines at right angles to one another taken in horizontal section—that is, viewed from above or below—the conclusion is obvious. The outline of the figure from the front or side must be drawn freely; the horizontal section at any point is dependent for its outline on two parallel systems of lines at right angles to one another. That is to say, the process followed in making the statue is precisely that followed by a beginner in sculpture now—or at any time—when he has to set to work on a rectangular block of marble and to hew a statue out of it. First he draws the outline of the statue in full face and in profile on the front and the side of the block. Then he carries these outlines straight through, working from the front parallel to the sides, and from the side parallel to the original front plane. When this process is completed, the statue, from front or side, has the required outline; but in horizontal section it is at any point perfectly rectangular. When the arms and legs have then been similarly outlined, and cut in to the required depth, and the face a little shaped, the result is a statue in precisely the condition in which we see the Naxian statue now before us.

There can then be hardly a doubt as to the process which produced this unfinished statue. But how far can we apply generally to early sculpture the results we have attained in a single example? An examination of a few well-known and typical archaic statues will enable us to answer this question.

It has often been observed that many archaic statues are square in shape—that is, in horizontal section. This squareness has often been

attributed to wood-technique or other influences—in part at least erroneously, as we shall now see. It is not however universal in archaic statues; it would be rash to generalize without examining a very large number of instances, but I think it will be found to be especially characteristic of the Ionic and Island schools. Thus we find that the horizontal section would be almost rectangular in the Branchidae figures, in the figure dedicated by Nicandra to Artemis at Delos, in the winged figure by Archermos from Delos, in the 'Apollo' of Thera, and in that class among the female statues found on the Acropolis at Athens which I was disposed, for other reasons, to regard as the common or Ionic type Atticized.¹

It seems more than a coincidence that squareness of shape belongs to just those schools and works which are traditionally connected with the first beginnings of marble sculpture. On the other hand we notice a round horizontal section, especially at the height of the waist, in the Hera of Samos² at the Louvre, and in the early Apollo figures from Boeotia, that of Orchomenos and those from the temple of Apollo Ptoos.³ In this connection it is worth observing that the treatment of the face in the Apollo Ptoos resembles strongly that seen in the Acropolis statue (*Musées d'Athènes*, Pl. ix.), which differs from all the rest, and resembles in drapery the Hera of Samos.⁴ But without following farther, for the present, an indication which might lead to interesting results, we may at least notice that the squareness of shape which we see in our unfinished statue is also to be observed, with the corners a little more rounded off, in a large number of statues even after finishing; and especially among statues of the Ionic type, to which our Naxian figure must also belong. And so we may infer that they all were made by the same process which we see going on in the unfinished statue; that is to say that the front and side outlines were first drawn on the front and side of the block, and then cut straight through parallel to the side and front lines, details being added and corners rounded off afterwards, but the general squareness of shape being preserved.

This squareness, as we have already noticed, has been by some attributed to the influence of wood-technique.⁵ That the influence of wood-technique is to be seen in some early sculpture, few probably will be prepared to deny; but that influence has been on the one hand exaggerated, on the other sought for in a wrong direction. Without some such process as that we have just inferred, there is no reason why a square section should be produced at the waist or the narrowest part of a statue, because the original block of marble or wood from which it was cut was square;⁶ but by such a process of parallel

¹ *B* and *D* and fig. 1, in my paper in this *Journal*, 1887, p. 163; Pl. x. in *Les Musées d'Athènes*; 'Ep. 'Aρχ. 1887, Pl. ix.

² See *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880, Pl. xiii-xiv. In separating Samos from the Ionic type, we may quote that the Hera there was made by Smilis the pupil of Daedalus.

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886, Pl. iv.; cf. *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 188, fig. 6.

⁴ See *J. H. S.* 1887, p. 187—189.

⁵ We are, I think, influenced in this matter by our conventional use of the word 'wooden' to mean 'stiff and square.' I do not think this meaning will bear careful analysis from the point of view of style.

⁶ I do not of course deny that the natural cleavage of wood according to the grain tends to produce flat surfaces. But the squareness of a stone statue need not be derived from imitation of a wooden model, as is often supposed.

cutting the square shape would be transferred even to the narrowest parts. Again, the squareness of the original block is an unjustified presumption. A block of marble cut from a quarry is usually rectangular. But a piece of wood, a *δοκός*, is not rectangular, but round in its original shape. We think usually of a beam as square, and hence has arisen this misapprehension that has led to numerous mistakes and misstatements. That the Greeks did not so think of it is shown by the following story about Agesilaus, recorded by Plutarch: ¹ 'When Agesilaus saw in Asia a house roofed with square beams, he asked the owner if trees grew square in those parts. The answer was "no, they grow round." "I suppose then," said he, "if they grew square, you would cut them round." We notice here, first, that Agesilaus had to go to Asia to see square beams; the story would fall very flat if the *δοκοὶ* he was used to at home were not left in their natural round shape—and the same shape would probably belong to the *δόκανα* which were the primitive symbol of the Dioscuri at Sparta. In the next place we see that he regarded a round log, a portion of the trunk or branch of a tree, as the ordinary shape of a rough piece of wood. Such must always be the notion of those who cut down their wood and use it on the spot: it is only because all the wood we use is imported or brought from a distance, already cut in the form used in modern building, &c., that we think of a block of wood as square. With this modern notion disappears the principal reason for associating squareness of shape with the influence of wood-technique, but on the other hand roundness of horizontal section does suggest the form of the trunk of a tree; and it is this roundness, not squareness, that should perhaps be associated with wood-technique. In this context it may be worth while to observe that the most typical example we noticed of roundness of shape was the Hera from Samos. And we know that at Samos it was Smilis, the wood-carver and pupil of Daedalus, who substituted a statue for the primitive wooden symbol.²

There are two other misapprehensions that have, I think, led to an exaggeration of the influence of wood-technique. One is as to the meaning of the word *ξόανον*, another as to the more general question of the development of sculpture from primitive temple-images.

As to the first question, it is to be noted that *ξόανον*, though generally assumed to mean a wooden statue, cannot be proved to have any so exclusive signification. Thus Xenophon (*Anab.* v. 3, 12) says τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ, and Euripides speaks (*Tro.* 1074) of χρυσέων ξοάνων τύποι. Again, Strabo (ix. 396) calls the colossal marble statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus a *ξόανον*. The fact is that the verb *ξέω* is

¹ *Apophth.* Lac. Ages. θεασάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκίαν τετραγώνοις ὠροφωμένην δοκοῖς, ἠρώτησε τὸν κεκτημένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς φύεται ξύλα· φασμένου δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ στρογγύλα, τί οὖν, εἶπεν, εἰ τετράγωνα ἦν, στρογγύλα ἔτελεῖτε;

² It is true that Callimachus calls this a *σανίς*, but we have no reason to suppose that he knew more than we do about its shape. And he contradicts himself by calling it *ἄξοος*. If so, it

must have had its natural round shape: in the next line is compared the *κίων* (*leg.* *κίον*), at Bentley's suggestion) of Athena at Lindus. Since writing the above, I have seen M. Lechat's interesting paper in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1890. He traces the influence of metal work in the Samian type; but the roundness of shape seems due to the plating of a log with metal, as in the case of the Apollo at Amyclae.

properly applicable to stone (cf. *ξεστὸς λίθος*) or wood, and the noun *ξύανον* is used for any statue, either of these materials or of metal. We cannot therefore, whenever we hear of a primitive *ξύανον*, infer that it was of wood, but we must be guided by other indications, if there are any, as to its material; and if there are none, we must be content to remain ignorant on the point.

The second misapprehension I refer to is concerned with the development of sculpture from the rude symbols of deities in temples. These symbols were of course often of wood, and some have supposed that Greek sculpture was developed from gradual improvement of these. I do not believe this to have been the case, to any considerable extent. Of course, as sculpture and the appreciation of form developed, the temple-image had to follow the development, in order not to appear totally inadequate or even ludicrous. But it followed, it did not lead, and even in the times of the highest art many rude symbols of primitive worship survived as the centre of religious ceremonies. The true development of Greek sculpture came in another way. The earliest attempts at anything worthy of the name of a statue are to be seen in the nude male and draped female figures which have been found on all early Greek sites; these were usually dedications representing either the deity or the worshipper; but they were not objects of worship, nor was their model the sacred symbol in the temple. What in them is conventional, and not taken from a direct observation of nature, is probably to be traced to the statuettes of Phoenician import and of types borrowed from Egyptian or Oriental art, which are also found upon almost all sites of early Greek habitation.

We have been led to some distance from our original subject by this attempt to reduce to its due place the influence of the primitive temple statue and of wood-technique upon early Greek sculpture. We may now, however, see that these influences are inadequate to explain the squareness of form for which the true explanation is, I think, now before us. Before we leave this early statue, a word or two should be added as to the tools used in its cutting. There is no sign of any tool but a rather sharp punch, driven probably with a hammer.¹ Of the marks of this instrument we shall see other examples in other unfinished statues, and to these we must now pass on.

NOTE.—Since I wrote the above, my attention has been called by Dr. Wolters to the marks of the saw in the deep folds of the drapery of the female figure from Delos in the National Museum at Athens (22 in the catalogue). This is a typical specimen of Ionic art, and shows most remarkably the square shape above noticed. Such a shape would be very easily produced by following the drawn outlines with a saw, parallel first to the side and then to the front of the block, and this process may have been the one used in the case of some of these square statues.

¹ Or perhaps a pointed hammer.

II.—VARIOUS STAGES OF WORKING.

Our second example of unfinished statues belongs to a very different period (Fig. 2). It is one of a group of unfinished statues which comes from Rheneia, most of which seem to be of fourth century work, and some of them intended to be erected over graves. It is not my intention here to consider the style or the subject of the statue, which do not concern our present discussion; all we have to notice on these points is that the statue probably belongs to Greek sculpture of the finest period of execution, and so may teach us something as to the methods of the artists of that period in carving a statue out of a block of marble.

In the first place we notice three small drill-holes over the brow, just in the middle of the statue horizontally, made in a rough piece of marble evidently left for the purpose, and intended to be worked off when the statue was finished (this appears clearly in the illustration). At the bottom are two corresponding drill-holes, one in a square hole let in between the feet, and another outside the left foot. These holes must have served for the adjustment of a rod or a line, fixed vertically down the front plane of the block along the middle of the body, to serve as a guide to the sculptor. That it was so used is quite clear from the line down the body just behind it, which does not correspond to the curve of the muscles, but does bound two different stages in the finishing of the work. These different stages can be very easily distinguished even in our engraving; in the statue itself they are clearer still. I will number them for convenience of reference.

(1) The rough rectangular block of marble is still left at the back across the whole breadth of the statue up to the shoulders; it is also left at the back of the head and neck to serve as a support.

(2) From the feet to the middle of the shin the marble has been roughly worked off in large chips by the use of chisel or punch and a mallet. The shape of the limbs is only very roughly discernible.

(3) From the middle of the shin up to the junction of body and legs. The work here is similar but carried deeper, so that the form of the limbs shows more clearly. The instrument used is a smaller and sharper punch and its marks are sharper and closer together; the surface thus reached is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to an inch deeper than 2.

(4) Upon the upper part of process 3, as a preparation for the advance to 5, the marble is being worked off by a number of irregular round holes, about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep, and one inch or more in diameter at the top. These are scooped out, so to speak, with some rounded instrument; but that instrument is not a drill nor anything resembling a drill—rather a curved chisel or gouge. At first sight some might be disposed to think that these holes served as puntelli taken from a finished clay or plaster model, to attain a measured depth upon the surface of the statue; but the instrument used is not one suited to this purpose; the drill which made the holes we have already noticed would have done this work with more accuracy and less labour. And besides,



FIG. 2.

why should measured puntelli be used at this point only in the various processes which we see to have been used in making the statue? A careful examination of these peculiar round holes shows that they are simply used as a convenient method of removing the bulk of the layer that has to come off between processes 3 and 5. It is probably used now, and not before, because the sculptor is now approaching his final surface, and therefore is anxious to see more clearly what he is doing as he goes on, and to be quite sure what depth his next process will attain.

(5) This next process is visible upon the middle of the body and the left half of the front of the abdomen, where it is divided from state 4 by the vertical line we have already noticed down the front of the statue. The whole surface is worked away about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deeper than 3, with the same punch but sharper and more carefully used. In this state an approximation to the general forms of the body is reached, but no details of muscles &c. are yet to be distinguished.

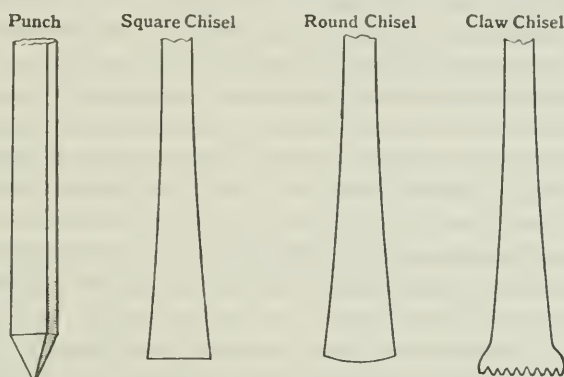


FIG. 3.—FORMS OF TOOLS.

(6) We now come to the part nearest approaching completion; this covers the upper part of the chest and arms (so far as these are worked out of the original block), the neck and the head, and the drapery. In the folds of the drapery the running drill is used; the rest of the surface is worked over in all directions by the parallel tooth-marks of a fine claw-chisel. Thus a depth of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch below 5 has been worked away, and about as much is still left, in which all fine detail and play of surface is still to be rendered. How this was to be done is not clear in this statue, though others in a more advanced stage may help us in this matter. These we shall afterwards consider. At present it remains for us to sum up what we have learnt from the unfinished statue before us.

In the first place we notice that it is quite free-cut; there is no sign of any appliance to guide the hand or eye of the sculptor, except perhaps a vertical rod or line fixed down the front of the block. Of the existence of a finished clay or plaster model, from which points were taken by a mechanical process to help its exact reproduction in marble, there is not the slightest

indication. This fact is of great importance. There is no doubt that in Roman times, and possibly occasionally earlier, *puntelli* from a finished model or 'proplasma' were used just as they are in modern times; traces of such a proceeding have been found in later statues. But it seems most probable that this practice was one of the mechanical improvements introduced in the school of Lysippus and especially by his brother Lysistratus.¹ At any rate it certainly was not universal, nor probably even common, in good Greek times, to judge from many extant unfinished statues. Whether a clay model was used at all is a different question. But we must remember that the artist who sold his *proplasmata* at high prices was Arcesilaus, who was at Rome in the first century B.C., and that the man who spoke of 'plastice' as '*mater statuariae*' was Pasiteles, an artist of the same period. If such practices or opinions had been held by earlier and more famous artists, it is hardly probable that they would only be quoted about sculptors of Roman period. We cannot of course deny that a Greek artist of the best period may very probably have helped himself in designing by sketches in clay; but if he intended to make his statue by the method we see here in process, it is hard to see why he should ever have taken the trouble to make a full-size clay model or to finish it in detail, at least when he intended to execute his statue in marble. We may then at once dismiss the thought that any mechanical copying of a prepared model is to be seen in our statue. The artist is cutting it quite freely out of the block, knowing of course what he wants to do, but not having before him any finished embodiment or reproduction of the work of art he has in his mind. The rod fixed down the middle of the block in front is an additional proof of the freedom with which he works. So far is he from having any measured points fixed in the block, that he requires this line to help his eye and hand in duly proportioning the two sides and limbs, and in keeping the centre of gravity of the statue in its true position. The different stages by which he worked lower to his imaginary 'statue within the block' are all to be clearly seen. He first works away layer after layer with some simple cutting tools, a mallet and punch in all probability; it is not impossible a pointed hammer may have been used for the rougher work. When he has approached the final surface of the statue in this way, bit by bit (for he does not finish each process through before beginning another), he gouges away a depth of about half an inch, honey-combing the marble with round holes till he sees the surface below at intervals: then he returns to his mallet and punch, and works down near to his final surface. As he gets quite close to this, he takes to a finer instrument, the claw-chisel, and works it very freely in all directions over the rough punch marks, till he produces a surface prepared for the final finish of muscles and details. He also takes up a drill, for the first time since he fixed his rod down the front, and now uses it to draw and cut in the folds of the drapery, which he also chisels roughly into shape. At this point his work is interrupted—fortunately for us, since we are thus enabled almost to see the various processes upon which he was employed.

¹ There is no direct authority for this supposition, but the use of finished clay models seems to imply pointing of some sort from them.

III.—FINAL PROCESSES.

For the processes which followed the last state we noticed in the last statue, we may next turn to two others, an unfinished seated statue of a woman, and the upper part of another, both also from Rheneia. The first of these is fully draped and the high-set girdle seems to point to the Hellenistic period. But it is possible that the three statues from Rheneia may all come from the same studio. Here the whole of the statue is worked over with a claw-chisel—but one with shorter teeth is used, producing a smoother surface. It has been worked across and across the face in all directions. Here also the final surface has nowhere been reached, and there is no sign of pointing from a model. The process is obviously the same as that we have before noticed; the statue is gradually approached by cutting layer after layer from the block, finer tools being used as the final surface is approached. In the other statue, of which the bust only remains and the head is covered with a veil—or, to speak more accurately, has a fold of the himation drawn over it—we see a new and finer process, the last chisel but one coming into play. Marks of the claw-chisel, which, as we have seen, comes next after the punch, are to be seen all over the drapery and hair, but upon the face a different instrument has been used which gives the peculiarly soft appearance, like that of roughly modelled clay, that we see in this statue. This instrument is a chisel with a curved edge, which cuts away the surface in shallow rounded grooves; we shall see its marks in another instance. It is an excellent tool to use immediately before the final cutting with a square-edged chisel; for it cuts into the surface gradually, and does not bite in and chip at the corners. But it is not of course adapted for final use, since it must always however carefully used leave a series of minute ridges with shallow curved grooves between them, such as we may see in this face. These ridges must then be worked away, and the final surface given by a square chisel: afterwards nothing is left but polishing with rough soft stone. The statue was probably intended to be set upon a fourth century grave stela; the beauty of the type is already perceptible, as it were through the thin veil of marble that has yet to be removed.¹

The marks of a chisel with slightly curved edge are also to be seen upon a torso preserved in the National Museum (Fig. 4). It is of free style, and has long hair descending upon the shoulders—probably a Dionysus or Apollo type. Here the arms and legs are left with the punch marks still visible, in a condition corresponding to state 5 of the unfinished statue in various stages. But a chiselled groove is run down the front of the legs, as if to find the surface below. Upon the front of the body the surface is chiselled down by a succession of parallel grooves, running horizontally across. Then the punch marks are worked away, and only the slight ridges between the grooves remain to be worked off before the statue approaches completion. In some places the

¹ This bust is numbered 186 in the National Museum. It is reproduced in Lebas and Waddington, Pl. 89. 2.

muscles are only drawn in outline, a characteristic far more marked in our next two examples.

The first of these is a small statue in the National Museum, which is in a very interesting state (Fig. 5). At first glance the stiffness of the lines might lead one to suppose it to be of archaic period, but the free treatment of the drapery (which is nearly, if not quite, finished) shows that it cannot be so early. The statue has been finished as far as the claw-chisel stage, but has



FIGS. 4, 5.

been left with the whole surface nearly flat and showing little detail of modelling. On this surface the artist has drawn and cut in the outlines of the muscles, doubtless with the intention of working them in to their proper relief and modelling; then the hard and definite outlines we now see would naturally disappear, and the various elevations and depressions would pass imperceptibly into one another.

Our last example is the upper part of an unfinished statue which now stands in the middle of the entrance hall of the Acropolis Museum (Fig. 6). It is fortunate that we are able thus to end, as we began, with a statue of which it is easy to recognize the type and period. We have here a reproduction of the subject represented by two or three extant statues, the best known that in the Louvre commonly called Jason. A young man, with one foot supported upon a rock, bends over to tie his sandal with both hands; at the same time he turns his head as if to listen; the subject is doubtless rightly explained as



FIG. 6.

a Hermes, binding on his sandals for flight, while he still turns to hear the last commands of his master Zeus. The type has also been rightly identified as belonging to the Lysippean School, and to that branch of it which excelled in the rendering of anatomy and in the accurate representation of muscles and sinews. It is therefore most interesting to observe the method in which the rendering of the muscles in this statue is prepared. The upper part of the face is almost finished, and in the front of the body a smooth surface is already produced, though at the back the rough punch marks remain. Into this

surface the outlines of the muscles are cut with a curved chisel in broad shallow grooves, which continue even into the rough working at the back. At the side under the arm this treatment is most remarkable, and one distinctly sees portrayed by the grooved outlines the complicated interlacing of muscles so carefully indicated in the anatomical athletic style. When the modelling has been worked out in accordance with the lines thus indicated the play of surface will be what we should expect in a statue of this type. It is very interesting to notice the difference between these complicated lines and the simply drawn outlines of the muscles in the other statue which is thus prepared. But though we have a distinctly Lysippean type, it is to be noticed that the work is still done quite freely on the statue itself. If the work were a more or less mechanical reproduction of a model in clay or plaster, there would be no need of outlining the muscles at this stage, to guide the artist in the next process of his work.

We must of course use some caution in making universal application of the results we have gained from an examination of these few unfinished statues of Greek period. But we find them to confirm one another to a remarkable degree; and I know of no other unfinished statue of Greek period which shows any indications against the truth of the conclusions we have arrived at for Greek sculpture in general.¹ If they are accurate, they will help us to realize the freedom with which Greek sculptors worked their marble; and this freedom and facility of hand perhaps contributed in no small degree to the excellence of their sculpture.

E. A. GARDNER.

¹ I have noticed drill marks, probably the remains of pointing from a finished model, on the forehead and chest of one statue in Athens. This is the Dionysiac group found near the

Olympieum, and published by M. Koumanoudes in the *Ἐφημερίς Αρχαιολογική* for 1888, Pl. I; it is probably of Hellenistic or Roman period, from its subject.

Τραπεζώ AND Κοσμώ IN THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON.

THE discovery two years ago of the small terra-cotta here figured, found in a grave in the outer Kerameikos of Athens, seems to me of some interest, especially because of its bearing upon one of the figures from the central slab of the frieze of the Parthenon. This possible relation to the scene there depicted appears to me so manifest that it requires but a few words of comment. The figure is here given in its actual dimensions (Fig., p. 144) and is a terra-cotta which, judging from its style, probably belongs to the first half of the fifth century B.C. There are traces of archaic conventionality, and yet, in the head as well as in the folding of the drapery, there is a freedom which points towards the greater art of the fifth century. It is very likely that the subject represented is the same as in one of the figures carrying what was supposed to be a chair (though it has been doubted) in the slab containing the priestess of Athene with her two female attendants. This terra-cotta is thus of some value in fixing the action of one of these attendants. The object carried on her head may be a small table, but it certainly seems more probable that it is a chair with a cushion.

Miss Jane Harrison in a recent note in the *Classical Review*¹ quotes from my essay on the Art of Pheidias a passage referring to the discussion as to the interpretation of the scene depicted on the central slab of the Eastern frieze,² in which I adduce 'a vase-painting of Exekias as evidence that the scenes depicted on this slab are not typical of any sacred religious function, but belong to the sphere of every-day life.' Though in the passage referred to by her I must have laid myself open to misunderstanding, her interpretation of my meaning, as I shall be able to show, does certainly not convey the drift of the essay in question. But I do not regret this misunderstanding, inasmuch as it has enabled Miss Harrison to point out a connection that may exist between Harpocration's explanation of the word *τραπέξοφόρος* and the possible interpretation of one of these female attendants on the priestess in the Parthenon frieze. Miss Harrison thus proposes to call the two attendants *Τραπεζώ* and *Κοσμώ*. For, according to Istros (and his authority is confirmed by a third century inscription in which there is undoubted mention of *ίέρεια* and *τράπεζα*) there were functionaries in the sacred ritual to whom these names were given.³

¹ *Classical Review*, III. p. 378, Oct. 1889.

² *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, Essay vii. p. 243.

³ *C. I. A.* ii, 374.

Mr. W. Watkiss Lloyd in the next number of the *Classical Review*, p. 423, confirms Miss Harrison and adds the testimony of K. O. Müller, who strengthens the authority of Harpocration by Hesychius *sv.* Τραπεζών [Meursius *Att. Lect.* 187 proposes Τραπεζώ], who defined this by *ἱερεῖά τις Ἀθήνησιν*.



Now I think it quite possible that the two attendants on the priestess in the Parthenon frieze may have had these definite names to indicate their office or function; and this only confirms what I say on p. 241 of the essay referred to. 'I can thoroughly sympathize with the reluctance which many must feel to give up, first, an interpretation long fixed by custom, secondly, one so full of

beautiful associations, and thirdly to resign such a meaning for one seemingly so trivial. It does seem a great step downwards from the dedication of the sacred peplos of Athene, the culminating act of the Panathenaic procession, to the scene of a priest divesting himself of his outer garment. Yet we must not forget that what to our minds appears trivial was not so to the minds of the Greeks, simpler and less sophisticated—especially in matters connected with dress or nudity. Furthermore we must bear in mind that every act connected with the worship, the rites and ceremonies of the gods, was possessed of a solemnity and importance which raised it far above the corresponding prosaic action of daily life.'

The chief aim of the essay in question was to show that the central scene of the Parthenon frieze did probably not represent the dedication of the peplos; but in all likelihood rendered the scene of preparation for the sacrifice of the hecatombs depicted in the frieze as part of the procession. And I quoted the vase of Exekias, and another vase published by Panofka,¹ to show that the scenes represented in the frieze were similarly represented in scenes of daily life; but of course the preparations of the priest and priestess in the Panathenaic procession received a more ritualistic significance and importance from their association with the religious function. What I maintain is that the cloak held by the boy is not likely to be the one peplos of Athene, and that the objects carried on the heads of the attendant maidens do not represent the culminating objects of interest in the religious ceremony; but that both mark the preparation on the part of priest and priestess for a still more important function. And if the two female attendants are Κοσµώ and Τραπεζώ, their names will merely indicate the function which they had in this preparation. It seems to me possible, nay even probable, that the two female attendants in the frieze of the Parthenon held these offices; and it appears to me likely that the terra-cotta here published, found in a grave, commemorates the fact that the occupant of the grave once had the distinction of holding this sacred office.

I may here add in short, what will require a fuller treatment on some future occasion, that the numerous marble archaic statues of maidens and women found within the last four years in the excavations on the Acropolis may not represent any deity, but may be statues of such priestesses or officials placed on the Acropolis by the women themselves or their relations in honour of the goddess and in commemoration of their own sacred office. I will here merely single out one argument in support of this view, namely, that Kimon was not likely to have thrown these statues in as materials for filling up the ground after the Persian devastation if they had been sacred statues of the goddess; for it is an error to believe that these statues had been carefully hidden away in one place: they were, in fact, carelessly thrown in as materials for filling.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ *Annali d. Inst.* 1845, p. 60. Pl. D. Fig. 3.

A STELE COMMEMORATING A VICTORY IN A BOAT-RACE.

WHEN working last Spring in the Central Museum at Athens, my attention was arrested by a sculptured tablet having apparent reference to the Greek boat-races of which I have already treated in two papers in this *Journal*.¹ This relief admits unfortunately of but partial explanation, but nevertheless, as it stands almost alone² in its kind, I propose to publish it without waiting for more light on the subject.

The size of the whole stele is forty-one by twenty-six inches. All the middle part of it is blank: probably an inscription had been painted there which has now entirely disappeared. Had it survived, it would have explained the reliefs sculptured above and below it: as things are, we must explain these reliefs as best we can with the help of analogies. It is evident that they refer to a victory won in the boat-races at Athens; perhaps in one of those races of Ephebi at the festivals of Diisoteria, Aianteia, or Munychia which are spoken of in the Ephebic inscriptions.³

At the head of the stele stand, side by side, three male figures, all apparently young, though the condition of the marble does not allow us to be quite sure on this point (Fig. 1). In the midst is a man wrapped in a himation, evidently a citizen of wealth and consideration: we can scarcely be mistaken in supposing him to be one who has undertaken the *λειτουργία* of paying and feeding the boat's crew which has proved victorious. It must be a representative of this boat's crew who stands on the right clad in a chlamys, and places a wreath on the head of the central figure. Perhaps he may be the *κελευστής*, the steersman and captain of the crew. On the left stands an unmistakable athlete, naked but for a small garment hanging from his shoulder over his left arm; with his right hand he places a wreath on his own head, while in his left hand is a palm. He also clearly represents the victorious crew, but he must be one of those whose thews and muscles have won the prize, probably the stroke oar of the boat. The gradation in drapery of the three figures tells its own tale: the man of wealth is fully clad, the captain wears the knightly chlamys, the athlete stands all but naked. The *κελευστής* crowns the benefactor, implying that success is due to his generosity, the oarsman crowns himself because it is by his efforts and those of his colleagues that victory has been won.

¹ Vol. ii. 90 and 315.

² The well-known trireme-relief of the Acropolis of Athens is also probably part of a stele.

³ See vol. ii. 316, and the references there given.



FIG. 1.

We next turn to the relief at the bottom of the stele (Fig. 2). A boat is figured going to the left, a pointed beak in front, and a curved aplustre at the stern. In it are seated eight men, all apparently naked. The one next the prow holds over his left shoulder a palm branch, his right hand is advanced and seems to hold a wreath. Then come seven oarsmen, though there is no vestige of oars. Finally we have at the end of the boat a rudder of simple form. But the strange thing is that these men all look one way. They seem to be all rowers, and the steersman, whom in a small boat we should expect also to be the *κελευστής*, is absent. Perhaps the rudder, by a sort of short hand, represents him. This would in fact be by no means inconsistent with Greek usage. If, as is probable, the *κελευστής* appears in the relief above, that may be a reason why he should not appear beneath also. It is true that the *κελευστής* in ancient ships frequently stood or sat in the bows: he occupies this position in Egyptian war-ships,¹ and in the relief published by Pozzo² representing a Greek ship of war. But if he occupied this position he could not steer the vessel, and it seems very unlikely that a small boat would carry two passengers, one to give the time and the other to steer.³

Supposing then that our representation is of the oarsmen only, it is in many ways interesting. The very number, eight, however little we can press it, appeals to modern English oarsmen. And Dr. Warre of Eton has kindly called my attention to two curious points. First, the men are seated exactly in the position of rest, doing no part of a stroke, but as if sitting for their portraits. Secondly, in size they seem clearly to diminish from the midst towards the bows, like the oarsmen in our eights.

I fear that modern oarsmen will look with some contempt on the heavy outlines of the craft. They must however remember two facts in extenuation of its clumsiness. First that the boat-races were rowed in the open sea along the Attic coast or towards Salamis. And the storms in that sea, though not lasting, are sudden and violent; to venture out in a light boat would be very dangerous. On that rocky coast landing-places are few; there is no shelving shore for a boat to turn to in a sudden squall. And secondly boat-races in Greece were, at least in origin, intended as a preparation for war, and the boats used in them were probably part of the national fleet. Possibly rowing matches in such boats might be as good a training for muscles and wind as contests in our racing-eights.

It may perhaps be considered that the athlete in the upper relief should be called *bow* rather than *stroke*, since he bears a palm like that carried by bow in the lower relief. But this is unlikely. It seems unlikely that bow would have more honour than stroke. But of course when a boat is in action bow can carry a palm far more readily than stroke who has the time to set.

We know but little of this particular class of liturgiae. Possibly they may have been included in the duties of the gymnasiarch, so extensive in later

¹ Duemichen, *Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin*.

² This relief has disappeared. It is figured in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1874, pl. 7; and Bau-

meister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1629.

³ As an instance in which the same man acts as steersman and as *κελευστής* see the ship of Odysseus on a red-figured vase, *M.d.I.* I. 8.

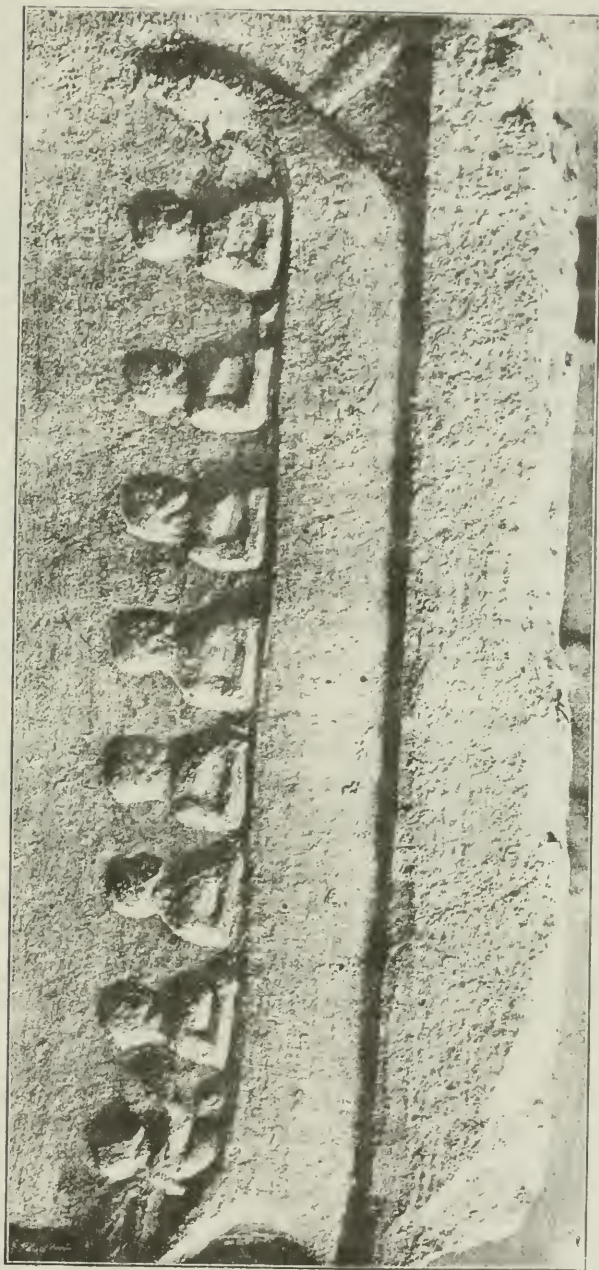


FIG. 2.

Athens. Perhaps in some cases the equipment of a boat to compete in the local races might be part of the duty of a trierarch. The law cited by Demosthenes in the *De Corona* (p. 262) states that the maximum which shall be demanded of the very wealthiest class of trierarchs shall be the equipment and maintenance of three ships and a boat, ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. Perhaps this ὑπηρετικόν might contend in the races, and if so the credit it won would naturally devolve on the trierarch responsible for it. But another passage, in a speech of Lysias, seems to show that the furnishing of a ship for the races was a liturgia quite separate from the trierarchy. The orator is giving a list of the public services of the wealthy Apollodorus, and mentions among these¹ first a trierarchy lasting seven years, and costing six talents, and then, after its expiry, a victory with a trireme in the races, at a cost of fifteen minae, νενίκηκα δὲ τριήρει μὲν ἀμιλλώμενος ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, ἀναλώσας πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς.

With races of triremes our monument can scarcely have any connection. But it may well have reference to a victory in a race of ὑπηρετικά, tender-boats used in the navy. One of these is mentioned by Demosthenes² as coming with despatches from Thasos to Methone. Thucydides³ speaks of boats, λεπτὰ πλοῖα, as accompanying a Peloponnesian fleet: and we read in an Attic inscription of ἀκάτοι δημοσίαι which seem to have been small undecked vessels. But no sea-going boats in Greece would have so small a complement of rowers as eight: and it is likely that in the case of our monument the number of rowers is merely conventional, so that we are not justified in supposing that the Greeks ever had racing eight-oared boats.

The date of our relief is not easy to fix without the help of an inscription. The rudeness of the work and the decay of the surface deprive us even of the evidence of style. It dates probably from the Roman age, but does not seem to be very late in that age: possibly it may even date from the later Hellenistic period.

PERCY GARDNER.

¹ *Apologia*, xxi. 5. Cf. Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens* (Eng. trans.) ii. 213.

² *Adv. Polyclem*, p. 1220. Cf. Plutarch,

Demosthenes, c. 29.
³ ii. 83.

NOTES IN PHRYGIA PAROREUS AND LYCAONIA.

THE following pages contain the meagre results of a hasty journey from the borders of Galatia to the Cilician coast, undertaken in July, 1887, by Mr. H. A. Brown and myself, after parting at Bey-keni with Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who wished to return direct to Smyrna. Our object was to reach Cilicia Tracheia by way of Phrygia Paroreus, and the Melas valley, pursuing in the former district a new route and especially selecting the unmapped and undescribed hill-path from Ilghin to Konia. From Konia we were to have turned westward to Beysheher, and thence struck over Taurus. But only the first part of this programme was carried out at all, owing to the indisposition of my companion, which became so serious by the time that we reached Konia that all idea of further exploration had to be abandoned, and we made direct for the sea. In another respect also the journey was not entirely satisfactory. I now know better than I knew then that an archaeologist, who would discover much in Anatolia, must travel with a certain train of pack-animals and attendants: the Englishman who, proud of his power of endurance, discards all superfluities and travels with what he can carry on his own horse excites no admiration but much contempt in the minds of the villagers. "This is a poor man," say they, and he is shown only just as much of what he wishes to see as will silence his importunity. We had made the initial mistake of travelling too "light," taking neither tents nor beds, nor cooking utensils, nor indeed anything but the contents of our own saddle-bags, and depending entirely on the favour of the villagers both for lodging and food; and in consequence, while we suffered a good deal of unnecessary hardship, we saw less than might have been discovered by explorers more magnificently equipped.

Partly on this account, and partly because certain points in the inscriptions which we found were obscure, I delayed the publication of any account of the journey in the hope that either Mr. Ramsay or myself might be able to revisit the district in 1888 or 1889, and perhaps find something of greater value; but as that was found to be impossible, and as it is very doubtful whether we shall be in that part of Anatolia in 1890, I have decided to publish our results.

They consist, first, of thirty-one inscriptions, three of which are partly in the late Phrygian dialect; but as none have any topographical value, and the majority are epitaphs of the most commonplace order, I have relegated them all to the end of the paper. Secondly, I made a route map from Boluwodun

(Polybotus) to Konia, published herewith, which has some geographical value, as the Paroreus has only been once indifferently surveyed, and of the hill-road from Ilghin to Konia no map at all is, I believe, in existence. Thirdly, I collected a few notes and observations which may be stated first as in some degree explanatory of the map.

We left Afion Kara Hissar on July 3rd, and rode to Felleli, a large village, five hours distant, lying a little to the left of the direct track to Boluwodun. I copied again two inscriptions built into a bridge, one and a quarter hours from our starting-point, and read previously by Prof. W. M. Ramsay (*Athen. Mittheil.*, 1882, p. 130, and *J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 493), but my copies merely confirm his. In Felleli we found four inscriptions (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5), two partly in late Phrygian, but saw no other remains. Thence to Boluwodun is four hours' journey over a grassy plain.

From Boluwodun (Polybotus) I began my map, following at first the modern road which here crosses the valley at right angles the sooner to strike the post-road from Kutuya and Afion Kara Hissar to Konia at Tchai. But a more direct track leaves Boluwodun on the east, and keeps close under the Emir Daglı on the same side of the valley; and skirting the marshes of the Eber Göl, crosses a low spur, and passes along the firm northern shore of the Aksheher Göl. At the north-eastern corner it falls into a road from the Plains, and proceeds round the Lake to the town of Aksheher (Philomelium). We struck into this track on the third day after leaving Boluwodun, when, attracted by a mendacious report of a "written stone" at Ütchükuyu, we recrossed the valley from Saklı. At the corner of the Aksheher Göl we saw by the roadside considerable traces of foundations, apparently those of an isolated villa; and, in a little modern cemetery hard by, an inscribed stele (No. 8).

The plain between the Aksheher and Eber Lakes is at all times very marshy and to a great extent under water in winter, a fact which accounts for the circuit made by this northern track to Aksheher. The ordinary road, however, passes to the west of the Eber Lake, being carried for some distance along paved causeways, elevated above the marsh,¹ and joins the great post-road just east of Tchai.

Tchai has been generally identified with Xenophon's Caystri Pedium; Mr. Ramsay would also place at or near it, Ipsus, which declined in importance during the Roman period in comparison with the lower town of Julia² (Saklı), with which it appears to have shared a bishop.³ That the battle of Ipsus at any rate took place higher up the valley than Saklı appears probable on all grounds. Diodorus (xx. 109 foll.) has furnished us with a sufficient account of the preliminary operations in the autumn of 302 to make it fairly clear where the different kings wintered before the decisive struggle. Lysimachus was not far from Heraclea Pontica; Seleucus was in Cappadocia;

¹ Cp. the description given by the archdeacon Paul of his journey with the Patriarch Macarius from Sakla to 'Belaidon' (*Travels of Macarius*, tr. for the Orient. Trans. Committee, p. 8).

² Pliny, *N.H.* v. 29.

³ Lucian of Ipsus signs at Chalcedon in 451 A.D.

Antigonus somewhere in Western Phrygia, probably near Synnada, whither he had retired after the escape of Lysimachus from Dorylaeum. The natural point of convergence is the western end of Paroreus, and a great battle in which elephants, chariots, and cavalry played a large part, must have been fought where the plain is both level and dry. Below Saklı the overflow of the two lakes renders the whole centre of the valley marshy; but west of the Eber Göl stretches a great grassy expanse, admirably suited to military purposes. Out of it, close to Tehai, rise two large tumuli, apparently unopened, which it is tempting to refer to the battle: but others are to be seen at intervals both up and down the valley.

At the foot of the Sultan Daglı lie a succession of prosperous villages, all possessed of perennial streams and fine orchards of apricots, figs, and pomegranates, becoming more and more luxuriant as Aksheher is neared. Yassian, with its "Fount of Midas," is quite a paradise among Anatolian settlements. But the opposite side of the valley shows a marked contrast; here are only a few *tehifliks*, and two or three new Turcman and Yuruk villages. Water is very scarce, and trees non-existent. The Sultan Daglı falls to a line of low hills which bound the Great Plains, and partake of the bareness and sterility of the latter. But, knowing that this side of Paroreus was untrodden ground, we crossed the valley on July 6th, paid a fruitless visit to Ütchkuyu, a Turcman village among the foot-hills, and then returned to the Lake and visited the unimportant ruins, mentioned above, at its north-western corner. Thence we followed the track along the northern shore, noticing many caves in the line of low cliffs, at the foot of which we were proceeding, and lay (but did not sleep) supperless and waterless at Yuruk-keui. In a Turcman village—Korashlı—we found next day some inscribed stelae (Nos. 9, 10), but nothing to fix its ancient name,¹ nor did we see or hear of anything of importance before rejoining the post-road at Ilghin (Tyriaeum) by way of Tchaoushji, whose crops seemed to have suffered from the drought in a far less degree than any other village which we visited that summer.

Ilghin is a straggling town lying along the post-road, possessed of three fine mosques, two khans, and the ruins of some fine baths and a khan of the Seljuk period. Built into walls and scattered about in the cemeteries are many stelae of the Byzantine period, while the door-posts of the principal mosque are made of fragments of an inscribed cornice, bearing mutilated Christian inscriptions and medallions of St. Basil and St. Nicholas. All that I copied are published at the end of this paper (Nos. 11–16), but they add nothing to our knowledge of Tyriaeum.

From this point the post road to Konia, *viâ* Yorgan Ladik (Laodicea Combusta), diverges from the direct hill-path. The latter was traversed by the late Colonel J. D. H. Stewart, when resident in Konia, but his map and description are no longer in existence. We therefore chose it, and left Ilghin on July 9th, crossed the semicircular plain where Cyrus held his review

¹ Bardaëtta, where Bardas Phokas was encamped in 971 (Leo Diac. p. 120), might be near here.

(*Anab.* i. 2, 14), and struck into the hills at a point two hours distant, near a water-mill on the right and a new Tcherkess village on the left. Three-quarters of an hour previously we had passed the rich village of Sardu-keui, destitute of antiquities. An hour's climb brought us to an undulating plateau, bounded on the right by a high mountain chain, a continuation of the Sultan Dagħ, and on the left declining gradually to the Great Plains which stretched away as far as the eye could see. Under the mountains on the right we could see another path, coming from the direction of Aksheher, converging towards our own, but not joining it until it reached Kunderaz. This is no doubt the old route from Thymbrium to Iconium, *viâ* Caballa (W.M.R., *Hist. of the Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 140). Two hours brought us to Osmanjik, where 'ruins' were reported, but proved to consist of some boulders rolled down from the hill-side; but, staying there the night, we found several stelae, though of no interest (Nos. 17-20). In one and a half hours next morning we reached Kunderaz, the last village before the pass over the mountain-chain, noticed the day before on the right. In the grave-yard were three stelae (Nos. 21-23), and in a little cemetery twenty minutes farther on towards the pass, on the left of the track, others had been utilized, including one with the usual Phrygian formula (Nos. 3 and 24-27).¹ There must, therefore, have been some large village in Roman times upon this well-watered plateau, but I could hear of no ruins nor of any site.

From this point as far as Konia antiquarian interest ceases, but the grandeur of the scenery through which the track lies atones for its absence. After climbing the steep northern slope through dense forest and crossing the watershed, it descends in a southerly direction a gorge which gradually narrows until there is only room for the path and stream. About an hour and a half from the head of the pass the path turns sharply to the left, and, climbing the side of the gorge, continues for two and a half hours more south-east over stony uplands, broken by deep water-courses, now dry. On the right stretches a wild waste of mountains towards Pisidia, and before the traveller rise several peaks which mark the edge of the plateau towards the Great Plains. Passing a well, the first water for many miles, the road now enters a gradually-deepening gorge, and reaches in three-quarters of an hour the large village of Tat-keui. Hence to Konia by Sirlé is a matter of three hours, making the whole time from Ilghin by the hill-path fifteen hours or (approximately) fifty-two and a half miles. On first seeing Konia from the hills above, the traveller is struck at once by its open and weak position, lying as it does out on the plain, and undefended by any natural citadel; and equally by its apparent size. On approaching he will soon see that modern Iconium very meagrely fills out its ancient framework: large tracts inside the broken walls are uninhabited and left to offal and the dogs that eat it, and it is long before he reaches the really living part of the city. But it is still a place of great importance, and

¹ I brought away readings of five: of three other stelae I found it impossible to make anything in the time at my disposal, for, my companion being very unwell, we were most anxious

to reach Konia, and were still five hours from Tat-keui. Every stele in this cemetery was much weathered, and I doubt if more will ever be read.

likely to increase if the Ottoman Railway penetrates east of Dincir, and it will perhaps lose its present character as the most exclusively Mahometan of all Turkish towns. Of early Iconium very little indeed seems to remain, and that little is hidden away in houses and courtyards, as is invariably the case in cities whose greatness has been continuous to our own day, *e.g.*, Smyrna and Constantinople.

As has been already stated, Mr. Brown's ill-health now made it imperative to give up further exploration and make for the sea by the quickest route. This, we were assured, was the new road constructed by Said Pacha *viâ* Karaman to Selefke, and we therefore sold our horses and procured an *araba*, or native springless cart, which is at once a quicker method of conveyance, and one more suited to an invalid. In this we left Konia on July 14th, having experienced much kindness from Mr. Keun, agent of the Ottoman Bank, and M. Guise, of Smyrna.

For about seven hours we traversed the plain, stopping only at midday at the village of Tchoumra, and so far our vehicle ran comparatively easily on the sandy soil by the side of the new highway, of which we were presently to have ample experience, when unwillingly compelled to take to it upon Taurus. An hour more over low hills brought us to a devrent, or watch-house, where was a late sepulchral stele (No. 28), and two hours and a quarter away from the line of the main road to our night-quarters at Karkhan, where I was shown three rude stelae of the uninteresting type, common in Southern Lycaonia (Nos. 29-31). Next day we rejoined the road at Kassaba, passing some ruins and sarcophagi near the village of Masallah. The mediaeval walls of Kassaba (the 'Pyrgos' reached by Barbarossa, May 29, on his march to Selefke. *V. Ramsay, Hist. Geog. A. M.* p. 346), made of flat stones without mortar, are still almost entire, and there is a fine arabesque bath; but, except on bazaar day, it might be a city of the dead. Above it towers a splendid peak, called variously the Masallah or Hadji Baba Dag, which had been in sight since leaving Konia, and would continue to be a conspicuous object for two days more. Some miles away to the north-east was an equally high, but more massive mountain—the Kara Dag. Three hours later we were in Karaman, or Laranda, in these days a rapidly-declining town. The castle which guards the approach from Konia is in almost perfect preservation, built in the same manner as the walls of Kassaba. In the street below stands incomparably the most beautiful Seljuk relic that I have seen—a mere wreck of elaborate arabesque tracery and harmoniously blended marbles. It is now a school, but must have been a more than usually palatial khan; and it may be added to those splendid buildings at Konia, Sultan Khan (as Mr. Ramsay has told me), and elsewhere, which, like the Lusignan ruins in Cyprus, far outshine any remains of Graeco-Roman civilization. I could find almost no traces of the latter class in Karaman. A single rude stele is built into the castle wall, together with some fragments of Byzantine carving, but I heard of nothing more.

South and east of the town rise the first slopes of Taurus, of which the Masallah and Kara Dags are mighty buttresses; and over the chain has

been made a new waggon road, leading directly from Karaman to Selefke, and touching no human habitation between these points, except the hamlet of Maghra. It followed apparently the line of no ancient highway (see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 362), avoiding as it does both Diocaesarea and Olba, and had probably not been traversed from end to end by any western travellers before ourselves, Colonel Stewart having followed it only to Maghra. Thus it happens that the great ruins which lie on the opposite side of a cañon between Maghra and Selefke (in sight six hours from the former), and which are probably those of Olba, had never been observed. Our times for the road agree fairly well with those of Colonel Stewart, viz. seventeen and a quarter hours from Karaman to Maghra, a distance stated by him at fifty and a half miles. True that we were travelling in an *araba*, and made fairly fast time for the twenty-one miles from the summit (6,100 feet), down to Maghra (4,590 feet), but this was quite counter-balanced by the long climb of twenty-nine miles from Karaman.

The road is finely engineered but badly constructed in many parts, and much of it was not yet metalled when we traversed it; and the horrors of a springless *araba*, bounding over the boulders which form the foundation of the track, can be better imagined than described. Water is very scarce; a fountain, two hours out of Karaman, and another, of not much volume, five hours further still, being all the sources that we found or heard of between Karaman and Maghra; and this scarcity, coupled with the absence of human habitation or shade for a distance of nearly fifty miles, must militate against the success of the road. Indeed, we were assured that it was not much used, the other routes by the Cilician Gates to Mersina, or by Karaman and Ermenek to Selefke, being preferred as means of communication between Konia and the sea.

For three hours from Karaman the road climbs steeply until the traveller reaches the edge of a great plateau, shelving upwards as far as the eye can reach, and naked as the Sahara. A line of low summits rises from it on his left, and in clefts here and there a scanty vegetation survives. After passing the second fountain the rocky hideousness of the landscape increases, and nothing relieves the dreary waste of crag upon crag, no one point standing out above another on the horizon. The Taurus at this point (as may be seen from Cyprus) is a vast level-crested ridge, falling to the sea in a succession of parallel shelves, and pleasing the eye by no variety of outline.

After this desert the beautiful upland valley, in which lies Maghra (a mere roadside station), is singularly attractive, and from thence to Selefke the road lies through thick forest and gorges of marvellous beauty. In these southern cañons hemmed in by perpendicular crags, at whose base stretches on either hand a dense belt of forest, a vegetation of almost tropical luxuriance is nourished by the refraction of the heat from the walls and the mists which rise nightly from the Cilician plain.

Maghra has been visited by Mr. Sterrett, and he has published the only inscriptions to be found there. We were told by a ragged Greek (who possessed a tattered copy of Strabo) that a ruined city, containing an amphi-

theatre, existed five hours away, to the left of the road we should travel next day; but he assured us (as did the *khanji*) that Mr. Sterrett had visited it. My companion's condition had not been improved by the jolting of the last two days, and we therefore determined not to turn out of our way to find it, as that would also make it impossible to reach Selefke in a day; and we were told that we should be obliged to abandon the *araba*. We accordingly passed the point from which the only track led to the ruins, and drove on for three hours, when, on emerging from the pine forest into the last shelf above the plain, we saw, across a deep cañon on whose western brink runs the road, the city clearly marked against the skyline. So striking was this sudden effect, that, anxious as we were to reach Selefke, still three hours distant, we debated with our *arabaji* the possibility of descending into the cañon, but he knew of no path, nor could we see one, and we proceeded reluctantly on our way.¹

The last slopes above the Selefke plain are strewn with ruins, and the cliffs are honeycombed with tombs. Some are cut out of the rock, others built up with columned *façades*—either Doric tetrastyle, or similar to a small temple in antis. They are in many cases inscribed, and a systematic exploration of the dense undergrowth would reveal great numbers of unpublished texts; but many hours, if not days, would be required, and the fast-declining sun warned us to hurry on, and reserve this site, like the former, for a future journey, unsatisfactory as it was to leave so much undone. The tombs must be those of Seleucians, and the other ruins represent an outlying dependency, perhaps a summer residence of the wealthier inhabitants of the city below.

From Selefke, on the right bank of the Calycadnus, which even in July rushes with great speed and a large volume of water through the arches of the fine bridge, we drove in rather less than two hours to Akliman, its miserable port, built on the edge of a marsh, fever-stricken and mosquito-ridden; and thence embarked in a coasting steamer, two days later, for Smyrna.

Inscriptions in the late Phrygian Dialect.—I place first three inscriptions in the still obscure dialect which appears to have been spoken in the eastern portion of Phrygia and in Lycaonia up to the fifth or sixth centuries

¹ So far as Professor Ramsay or I have been able to ascertain, no one has ever seen or visited these ruins; certainly not Mr. Sterrett, who, as a matter of fact, never traversed this part of the road at all: but of that I was ignorant at the time. It is just possible that the site is that called Kannideli by M. Langlois, who travelled in 1853 (*Voyages dans la Cilicie*, pp. 220-7; cp. Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* tome iii. p. 365); but his rather scanty indications as to the locality of Kannideli, which he reached from Lamas, do not accord well with this position: he identified Kannideli with Neapolis of Isauria. In any case his notes require supplementing.

But I feel fairly confident that, if we succeed in visiting it this summer, we shall be the first to do so, and shall find that it is the long-lost Olba. [Since this note has been in type I see in the *Athenæum* of April 5, p. 443, that Mr. Theodore Bent has found either this city or a fort in its territory, and the dedication to Zeus Olbius, which he mentions, proves the general situation of Olba to be where we guessed: but, if Mr. Bent's 'fort' is only twenty stadia inland from Corycus, it is probably neither Olba itself nor the city alluded to in the text above, which appeared to me to lie quite six or seven miles back from the coast.]

A.D., and which is doubtless the 'speech of Lycaonia,' in which the men of Lystra spoke of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiv. 11). For a 'Corpus' of these strange texts I must refer the reader to Prof. W. M. Ramsay's 'Late Phrygian Inscriptions,' in Kühn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschungen*, 1887. In the face of the great variety of formulae and words evidently employed, and of the fact that two or three of the known inscriptions are entirely couched in this dialect, it seems impossible to longer maintain the theory that only an imprecatory formula was so expressed, the better to please the ancestral divinities. It is more probable that here, as in the Maeander valley about Dionysopolis at the same period, Greek was the language only of the best educated Phrygians, and that it was recognised that, while a Greek epitaph was more distinguished, it was very necessary to add in the popular dialect warnings and imprecations to those of the vulgar who might indulge in tomb-rifling.

The second of these inscriptions I publish as I copied it, with very little attempt to fill its lacunae or interpret it.

The first two come from Fellelü, a village among the foot-hills of the Emir Dag, five hours' ride from Afion Kara Hissar, and four from Boluwodun, a couple of miles to the left of the main road between these towns. Prof. W. M. Ramsay has published similar texts from Prynnessus, four and a half hours distant from Fellelü. The third was found in a little roadside cemetery on the left of the hill-track which leads from Ilghin to Konia, at twenty minutes' distance from the village of Kunderaz, and just at the foot of the steep pass which leads to Tat-keui. Several other stelae in ordinary Greek had been utilized there as tomb-stones, and, with others, found in the graveyard of Kunderaz itself, are published in this paper.

1. Fellelü: on a door-tomb, broken top and right, and now built into a courtyard wall.

//////IN

////OCNICEM OYNKNOY////

ANΕΙΚΑΚΟΥΝΑΔΔΑΚΕΤΑΙΝΙΑ////

χάρ]ιν.

Ἰ]ος νι σεμουν κνου[μ-

ανει κακουν ἀδδακετ αἶνια [ἐτιτετικμενος εἶτου?

The inscription appeared to be irregularly distributed upon the stone. The space between M and O in line 2 is filled by an erasure. This text adds nothing to our knowledge, the formula being that most commonly employed.

2. Fellelü: on a door-tomb of which three panels remain; in the upper two are female figures, and in the lower one a wheatsheaf. The stone is half buried in packed earth, upside down, and thus the first lines and much of the

right-hand portion cannot be seen. The Phrygian part of the lettering is smaller and more crowded.

ΑΥΤΟCΚΛ////
 ΚΑΙ////ΡΟΝΟΥ . ΤΕ////
 ΧΑΡΙΝΙΟCΝΙCΕΜΟΝ////
 . ΑΙCΑΤΡΑ . . . ΤΗ
 ΜΕΛΩCΚΕ . Ε . CΜΕΚΟΝΝΟΥΚΕΙCΝΙΟ !
 ΑΙΠΑΡΤΗC

[Ὁ δέινα τοῦ δέινος ἀνέστησε]
 αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ δέινα ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζῶντες
 καὶ [φ]ρονοῦ[ν]τε[ς τῷ δέινι τῷ τέκνῳ μνήμης
 χάριν. Ἴος νι σεμον [κνουμανεὶ κακὸν ἀδδακετ αἰν-
 ῖ]αι ? σα [. ζε-
 μέλως κε [δ]ε[ο]ς με κονον κε ἰς νι
 αι παρτης

The word *αἰναι* appears also as *αἰνιοι*, and once as *αἰνιμ* (in Ramsay No. 25, which depends on Hamilton's copy only). *Σα* is found in No. 21, and probably in my third text, and is the definite article. To the word *τρα-* which follows there is no known parallel. I thought that I could read *ΙΙΝ* after the *Α*, but the marble was worn almost smooth at this point. *Ζεμέλως* (usually *ζεμέλω*, but with the final sigma in Ramsay, No. 25 ?) *κε δεος* is a common formula, but the signification to be given to *κοννον* and to the final words I leave to philologists to determine. It is much to be desired that some one should visit Felleli, prevail on the obdurate owner of this stone (or rather his wife) to allow its excavation, and should re-read it.

3. Road-side cemetery, a mile beyond Kunderaz: on a stele which has been much worn by exposure.

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟC	Ἀμμώνιος
ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟC	Πατροκλέος
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC	ἀπελεύθερος
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ	Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
ΚΑΙΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΔΙ	καὶ Διογενίδι
ΚΑΙΙ ΕΙΛΕΙΑΔΙ	καὶ (Μ)ειλείαδι
ΤΕΚΝΟΙCΜΝΗ	τέκνοις μνή-
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝΚΑΙCΑ	μης χάριν καὶ Σα-
ΤΕΙΡΗΓΥΝΑΙ	τείρῃ γυναι-
ΚΙΖΩCΗΙΟC	κὶ ζώσῃ. Ἴος
CΑΤΙCΚ	σα τις κ[νουμανεὶ
ΚΑΚΟΥΝΜΑΚΕΤΑ	κακὸν μακετα
ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟCΑ	τετικμενος ἀ-
ΤΙΑΔΕΙΤΟC	τιαδ εἶτος ?

The Phrygian portion of this presents some unusual features: the omission of *ν* is not rare, but the insertion of *τις* between *σα* and (presumably) its substantive is hard to explain. *Μακετα* must be identical in origin with the *μεκατι* and *μανκατι* found previously, and should be a verb; I was quite certain that the first letter was not ΑΔ, which suggests itself as the beginning of *ἀδακετ*, nor should we expect to find a final *a* to that word. The next word seems to be the simple form always found hitherto as *ἐτιτετικμενος*: but as *ἐτιμεκατι* has also been found, it is quite possible that the *ἐτι* is an independent word, and not a compounded particle. As to the final letter of *εἶτος* I had no doubt, but a *Υ* is rather to be expected; and likewise I saw no Σ at the end of the penultimate line, and read *ἀτιαδ*, not *ἀ(σ)τιαδ*.

4. Fellelü: on a small marble altar-stele built into a flight of steps. The top is much broken and the base is covered in. The letters of the last lines are crowded.

////////Α////////ΥΥ///ΑΙ////////
 ΠΑΤΕΙΑC AICXINH///
 ///ΑΙ////////Υ////////ΥΙ///
 ΠΑΠΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΧΑΙΤΟΥ
 ΥΠΕΡΤΗCΤΩΝΚ///Τ///C///
 ΩΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ
 ΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΜΟ
 ΝΗCΚΑΙ ΝΕΙΚΗC
 //ΑΙΤΩΝ////////ΚΑΙΠΟ///
 //ΙΚΑΙ

[ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ δεινός] ἀν[θυ-
 πατείας Αἰσχίνης

 Παπᾶ τοῦ καὶ Χαίτου
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κ[ρα]τ[ί]σ[τ]-
 ων Αὐτοκρατόρων
 αἰωνίου διαμο-
 νῆς καὶ ν<ε>ίκης
 κ]αὶ τῶν . . . καὶ πο[λιτ]-
 ῶ]ν καὶ . . .

It is not easy to find a suitable short word to supply in line 9: if the restoration of the next words is correct, *τελῶν* 'the magistrates' might serve. But, as it is, I have thought it best not to supply anything: whoever succeeds in dislodging the stone from its present position will doubtless read the concluding lines without difficulty.

5. Fellelü: a door-tomb very rudely engraved, and built into a wall: complete.

ΤΗCΑΜΜΙΑC . Α .
 . . ΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΑΥΤΗC

Τῆς Ἀμμίας [κ]α[ὶ]
 τῶ]ν τέκνων αὐτῆς.

6. Tchayül: rudely engraved on a small stone stele; the letters quite clear.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC
 CΥΓΝΗΜΝΗ
 ΔΕΙΠΕΤΑΡΗ
 ΕΥΧΗΝ

Δημήτριος
 Συγνήμνη ?
 Δεὶ Πεταρῇ
 εὐχὴν.

The dedication is as badly spelt as carved. Zeus Petaraeus is known also from an inscription found by Professor W. M. Ramsay in 1883, and published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' p. 501. Petara was a village in the territory of Oreistus (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. A. M.*, p. 236) situated at the modern Baghlıje. This little stele, only about a foot square, may have been conveyed thus far on the road to Konia by some travelling merchant who entertained an exaggerated idea of its value. It was brought to me loose.

7. Saklı: below a fragment of marble pediment, displaying three horsemen meeting three others; behind on the right two unmounted figures: broken at both ends. The execution is poor and the lettering late.

ΙΙCΑCΥΝΙΟΙCΕΠΙΖΕΖ ΗΜΕΝΟΙCΘΕΟΙCΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙC

. . . . ἐτίμ]ησα σὺν (τ)οῖς ἐπιξεζήμενοις θεοῖς ἀθανάτοις

The space between Z and Η is filled by an erasure. The strange word ἐπιξεζήμενοις must be a perfect participial form from ἐπιζάω, and signify 'the immortal gods who have lived for ever,' a loose use, possible in Phrygia.

8. In a little graveyard at the north-western corner of the Aksheher Lake, and an hour and a quarter from Ütchkuyu; a small stele.

ΜΑΡΚΟCΚΑΙΡΗ
ΓΕΙΝΑΙΔΙΑΘΡΕ
ΠΤΗΜΝΗΜΗC
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Μάρκος καὶ Πη-
γείνα ἰδίᾳ θρε-
πτῇ μνήμης
χάριν.

9. Korashlı: on a door-tomb, now in the courtyard of a house.

ΜΑΝΗΣΤΩΙΔΙΩΠΑΤΡΙ
ΑΠΠΑΕΝΕΚΕΜΝΗΜΗC

Μάνης τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ
'Αππαῖ ἔνεκε μνήμης.

For the name "Αππας cp. W. M. Ramsay's article 'Laodicea Combusta and Sinethandos,' inscr. Nos. 24, 64, and 98 (*Athen. Mittl.* xiii.). Many of the less usual names in the following inscriptions may be paralleled from that article, which affords a long list of late Lycaonian appellatives.

10. Korashlı: left half of a stele built into a wall.

ΑΥΡΑΡΜ
ΠΟΝΠΩΝ
ΤΕΚΝΕΔ
ΠΙΑΜΝΗ
ΡΙΝ

Αὐρ. Ἀρμ[ένιος? καὶ
Πονπων[ία τοῖς
τέκν(οι)ς Δ[ίᾳ? καὶ Ἀ-
πίᾳ μνή[μης χά-
ριν.

11. Ilghiu (Tyriaenum): a sarcophagus in the courtyard of the Khan, broken on the left.

ΛΝΘΑΚΑΤΑ	"Ε]νθα κατά-
ΛΛΛΛ-ΕΟΛΥΝ	κει]τε Ὀλύν-
ΛΛΛΛΑΠΟΠΡΙ	πιος] ἀπο πρι-
ΙΡΙΩΝΚΕ	μικ]ηρίων κὲ
CHCEN	ἀνέ]στησεν
ΥΙΟΣΑΥ	τόδ' ὁ] υἱὸς αὐ-
HCM	τοῦ Μάν]ης μ-
ΑΡΙΝ+	νήμης χ]ίριν +.

12. In the right-hand wall of the sunken way leading to the door of the principal mosque: very rudely cut, and broken at the bottom.

ΡΗΓΕΙΝΑ	Ρηγεῖνα μητὴρ Ὑδρίῳ Π(απ)ῶ
ΜΗΤΗΡΥΔ	γλυκυτάτῳ υ[ίῳ] μνήμη[s] χάριν.
ΙΩΠΑΤΑΓΛΥ	
ΚΥΤΑΤΩΥ	
ΜΝΜΗ	

13. Copied by lamplight from the roof of a species of cell on the left-hand side of the mosque-door: in large well-cut characters.

ΦΟΥΛΙΟΣΚΛΕΙC////	Φούλ(β)ιος Κλει(ὦ) Εὐσέβιος
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟCΙΔΙΟΥ	(Ὑ)δρίου Αὐρηλία Θεοδότῃ τῇ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΘΕΟ	γλυκυτάτῃ μου συμβίῳ καὶ
ΔΟΤΗΤΗΓΛΥΚ	ἐαυτῷ ζῶν μνήμης χάριν.
ΥΤΑΤΗΜΟΥCΥΜ	
ΒΙΩΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩ	
ΖΩΝΜΝΗΜΗ	
C+ΑΡΙΝ	

Κλειώ for Κλεώ is also found *C.I.G.* 2610 and 6396.

14. In the wall over the cell door.

ΜΑΡΚC MEN	Μάρκος Μεν(ε)
ΜΑΧCΥΔΟΥ	μάχο<ς>υ Δού-
ΔΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ	δα γυναικὶ
ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν.

I have corrected thus on Professor W. M. Ramsay's suggestion, as Δοῦδα is a well-known Lycaonian name, and prothetic *ι* or *υ* occurs frequently in

such inscriptions, though generally before double consonants. Still the Σ *lüt* at the end of *Μερεμαχο* seemed quite certain when I copied the inscription.

15. In the wall of the precinct of the mosque in well-cut characters.

ΑΥΡΟΡΕCΤΙΝΑ	Λύρ(ηλία) Ὁρεστέϊνα
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΕΩΝΟC	θυγάτηρ (Εἰ)ωνος
ΚΕΟΥΙΟ///CΜΟΥ	κὲ ὁ υἱ(ός) μου
ΜΑΡΚΕΛΟC	Μάρκελος
ΑΝΕCΤΗΑ	ἀνεστήσα-
ΜΕΝΤΩ-ΛΥΚΥ	μεν τῷ γλυκυ-
ΤΑ ^ω ΜΟΥΑΝΔΡΙ	τάτῳ μου ἀνδρὶ
ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΩ	Καλλιμάχῳ
ΜΗΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν.

16. In the large cemetery south-east of the town: above the lettering a horse pursued by a dog, and above that again four full-length figures, two adults and two children, rudely carved.

ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑΜΑΝΟ	Εὐγενία Μανοσᾶ ἀνδρὶ
CΑΑΝΔΡΙΜΝΗΜΗC	μνήμης χάριν καὶ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα.
ΧΑΡΙΝΚΑΙΕΑΥ	
ΤΗΖΩCΑ	

Μανοσού is read in *C.I.G.* 3989, *h.* Names from the root *Μαν* are common in this district, cp. *Μανία* in No. 22; *Μάνης* in 10 and 24; and *Μάνα* in the latter also. See W.M.R., 'Laodicea Combusta,' &c., *passim*.

17. Osmanjik: well cut on a stele, broken left top and bottom, and now built into the wall of the mosque-precinct.

CΟΥCΟΥΚ	Σούσου κ[αὶ
ΜΑΝΙΑΗΓΥ	Μανία ἡ γυ[νὴ]
ΑΥΤΟΥCΟΥ	αὐτοῦ Σού-
CΟΥΕΚΝΩ	σου τέκνῳ
ΜΗΜΙCΧΑ	μνήμης χά-
ΡΙΝΚΑΙCΑΥ	ριν κ[αὶ ἑαυ-
	τοῖς ζῶσιν)

18. Osmanjik: cut in very shallow letters on a marble block, much chipped.

ΚΙΝΩΝ	Λύρ. ?] Κόνων
ΠΕCΕ	π]ρεσβ[ύ-
ΕΡΙC	τ]ερος { ἰ
ΝΕCΤΗ	νέστη[σ-

ΑΤΟΥΓΓ /	<i>α τοῦ γλ[υκ-</i>
ΥΤΑΤΟΥ	<i>υτάτου [μ-</i>
ΥΥΕΙΟΥ	<i>ο]υ ὑειοῦ [κὲ</i>
ΛΥ//ΓΥΙΗΝ	<i>ἐμ]αυ(το)ῦ (μ)ν-</i>
ΜΗCΧΑ	<i>ῆ]μης χά-</i>
Ν	<i>ρι]ν</i>

19. In the wall of a house, broken at the top.

ΙΜΑΝΛΑΔΕ	<i>Ἰμαν Λάδεος Παπᾶ ἀδελφῶ μνήμης</i>
ΟΣΠΑΠΑΑ	<i>χάριν.</i>
ΔΕΛΦΩΜΗ	
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	

20. In the wall of a house; above the inscription a relief representing a sitting lion, a female standing, and a sheaf; the lettering much worn.

ΜΑΝΗCΜΕΝΟΙΤΟΥ	<i>Μάνης Μενοιτοῦ Μανίᾳ γυναικὶ</i>
ΜΑΝΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΝΗ	<i>μνήμης χάριν.</i>
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	

21. Kunderaz: in the village graveyard; a stele intentionally defaced and very difficult to decipher.

ΞΕΝΙΚΟCΚΕ	<i>Ξενικὸς κέ</i>
ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΠΡ	<i>Μακεδὼν πρ-</i>
ΟΓΟΝΙΕCΤΗCΑ	<i>ογονι(κὼν) ἔστησα-</i>
Μ////ΝΗΠΑΤ////ΑΠΟ	<i>(ν) Μ[ά]νη πατ[ρὶ] πο[ι-</i>
ΗΤΩ ΜΝΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	<i>ητῶ μνήμης χάριν.</i>

Xenicus and Macedon erect a tomb to the memory of their stepfather; he is called *ποιητός*, as opposed to *γόνυ πατήρ*. The correction *προγονικόν* is Professor Ramsay's: *πρόγον(ο)ι* is just conceivable. The sons' names sound strange in Lycania, and have probably resulted from the father and mother becoming hellenised.

22. *Ibid*: a stele bearing above the inscription a female figure half length, with hands clasped in the attitude of prayer; on her left is a basket, on her right a loom.

ΤΑΤΑCΒΑΜΗΤΡΙ	<i>Τατᾶς Βᾶ μητρὶ</i>
ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	<i>μνήμης χάριν.</i>

Bᾶ is from the feminine form of *Bās* (see Pape *s.v.*), cp. *Tās* so frequent in Lycanian inscriptions (see 'Laodicea Combusta,' Nos. 47, 57, &c.).

23. *Ibid*: carefully cut.

ΑΥΡΑΣΚΛΗΠ
ΙΑΔΗΣΠΕΤΡ
ΩΝΙΟΥΓΥΝΕ
ΚΙΑΥΡΜΑΣΑ
ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΣ
ΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗ
ΣΕΜΝΗΜΗΣΕ
ΝΕΚΕΝΘ

Λύρ(ήλιος) Ἴσκληπιιάδης Πετρωνίου
γυνεὶ Λύρ(ηλία) Μάσα καὶ
ἐαυτῷ ζῶν ἀνέστησε μνήμης
ἕνεκεν.

24. *Ibid*: below the inscription two full-length figures.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ////
ΟΥΙΑΖ////ΑΜΕΙΑ
ΑΔΙΑΝΔΡΙΜΝΗΜ
ΗΧΧΑΡΙΝ

Λύρηλία [Φλα]ουία ζ[ῶσ]α Μειλάδι
ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

25. *Ibid*: broken at the top, rudely cut.

ΟΥΤΗ
ΣΥΒΙΟΣΠΑΥ
ΛΛΕΜΗΝΟ
ΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΤΕ
ΚΝΟΥΜΟΥ
ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑ
ΜΝΗΜΗΧΧΑ
ΡΙΝ

Σούσ]ου τῇ συ(μ)βί(ο)υ Παύλα
κὲ Μηνοδώρου τοῦ τέκνου μου
ἀνέστησα μνήμης χάριν.

Badly cut and badly spelt: *συμβίου*, *Μηνοδώρου*, &c., are all intended for datives; cp. No. 18, *supra*, and note in Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. A. M.* p. 408, pointing out that this confusion begins in the third century A.D., and is very common in the fourth in Pisidia and Phrygia.

26. *Ibid*.

ΑΝΟΠΤΗΣΟΥΑΛΕ
ΡΙΑΡΩΣΙΔΙΜΝΗΜΗ
ΧΧΑΡΙΝΟΤΙΜΟΙΚΑ
ΛΩΣΑΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΗΣΕΝ

Ἀνόπτης Οὐαλερίᾳ Ρωσίδι
μνήμης χάριν ὅτι μοι καλῶς
ἀ(ε)ὶ διακόνησεν.

Ἀνόπτης under the form Ἀνοπτος appears in *C.I.G.* 5860, b, as a name; Ρωσίς, like Διογενίς in No. 30, appears not to be found elsewhere, but new forms are to be expected in a remote valley of Lycaonia, and many forms (e.g. Ζηνωνίς) may be compared from 'Laodicea Combusta.'

27. *Ibid.*, in the cemetery.

ΔΟΜΕΤΙΑC
ΟΥCΟΥΤΩ
ΑΝΔΡΙΜΝ
ΗΜΗC////Α
ΡΙΝΚΑΙΕΑΥ
ΤΗΖΩCΑ

Δομετία Σούσου τῷ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης
[χ]άριν καὶ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα.

28. On a block of grey limestone serving for a seat in front of a watch-house on the high road between Tchoumra and Kassaba.

Ε . ΕΚΟCΜΗ ΙΕΞΑΔΕΛΦΗΝΑΥ
ΤΟΥ

ὁ δεῖνα] ἐκόCμῃ[σε τὴν δεῖνα τὴν] ἐξαδέλφην αὐ-
τοῦ.

29. Kharkhan : on a large basaltic block near the Oda.

ΛΟΥΚΜΙΘΡΑC
ΕΚΟCΜΕΙCΕΝΤΟΝ
ΥΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΤΙΑΥΑ
ΟΝ////////ΔΙ////

Λούκ(ιος) Μίθρας
ἐκόCμειCεν τὸν
υ(ί)ὸν αὐτοῦ Τίαυλ-
ον

Τίουλός is a river name on coins of Prostanna Pisidiac, as Professor Ramsay pointed out to me ; and so the name may stand. (Π)αῦλον would be an obvious emendation.

30. *Ibid.* in the mosque-wall, much defaced.

////ΙΕCΤΩΙΕΚΟCΝ////////
ΤΑΤΑΝΤΗΝ//Υ//ΑΙΙ////

(Ν)έCτω(ρ) ? ἐκόCμ[ησε
Τάταν τὴν [γ]υ[ν]αῖ[κα].

There was another tablet also in the mosque-wall, but at a great elevation, upside down, and almost wholly defaced ; and I could make nothing of it from below, even with a glass.

31. On a block lying in front of a house in the village, and worn almost smooth by long use as a seat.

ΕΜΙCΩΙΙΚΑΙ ΠΙΑΕΚΟC
ΜΗC ΝΑΡΑΙΑΝΤΗΝ
ΜΗΤΕΡΑΑΥΤ

[Θ]εμίCω(ν) καὶ [Ἀρ]ρία ἐκόC-
μῃC[α]ν Ἀρ(ρ)ίαν τὴν
μητέρα αὐτ[ῶν].

D. G. HOGARTH.

A PROTOKORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE little vase of which a coloured illustration is given on Plates I. and II. has already been laid before the Society with a brief notice in the last number of the *Journal*, p. 253 : before that publication appeared, it had already been the subject of articles in the *Classical Review* and the *Times*, so that most people are already aware of the melancholy interest which attaches itself to it. It was presented to the British Museum by Mr. Malcolm Macmillan in the spring of 1889, shortly before he started on the expedition which had so mysterious a termination. It was felt that the surpassing charm of this little Greek masterpiece was well worthy of any pains that could be bestowed on its reproduction ; and it is to the generosity of Mr. Macmillan's family that the Society owes the excellent facsimile which accompanies this paper.¹

In spite of its diminutive proportions—it is only .068 mètre in height—this little lekythos will certainly henceforth rank among the *mirabilia* of our national collection. Its claims to distinction are based, not only upon its intrinsic merit as a *chef d'oeuvre* of art, but also on the fact that, belonging to a highly interesting class of Greek painted pottery, it is beyond all doubt the most beautiful and important specimen of that class which has yet come down to us.

The material is a finely levigated clay of consistent texture and creamy yellow colour, such as we know was used in antiquity at any rate in the Corinthian potteries. On this ground the decoration is laid for the most part in a colour which varies, according to the thickness of the wash, from blackish brown to reddish brown : this is relieved by touches of purple here and there, and the details as well as the outlines of every figure are picked out with delicate incised lines. There is one peculiarity of technique about this vase which, so far as I know, is only found on this class of ware, and at present has only been noted upon one other example of it. In the main band of figures the flesh colour is indicated by a greyish black which in the original is quite distinguishable from the main wash : the only other example of this technique at present known is the little Protokorinthian lekythos in Berlin,² which is only second to our vase in point of delicacy and refined

¹ The reproduction issued in the preceding number of the *Journal* was too small to give an adequate impression of the style and colouring. The present plate moreover renders more suc-

cessfully the modelling of the lion's head, by which the vase is surmounted.

² *Berlin Vase Cat.*, No. 235.

execution. Both are marvellous illustrations of that largeness of style, carried out even in the minutest limit of size, which is one of the subtleties that critics of all times have associated with the best works of Greek art. The Greek gem and coin engravers of the best periods have this power in a remarkable degree; so that under their hands the effect of grandeur in composition is attained without any apparent effort. It would not be fair to expect, nor is it even desirable always, that such works should come out successfully under the test of actual mechanical enlargement, when this impression is aimed at: but it is interesting to see from the illustration that in the case before us even this test has been applied with a satisfactory result.

Figs. 1 and 2 give photographic views of the vase in its actual size; the remaining figs. represent details of the decoration, fig. 3 giving the pattern on the handle, fig. 4 that of the shoulder, 5 and 6 the bands which run around the body. All these were traced by Mr. Anderson and enlarged by photography to double their natural size. Fig. 7 represents, also double its natural size, the decoration under the foot, a rosette of eight petals which are coloured alternately purple and black.

Figs. 1 and 2. The form of the body of the vase corresponds with that which was the favourite shape among the Protokorinthian potters, and which was called *lekythos*, as we are told in the inscription on the vase of Tataie, also in the British Museum. A great number of Protokorinthian *lekythi* of this form and of almost universally the same size are known, but none, so far as I am aware, has the head and neck modelled otherwise than in the ordinary style, *i.e.* with a broad horizontal lip and vertical handle attached to it. Our vase has the body surmounted by the head of a lion, of which the open mouth forms the spout: the modelling of this head (which seems certainly to be freehand, and not cast in a mould) is wonderfully spirited and lifelike: as a rule in Greek art of a later period the finest lions' heads have a certain conventionality of treatment, brought about no doubt partly from the fact of their tectonic handling in architecture, and also because the artists had probably never seen an actual lion. This head reminds one much more of the animals on the Assyrian friezes of Kouyundjik, the artists of which had no doubt the advantage of study from the life. For a lifelike treatment of this animal in Greek art one must go to the Mykenacan sword with the lion hunt, or later on to the little Protokorinthian *lekythos* of the Temple collection in the Museum, which must have been about contemporary with our vase: on the Temple vase we have two lions attacking a bull, and the herdsmen advancing to the rescue with spears and arrows: a realistic scene which can hardly have been developed entirely out of the imagination of the artist. In publishing the Temple vase, Furtwaengler (*Arch. Zeitung*, 41, p. 160) called attention to the statement of Herodotos that even in the days in which he wrote lions were still to be found in Macedonia and Northern Greece: but as they died out, the hunt of the Kalydonian bear was substituted for that of the lion as a type in Greek art.

Our lion's head is drawn to the life: the softer skin around the lips, the

distended nostril, and the muscles around the muzzle are all indicated with an almost Chinese exactness: the effect of snarling is admirably conveyed in the puckered up lines of the nose, and in the ears, which instead of standing erect are laid flat back against the neck. The shaggy mane could not well have been modelled without interfering with the handle of the vase, and the artist has shown a wise reserve in merely suggesting the coarse locks of hair by outlines of colour: this scheme prepares one well for the conventional body of the vase and forms a happy medium between it and the realistic head of the lion. The teeth are left in the natural colour of the clay; purple is used for the interior of the lips, the protruding tongue, the forepart of the nose, the pupils of the eyes, and for the exterior surface of the ears. The main portions of the head are separated from one another by bands of hatched lines: and the whole surface between the coarse hair of the mane and the muzzle is stippled with minute brown dots indicating the finer hair.

The skill which the artist has shown in the fashioning of this head proves that he was modeller no less than painter. This need not surprise us when we recollect the close connection that is everywhere found to have existed between the early schools of sculpture and of painting. This was especially the case at Korinth and Sikyon, as we see from the legends which surround the Daedalidae¹; the legendary inventor of painting was according to one account the daughter of a potter of Sikyon working at Korinth, and on the Korinthian painted votive pinakes² we have the arts of the potter, the painter, the sculptor, and possibly also the bronze-worker, all represented, as if these had been bound up, as it were, in one art-community.

The representation of the lion in Greek art seems most naturally to suggest Mesopotamia: the idea suggests itself of the lion hunts on the friezes of Kouyundjik, of the groups of a king stabbing a lion in Persian sculpture, and so by way of the Phrygian monuments to the lion gate of Mykenae and the Mykenaeen swords. At the same time it must be remembered that the technique of the swords is only paralleled as yet in Egypt, and that the lion was a favourite subject in Egyptian sculpture. In this connection it is worth recalling the little Egyptian draughtsmen surmounted by lions' heads carved in ivory, which are much about the size, though they have nothing like the spirit, of the head of our vase.

The idea of surmounting a vase with the head of an animal or the upper part of a human figure was one which came into Greek art from the East. In Egypt of course this custom had obtained from a very early period for sepulchral purposes: the mummified cat or bull was deposited in wrappings of which the lower part conveyed no idea of the body of the animal preserved in them, but the upper part was modelled and coloured to represent the head of the animal. To a people accustomed to burning the bodies of their dead the idea naturally transferred itself to the vessels intended for holding the ashes: and so we find the early Etruscan cinerary urns often surmounted by

¹ See Klein in *Arch.-Epig. Mittheil.* vol. xi. 205.

² *Antike Denkmäler*, i. pll. 7 and 8.

a head which is more or less a portrait of the personage whose remains they contain. An intermediate stage is that of the alabastra, the long cylindrical vases of alabaster which were imported into Greece and Italy in early times as we know from Egypt; and of which the upper part is frequently carved in the human form. The anthropomorphic, and if I may borrow a word, the zoomorphic form, once fixed in Hellenic pottery, recurs with more or less frequency through all its stages of development: it had come in originally with the pottery of the Hissarlik type: it is scarcely found amongst the types of Mykenae¹ and Dipylon; but now in this Protokorinthian style it is coming in again; and in the class of Korinthian aryballi which follows the Protokorinthian in point of date, it is exceedingly prevalent: these aryballi are in the form of helmeted heads, lions, deer, Gorgon's heads, human figures: but there again the Egyptian influence is manifested in the Egyptising forms which recur in these shapes, such as the god Bes, and also in the fact that vases of this class, frequently found in Greek tombs, are made in a faience which is purely Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian.

I may note here that a terracotta vase of the form before us can never have been intended for practical use. The original intention of the lekythos form was of course that of holding ointment or oil, for the extraction of which a perfectly clear channel was essential. The Greek potters were above all things practical, and no Greek would have put so impracticable a neck on a vase if it had really been intended for such a purpose. Our lekythos was made expressly for dedication in the temple or the tomb, and it is in keeping with the Greek idea of piety towards the dead that this and so many other painted vases received the wealth of ornament which so humble a material as terracotta seems otherwise hardly to deserve.

There is in the British Museum a jug from Santorin which was published in the *Mon. Ined.* IX. 5, fig. 1, and which illustrates the form of our vase, inasmuch as it has the neck and spout modelled in the form of the head of a Gryphon: the Gryphon is of course a specially Oriental conception, and is of frequent occurrence in the Korinthian vases: it occurs also on a little Protokorinthian lekythos from Kamiros which now stands under the same glass shade with the Macmillan and Temple vases. Now this Gryphon-headed jug is of a class which has most relation to the Phaleron class: that is to say, with a technique and design which in the main are Geometric, it shows decidedly the influence of new ideas: it may be that the vase belongs to an island fabric where the painters, accustomed to work in the Geometric style, were beginning to be influenced, if not by Protokorinthian pottery, at any rate by the same ideas as the Protokorinthian artists: the wide area over which tombs with Protokorinthian pottery are found shows how favourite this class was in antiquity and consequently argues for its having exercised an extensive influence. In the 'Phaleron' style there is a great deal in the character of the ornament which connects that class with the Protokorinthian: to take

¹ See the bull's head in gold and silver, 328, and the very similar vase of terra-cotta, Schliemann, *Mykenae*, pp. 216, 217, figs. 327, *Hellenic Journal*, vol. viii. pl. 83, fig. 9.

only two examples, if we compare the Phaleron vase published in Bochlau's article on that ware,¹ fig. 8, we see a procession of four hounds to the right, headed by a hare which runs up hill, an obvious parallel to one of the scenes on the lekythos before us: while a still more striking parallel is found in a Protokorinthian lekythos recently acquired by the Berlin Museum (*Arch. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 247), in which the hare is drawn in the same peculiar attitude without the line underneath, which in the case of the Phaleron scene gives the explanation. And the same hare is found on one of the very early Korinthian pinakes now in Berlin (*Ant. Denkm.* i. pl. 7, fig. 27). In all these cases the same kind of pothook ornament occurs. Fig. 14 in Bochlau's article is a Phaleron jug of which the main field of decoration is filled with a lion's head in character not unlike the moulded head of the vase before us, and it would be easy to multiply instances which show the close connection between the Protokorinthian and Phaleron classes.

I will first give a brief description of the painted decorations of the vase, and reserve for a general statement the few remarks which these suggest.

Fig. 3 represents the handle of the vase: the broad handle of the ordinary lekythos cannot here as usual be carried into the lip: it is therefore made to terminate between the ears with a raised semicircular edge which suggests at once the crest of the lion's mane and also gives the artist the cue for the decoration: the space is admirably adapted for the Gorgon's head, which at the same time gives the necessary finish to the handle which would otherwise seem to terminate somewhat abruptly here. The Gorgoneion is of the usual archaic type², with the protruding tongue and interior of the mouth coloured purple: as a survival of the slightly earlier method of drawing the head, it is here treated in outline. From this point downwards the handle is moulded as if to represent metal, with raised edges and a raised rib running down the centre: this is covered with a triple plait pattern running vertically, which is separated however from the Gorgoneion by a horizontal piece of double plait pattern of even smaller dimensions: each of these plaits is enclosed within a three line border: the triple plait is brown, the double plait purple.

Not the minutest portion of the vase is to be left without decoration, and so the entire edge of this handle, which is about 2 millimeters thick, is decorated with a countless number of zigzags like the four-limbed signa, a pattern which is favourite throughout the Protokorinthian class.

Fig. 4 gives the decoration of the neck, an extremely elaborate and beautiful palmette ornament, in which the purple colour has been employed as much as the black with an excellent effect of clearness. The ground space is decorated here and there with minute pothooks, crosses, and Maltese crosses.³ Both of these last are survivals from the range of Mykenae ornament.

¹ *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 33.

² See Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Gorgon*, p. 1713.

³ See *Arch. Jahrb.* 1886, p. 134, fig. 2948;

and on a Kamiros pinax, Rayet, *Céramique*, p. 47, fig. 27.

I may remark by the way that, just as we have in these Protokorinthian lekythi of the seventh century B.C. the prototypes of the white Athenian lekythi of the fifth and fourth centuries, so in this elaborate palmette ornament on the shoulder we have the tradition which is kept up in the beautiful anthemion on the shoulder of the Athenian vases: the elements of the later development are absolutely to be recognized here—a curious instance of the conservatism of art traditions.

Fig. 5 represents the main band of decoration, a frieze .02 m. wide. Although this frieze is at its broadest part only $11\frac{1}{2}$ cm. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long, it contains no less than eighteen warriors in combat. The scene has no natural beginning or ending; it divides itself best at the place where it is divided in our illustration, there being a small space left empty between the figures which stand on the extreme right and left of the band as there given: the composition is so arranged that the centre of interest comes nearly beneath the front view of the lion's face. All the warriors are armed with low crested helmets, circular shields, greaves and spears: six out of their number are kneeling, and in this position are speared in the neck by the opponents behind them, so that the blood spurts out over the shields of the kneeling figures: all the figures with one exception are turned to the left, and the scene is possibly thus intended to suggest the surprise of an ambush by an enemy coming from behind: the kneeling warriors certainly have the appearance of being taken unawares. Each of the shields has a different device, beautifully drawn: they run from left to right as follows: bird flying, swan, mask of bull, four quarters with flying bird in each, mask of bull, Gryphon's head, bird flying, head of bull, hen, cock, Catherine wheel, ram's head, Gryphon (?) with open jaws and wings spread,¹ swan, bird flying, mask of bull, owl, bird flying. It is curious that each of the attacking warriors is armed with two spears, while the attacked, with a single exception, have only one. Purple is used for the crests of the helmets, for the greaves, details of the shield devices, and the blood.

The second frieze (exactly .01 m wide) represents a horse-race. Six horses gallop at full speed to the left, ridden by boys who ply the goad freely. Beneath one of the horses is seated a swan, beneath another a crouching figure; whether this last is intended for a human figure or an ape it is difficult to say. If the former, it may be inserted as representing a spectator, which would correspond with the attitude of the right arm: diminutive spectators are found in similar scenes of early Corinthian ware (*Inghirami Vasi Fitt.* CCCVII., *Salzmann, Nécropole*, Pl. II.: and see also the urchins in various attitudes crouching under the grand stand in the Corneto wall-painting, of which a copy is in the British Museum): and the habit of putting in animals or other figures to fill space in a scene of this kind is a regular practice of the early Korinthian artist. In the Salzmann vase a small figure using a hoe is drawn under the horse, which takes part in the show. If on the other hand, as is more probable, it is an ape, it recalls the little vases in

¹ Cf. the types of running or flying Gryphon in Egyptian and Mykenaeen art, Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Gryps*, p. 1745.

the form of a squatting ape which are of frequent occurrence among the Korinthian aryballi, and is only another added to the list of the many new animals which the artists of this cycle are learning to represent. The horses have enormous bits, and the manes and tails coloured purple: the manes are further indicated in the Korinthian manner by a series of wavy lines incised on the purple.

The third frieze, perhaps the most surprising of all, is only four millimetres wide, and yet the artist has not only put eight figures in it, but has been able to bestow on them all the spirit and elaborate finish which he has displayed throughout the wider spaces: nearly all the figures have the outlines engraved around the paint. Behind a net, represented by a triskeles of spirals, crouch a huntsman and his dog; the huntsman swings over his head his knotted stick ready to strike the hare which two hounds are chasing into the net on the left. On the right is a fox or jackal (?) which has just been caught by the foremost of two other hounds.

Below this scene is a band of alternate purple and black vertical rays and then two brown lines surrounding the foot. Each of the friezes is bounded by a triple row of the thinnest brown lines.

This little vase was acquired by Mr. Macmillan at Thebes and no doubt has come from one of those early Theban tombs which lie to the west of the town on both sides of the old road to Lebadea: they have been opened at haphazard from time to time during the years 1886-8: and while regretting that a scientific excavation has not been made of this site, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that by far the most beautiful object among their contents has come to us. A series of Protokorinthian lekythi from these tombs were obtained in 1887 by the Berlin Museum; one of them (*Arch. Jahrb.* 1888 p. 247) closely recalls the style of ours, and might be the work of the same artist.

The question as to the origin of these vases is a very difficult one: the term Protokorinthian was invented for the class by Furtwaengler,¹ as a provisional title, not because it is proved that the vases were made at Korinth, but because the class is in general older than the Korinthian ware and is closely bound up with it by numerous transitional stages. Helbig² saw in them an early stage of Chalkidian, and more recently Dümmler³ has adduced further reason for attributing them to Chalkis. I am inclined to think that Furtwaengler is right: in any case we know very little at present of the early Chalkidian art: and there are certainly very strong points of connection with the early art of Korinth. I will briefly indicate a few points in which our vase affords evidence either way.

The early bronze work of the Korinthians was celebrated in antiquity: and Furtwaengler has endeavoured to show that the style of these gaily coloured friezes is due to a survival of the influence of inlaid work in various metals which we see on the Mykenacan swords. I have remarked on the

¹ *Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, pp. 46, 51; and *Annali*, 1877, p. 406.
cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 41, p. 154.

³ *Arch. Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 18.

² *Italiker in der Poebene*, pp. 84 foll.;

metallic character of the handle of our vase, which terminates at the top in very much the same way as the handle of the bronze vases of all Greek times : the pattern with which it is covered is moreover the same as that which Loeschke so happily illustrated from the description of Homeric shield, *Il.* 18, 479, *περὶ δ' ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν, τρίπλακα, μαρμαρέην*—‘around it he set a threefold border, bright and dazzling.’ The careful use of engraved lines for outlines and details throughout is another hint in the same direction.

The subjects represented are all such as may be paralleled from early Corinthian art and from early metal work. Loeschke has traced the history of the hare hunt to beaten metal through the shield of Hesiod : we may find further parallels in Hesiod to our vase, *e.g.* the frieze of warriors, *Scut. Her.* 237 :—

οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτέων
ἄνδρες ἐμαρνάσθην, πολεμῆια τεύχε' ἔχοντες,
τοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ σφετέρης πόλιος σφετέρων τε τοκίῳ
λοιγὸν ἀμύνοντες, τοὶ δὲ πραθέειν μεμαῶτες.

the frieze of horse-racing, *ibid.* l. 305—

παρ δ' αὐτοῖς ἵππηες ἔχον πόνον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἀέθλοις
δῆριν ἔχον καὶ μόχθον,

and (l. 314) around the whole ran the Ocean, with many swans swimming on the surface of the water.

For both the combats and the horse-racing we may quote Pausanias' description of the chest of Kypselos, V. 18, 6, *στρατιωτικὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τρίτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς λάρνακος· τὸ μὲν πολὺ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ πῆζοι, πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἵππεις*. As to the horse-racing, Krause tells us that it was not introduced at Olympia until the 33rd Ol. (648), and that the growth of this sport in the sacred games went *pari passu* with the use of horse in war. In any case, the races of boys on horseback are rare ; where they do occur, it is usually on the early vases of Korinthian manufacture, such as the ‘Amphiaraus’ vase in Berlin (*Mon. Ined.* X, pll. 4–5).¹ The form of net on our vase is strongly suggestive of metal representation. It is curious that the Oikopheles vase (*Burlington Fine Arts Cat.* pl. 1), which is certainly an early Attic work strongly under the influence of Korinthian models, gives a form of net which is a combination of the type here shown and of another Korinthian form (that given in Loeschke's *Dreifussvase*, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 pl. 4).

¹ *Berlin Cat. of Vases*, No. 1655 ; cf. also *ibid.* (early Attic), No. 1712 ; *Annali* 1855, Tav. 20. The representation of *κελητίζοντες pueri* was popular among the early bronze workers of the Korinthian-Sikyonian school (Overbeck, *Schriftg.* Nos. 496, 456) ; and on one of the painted Korinthian pinakes (*Ant. Denkm.* i. pl. 8, fig. 20) a sculptor is shown modelling the group of a boy on horseback. Loeschke in

Arch. Jahrb. 1887, p. 277 raises the question as to whether the vase-painters originally had in view the association of the rider with the art-type of the dead person as a horseman. Where however as here the type is distinctly agonistic, it seems much more natural to connect it with the notion of funeral games, as in the Amphiaraus vase also.

In short, it seems extremely probable that our designs have been inspired by some metal work of early Greek workmanship, and that this was probably Korinthian.

The main result of the above remarks is to show that this vase seems to offer traces which are most nearly allied to early Korinthian metal work. Unfortunately, we know as yet very little of the pottery of Korinth previous to the time when this can be identified by inscriptions painted on the vases. The art of Mykenae seems to have become merged at its last stage into that of the Geometric invaders, whoever these were. But the Argive preeminence in art descended as an heritage to the great art-centres of Korinth and Sikyon. We should therefore expect to find traces of Geometric style in early Korinthian pottery; but this is at present not forthcoming. We have in the tomb of Menekrates from the Korinthian Coreyra (most of the contents of which are in the British Museum), among a quantity of fairly developed Korinthian pottery, one oinochoe which is Dipylon in form, technique, and ornament. This would seem to be an importation. What we now want is to find vases of Korinthian technique with Geometric decoration; but as yet I only know of one such definite instance. This is an oinochoe in the British Museum of a form which is rare in pottery, but which occurs again in late Roman glass. It has a conical body, a long cylindrical neck, and trefoil lip, from which a long broad handle descends to the body. (B.M. *Cat. of Vases*, form no. cxviii). This vase is described in the *British Museum Catalogue* no. 392, and is figured in Birch's *Pottery* (1873) p. 186 fig. 127, and thence in Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1878 edition) vol. I. p. cxxvi. fig. 80. The Gamedes oinochoe (*Wiener Vorlegebl.* 1888, pl. I. fig. 2) appears to be an adaptation of the same form.

At the time when it was catalogued and drawn, it was entirely covered with a misleading restoration in modern paint; the whole of this has now been cleaned away, and the animals and rosettes, which were a modern addition, have entirely disappeared. On the neck is a frieze of the usual Geometric waterbirds among dots, the handle is decorated with one long wavy snake¹ with seven 'swastikas' beside it, and the remainder of the decoration consists of bands of horizontal lines and of diaper pattern.

Since this vase is undoubtedly of Korinthian fabric, I would suggest that this really represents the true type of Korinthian Geometric pottery: it will correspond with the specimens which Dümmler published in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887 pl. 2. and possibly with a series of vases in the British Museum, which are only different from the usual Dipylon in that the clay resembles that of Korinth, and is sometimes covered with a whitish slip. Probably the Geometric style never held long sway in Korinth², and hence the comparative rarity of such specimens as this. If we may, as I believe, attribute the Protokorinthian class to Korinth, and if we consider the early date of the

¹ Cf. the Dipylon Oinochoe from Rhodes in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1886, p. 135, which has the same snake moulded on the handle.

² The Korinthian gold band with reliefs (*Arch. Zeit.* vol. 42, pl. 8) gives us further evidence of the Geometric system at Korinth.

class, we can understand that the old Geometric style, with its constrained types of form and decoration, soon gave place to the freer methods of the new class.

That the Protokorinthian ware was manufactured at a very early date has been abundantly proved; Dümmler has shown (*loc. cit.*) that it was contemporary with at least a late stage of Mykenaeen art; and we have seen that in this ware certain Mykenaeen elements still survive. Helbig says that in the tombs of Latium they follow immediately upon the hut urns and the primitive Italian ware. Henceforward, they are found more widespread than any other class throughout the tombs of Greece and Italy. At Thebes we find the most advanced specimens, such as our vase and the specimen figured in *Arch. Jahrb.* 1888, p. 247, in company with a local fabric which is still decorated in the Geometric principle; and at Athens their importation may very likely have given the impetus which resulted in the creation of the Phaleron type.

Towards the end of the seventh century the supply seems to fail; probably because of the introduction (from Egypt?) of the new type of aryballos, which from this time takes a prominent place among Korinthian fabrics as well. It is therefore not strange to find that at Naukratis there has been discovered no example of Protokorinthian ware, although specimens have been found there of Korinthian aryballi and other Korinthian ware. At Naukratis the earliest pottery dates from the end of the seventh century; and most of the fabrics known to have been in vogue at that date are found represented there; including a good deal of what we know, from the inscriptions painted on them, to be of Korinthian origin. If the Protokorinthian pottery had been as popular in the market at the end of the seventh century as it was half a century earlier, it is probable that some of it would have found its way to Naukratis. I think then that we may fairly presume that by the end of the seventh century the Protokorinthian fabric was dying out.

The introduction of the incised line evidently gave facility for the development of a new style, that of miniature drawing, which had been impossible earlier, when details had to be indicated by leaving portions unpainted or in outline. The desire for such miniature work had been seen in the early Protokorinthian vases (*e.g. Annali* 1877 Tav. C.D.) with friezes in silhouette: and such vases as ours (largely exported, as their varied provenance shows) would doubtless have reached Athens early in the sixth century and prepare the way for such works as the François vase and the *figuras omnis imitari ausum* of Pliny. It is a period of inventions, and the growing desire is felt for a nearer approach to realistic treatment; Pliny says Eumarus of Athens first distinguished in colour the figures of men and women; yes, but already in this Protokorinthian ware, in the wares of Melos and the white-faced ware of Naukratis, in the Euphorbos plate, and the Caere paintings on terracotta, we have the same thing; that is to say, a local colour is given to the flesh of the men, while that of the women is left in outline. When painting began upon a red clay it became necessary to adopt white for the flesh of women: and it is curious to note that at an advanced stage of the Naukratite white-faced ware, an additional white

upon white is used for women and Sphinxes. Probably these vases mark a stage contemporary with the paintings on red clay imported into Naukratis, and the Naukratite painters were simply imitating what they saw on these imported pieces.

The class of ware which bears most analogy to the Protokorinthian, both in the obvious connection with Korinthian metal work and also in the choice and treatment of subject, is the class of stamped red ware plates, which Loeschcke has referred, I think rightly, to a Korinthian original inspiration (*Arch. Zeit.* 39, p. 40 foll.). Loeschcke remarks that the combat of Lapiths and Centaurs on Hesiod's Shield of Herakles is described in terms which point to a general *mêlée* of the opposing forces, l. 178 :

ἐν δ' ἦν ὑσμίνη Λαπιθάων αἰχμητάων

Κένταυροι δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἡγέρεθοντο.

Now in early Chalcidian and Rhodian vases, he says, scenes of combat are almost universally split up into pairs of opposing combatants : and this practice is adopted in the François vase. On the red ware relief vases on the other hand, and on the early Korinthian vases¹, the impression aimed at is that of two groups opposing each other in closed ranks, a *ὑσμίνη* in the Hesiodic sense : and such is clearly the intention of our fig. 5.

Again, it is noticeable that neither the frieze of warriors on our vase, nor the frieze of horse-racing², have a definite beginning or ending : that is to say, they would be peculiarly appropriate for the decoration of a concentric circular band such as those on the red ware, on a metal shield, or the interior of a metal cup. The hare hunt of our vase is clearly an elongation of the usual form with huntsman, net, hare, and hounds : a scheme which Loeschcke has shown (*loc. cit.*) is directly traceable to the Phoenician bronze cups. One bronze cup found at Nimrud has on the innermost circle running hares, on the outermost, running dogs ; on another such vase we have the hound and hare alternately. On a Kyrenian cup from Naukratis in the British Museum (as yet unpublished) we have the early scheme of the Greek type ; the band which runs round the interior of this cup is occupied with three figures only, two dogs and a hare : neither huntsman nor net appears. Puchstein (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 227) has already pointed out that the ornament and composition of the Kyrenian and Rhodian vases are imitated from a metal industry, which had its nearest relation in the Cypriot-Phoenician workshops.

By 'Rhodian' he here means the circular pinakes with paintings on a whitish slip, of which several have come from Rhodian 'tombs,' but many more from Naukratis : I am inclined to think that this was not a Rhodian

¹ See e.g. a Korinthian oinochoe of 'Oriental' style in the British Museum.

² Cf. the similar frieze stamped from a cylinder on the vase in *Mus. Greg.* ii. 99, fig. 6 ; beneath the horses are represented plants and lotos buds,

a metal bowl from Dali has a frieze of boys on horseback with whips, and birds flying beside them in the field (Perrot et Chipiez, iii. p. 779, fig. 548).

fabric, but imported; for these reasons; (i) from Biliotti's *Diary of Excavations in Rhodes* it appears that the pinakes are invariably found there in tombs which contain glass and porcelain objects, and no other form of vases except bucchero (Polledhara ware); (ii) the one inscription which we have on a 'Rhodian' pinax (the Euphorbos plate) is in an alphabet which is certainly other than Rhodian; (iii) we have in the British Museum a series of pinakes from Rhodes which are quite easily distinguishable as local imitations of this very fabric.¹ Whether it came originally to Rhodes and Asia Minor from Naukratis, or not, is another question; certainly a great deal of exactly similar ware was found at Naukratis: and it is worth noting that here the arrangement of the design in concentric circles is particularly frequent (e.g. *Naukratis* II. xi. 2). We have in the British Museum the fragment of one such Naukratite pinax which is here given in order to illustrate this concentric arrangement, and also because it is the only parallel instance I can find of the peculiar treatment of the horse's bit in our fig. 6.



FIG. 1.

To resume then, it would seem that both the pinakes, the fabrics of Naukratis and Daphnae, and the fabric of Kyrene share in common with the Protokorinthian ware certain relations to the metal bowls of Phoenician origin. The strong bodies, the feeling for naturalistic treatment, the flowing blood,² the human legged centaurs, the stippled surface, the filling in of the field with individual animals, the preference for representations of genre and heroic scenes—these are common to all. I may here add two points suggested by our vase: first the swan swimming, in the horse-racing scene fig. 6: an

¹ Amongst the pottery found in Rhodian tombs previous to the time of Attic importations almost all the known fabrics are represented by corresponding local imitations. I am inclined to think that there was no independent painted ware made in the island (except perhaps the 'Fikellura' ware) which was not thus imi-

tated; as a rule these local imitations were executed only in two colours (blackish brown on reddish clay) and without incising.

² Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 173.

κατὰ δέ σφι κελαῖνδον
αἶμ' ἀπελείβει' ἔραζ'.

obvious parallel to Hesiod *Scut. Her.* l. 316¹; and, through it, to the Phoenician-Cyprian bowl (Cesnola Stern 56, 4: 69, 4). Secondly, the ape in our fig. 6 (the prognathous character of the head and the characteristic attitude seem to mark it as such here): we have the early Corinthian aryballi in form of a squatting ape: it occurs on the Kyrene Arkesilaos vase, and frequently on the Egyptian book of the dead, and possibly from Egypt it came into Phoenician metal work as we see it in Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 759, fig. 543.² Similar points of resemblance might no doubt be multiplied; I will only add two which here occur to me. In Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 759, fig. 543 we have, in the central scene on a Phoenician bowl, the figure of a man chained to a column by his arms which are tied behind his back; in the Kyrene vase (Baumeister *Denkmäler*, p. 1411) this identical figure is used for Prometheus; and again in the Attic amphora 'a colonnette' in Berlin (*Cat.* no. 1722) which, as the form shows, is borrowed from a Corinthian original; lastly, in the Amathous metal cup (Perrot and Chipiez iii. p. 775, fig. 547), we have a naturalistic scene of warriors very similar to that on the Macmillan vase; they carry shields with devices (one such device being the 'Catherine wheel' of our vase); and these shields are represented, as here, without the broad rim which is usual in Chalcidian and later Corinthian representations.

The direct connection of the Protokorinthian fabric with the mixed Egypto-Assyrian art which we associate with Phoenicia is admirably illustrated in the accompanying woodcut.



FIG. 2.

This is a Protokorinthian lekythos of exactly the same form as that given in *Arch. Zeit.* 41, p. 161, except that it wants most of the lip and the upper part of the handle: it was lately in a private collection in England. Its present height is .045 metre. On the neck is a frieze composed of the upper part of a winged figure repeated five times, and the wing and foreleg of what seems to be intended for a winged quadruped. On the body is a quaint representation of the sacred tree between two eagles (?) which look over their

¹ Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 316.

κύκνοι ἀεραπόται μεγάλ' ἤπνου, οἳ βά τε πολλοὶ
νῆχον ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕδαρ.

² A similar figure occurs on an early coin of uncertain (Asia Minor?) locality, see *Numismata Chersonesi*, 1890, pl. ii. 8.

backs towards it: on the left, the upper part of a winged figure with an Egyptian headdress, and a bird; on the right part of a similar figure. Below, a band of rays. On the handle has been a net pattern very similar to that which is frequent upon the ware of Kyrene (e.g. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. 10, 3). Each of the figures has the outlines and details engraved, but so far as I can see there is no trace of the use of purple.

The analogy of this vase to the ware of Kyrene is obvious at first sight; and yet there is no question but that it belongs to the Protokorinthian class. Here we have, so far as I know, the first instance in Greek pottery where the elements appear directly inspired by Phoenician metal work. The sacred tree¹ points to Assyria; the pairs of heraldic birds to the tectonic sculptures of Asia Minor; while the two winged figures in the main frieze show decided Egyptian influence.² At the same time, the whole design is treated in a manner as though copied without understanding; so much so, that in the upper band we have a wing and foreleg of an animal (cf. the horse in fig. 1 on p. 178), but no head.

Studniczka (*Kyrene*, pp. 7—8) has shown that the material of Kyrenian paintings may be traced through Thera to Argos, and remarks the close connection which may be established between the art of Kyrene and Korinthian-Sikyonian art. The same connection is obvious for the early art of Naukratis and the situla vases of Daphnae. To sum up then, we have the following result:—

(i) The Protokorinthian ware, following shortly after Mykenae, is closely connected with the old Greek Korinthian metal industry and so influenced by the Cypriot-Phoenician metal bowls.³

(ii) The fabrics of Naukratis, Kyrene, and Daphnae were subject to this Cypriot-Phoenician influence at a later date, probably in two ways: directly, through communication with the neighbouring island of Cyprus: indirectly, through Korinthian importations, as the types of myths there represented show us.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ The same tree occurs in another Protokorinthian lekythos (in the British Museum), from Kamiros in Rhodes; but in that case it is of much more developed and complicated form.

² Cf. the figures of the Boreades in the Kyrene cup, *Naukratis*, part i. pl. viii.

³ According to Biliotti's *Diary of Excavations in Rhodes*, two Protokorinthian lekythi were found 'between the walls D and E' of the

Akropolis at Kamiros, together with the following objects (marked C 10 and C 12): 'various porcelain statuettes and fragments; a bronze camel kneeling, with a man on its back: Archaic terra-cotta statuette; an iron spear and undulated blade; fragments of stone statuettes and animals; a sea-shell covered with incised ornaments, Egyptian style.'

VARIOUS WORKS IN THE PERGAMENE STYLE.

THE chief object of this paper is to record and classify the various monuments which on the ground of subject-matter or style may claim to be connected with Pergamene work. It may be well also to notice by way of introduction what we can gather from ancient testimony.

Of most of the existing works that I shall mention I have had personal knowledge, and where I have had to rely merely on published representations of them, I can only bring them forward for the purpose of suggesting to those who have direct acquaintance with them to consider them from this point of view. The theory which I wish to work out—a theory already suggested by others—is that certain fields of Greco-Roman and late Roman art have received a deep and abiding impress from Pergamon. That this should be *a priori* probable does not need elaborate proof; Rome was the heir of the Pergamene kingdom, and had always friendly intimacy with it, and we hear of many Pergamene works being transferred to Rome by Nero (*Dio Chrys.* 644 *R.*): between certain Roman and certain Pergamene myths there was a close analogy,¹ which coloured the artistic representation of them: the struggle of the Pergamene kingdom with the Gauls, or—to speak perhaps more correctly—with Antiochus Hierax supported by Gallic mercenaries,² was the most recent counterpart to the struggle of Rome with the barbarians: it was the Pergamene school—as Professor Brunn was the first to demonstrate—who idealized and fixed for artistic representation the type of the northern barbarian and really created historic sculpture,³ and I think that it can be shown that their rendering of this type became conventionalized and remained traditional throughout many centuries.

But the preliminary question which it is essential to answer is whether it is allowable to speak of a Pergamene style at all. For unless works done at Pergamon or in connection with Pergamon showed certain specific points of resemblance between themselves and a certain distinctiveness, we might

¹ *E.g.* the exposure of the twins and Telephos, the infants suckled by the wolf: compare the legend in Plutarch (*Romulus* ch. 2) that Aeneas married Roma, a daughter of Telephos.

² *Vide* Köhler, *Die Gründung des Königsreichs Pergamon*: Urlichs, who combats many of his arguments in his *Pergamenische Inschriften*, yet admits the main part of his theory.

³ Isolated works, such as the Nubian head—a bronze work from Cyrene—published by Rayet, *Mon. de l'art Antique* 2. No. 58, showing powerful realistic treatment of the barbaric type, are perhaps earlier than the Pergamene school: but theirs is the earliest systematic work in this field which could make a new epoch in sculpture.

affiliate Greco-Roman art in general to Hellenistic art in general, but no part at all of the former to Pergamene art as a species of the latter.

Is there then a Pergamene school whose work may be regarded as a species in this sense?

Urlichs¹ implicitly negatives the supposition, simply because the inscriptions prove that artists of many different nationalities worked at Pergamon, Athenian, Sicyonian, Boeotian and Rhodian sculptors having combined to embellish the Attalid capital; but when he wrote he had not seen the fragments at Berlin. This on the whole appears to be also Dr. Conze's view,² who speaks of Pergamene art as a sort of *διαλεκτὸς κοινή*, an eclectic art, gathering together the various characteristics of the older schools. And this is partly true, but not the whole truth.

In spite of all this eclecticism, the works that are known to have come from Pergamon and its vicinity display on the whole certain common qualities and features which have not appeared at all or not in equal degree of development in earlier works. These qualities one may either praise or blame, but it is not the object of this paper to dwell on questions that concern the philosophy of art. I have tried to express in former papers in this *Journal* some of the common and essential characteristics of this sculpture, and I will try briefly to record these here, chiefly so far as concerns the rendering of the forms. But one ought first to notice the question from which of the two periods of the Pergamene work are these to be gathered, from the older period of Attalus I. or the younger of Eumenes II. Professor Brunn finds in the Neapolitan statuettes, which have descended to us from the Attalid dedication at Athens, traces of the workmanship of the earlier and more creative generation. On the other hand Dr. Conze maintains that the starting-point of our criticism must always be the *chef d'œuvre* of the younger generation, the Pergamene altar; and the reasons are strong for adopting his view. The objects that in the last few years have been drawn from the soil of Pergamon are originals of first-hand value, uncorrupted by the hand of the renovator: the Neapolitan works are very poor copies, almost characterless, and only by a very probable hypothesis can be connected with the Attalid originals; and in any case through this comparative lack of character they fail to give us a standard for measuring the later effect and influence of this local style.³

¹ *Pergamenische Inschriften*, p. 27.

² *Göttingen Gebirge Anzeigen*, 1882.

³ M. Reinach in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* (Janv. 1889) and Dr. Milchhöfer in *Die Ickreitung des Prometheus* give a more favourable estimate of the Neapolitan works, both maintaining that they cannot be copies of the Greco-Roman age. They may certainly be copies wrought in Asia Minor, but after a careful study I failed to detect in them any excellence of style or execution that might prevent us assigning them to the Greco-Roman

period. The prostrate giant suggests a good original, but the work is dull and cold. Neither in face nor attitude is there much power of expression, and the treatment of the muscles, the hair, and the wild-beast's fell, shows little marked style or 'Pergamenian' character.

Still more superficial and dull is the rendering of the Amazon: though the drapery shows some skill and delicacy. The face has the high oval contour common in Alexandrine sculpture, but none of the specific marks of that type which appears on the frieze. The figure of the

The chief forms of what may be called the Pergamene countenance are as follows. The contour is a rather high oval, the height being proportionately greater than the breadth; the emphasis is laid on the flesh rather than on the bone-structure; the forehead is rather high and marked with a strong protuberance of flesh, the space between the eyes is great and the depth of the eye-sockets is strikingly great; the over-hanging eyebrows are realistically rendered and are often drawn up in the middle of their curve; the flesh at the outer corner of the eyes frequently is swollen, and the centre of the eyeball itself often protrudes. The lips are full and short and half-parted, and the upper one is usually arched and the centre of it pouts forward. The throat appears as a columnar support of the head, the under surface of the cheek springing as it were from the throat in low relief. The hair is rendered in a wild and confused mass.

The prevailing expression of the face—which these forms evidently assist—is one of physical pathos¹ or sensuous vehemence, a wild and undisciplined expression, barbaric or gigantesque.

The principle that governs the treatment of the head appears also in the rendering of the torso and the limbs: the effect desired and attained is that of temporary rather than permanent life and form. The bone-structure cannot of course be altogether concealed, but the eye is rather arrested by the swelling courses of flesh which are massed together to produce the barbaric or gigantic type. And both in the Pergamene face and torso there is a manner of handling the forms by which they appear liquid or fluent: that is, they seem to lack fixedness and to melt away one into another. Another way in which this interest in the momentary life and in the superficial aspect of the body is manifested is the naturalistic representation of such details as the hair on the breast and in the arm-pits, the drops of blood flowing from a wound, the wrinkles of the skin, the swollen veins. And the same love of mere detail is shown in the exact expression of the different textures of drapery.

Lastly, as regards the composition, we detect in the larger frieze and still more clearly in the smaller the tendency to crowd the figures together and to overload the action, whereby risk is incurred of losing plastic distinctness.

It might be supposed that the formal and spiritual qualities of this

dying Persian displays more obviously still the cold formalism of the later copyist's hand: there is a moderate expression of pain in the face, and some violence in the attitude, but otherwise little that speaks of any school. The dying Gaul of Naples has far more character and gives some proof of the Pergamene power in historic sculpture; but if the earlier Greco-Roman period could not produce such imitative works as these, it had fallen very low. The 'Attalid' figures at Venice are of far higher value, but even these we can best estimate after

considering the data afforded by the monuments from the soil of Pergamon.

¹ Perhaps by such a term we may distinguish 'Pergamenian' expression from the expression in a work of Scopas, a mental or spiritual pathos—such for instance as the epigrammatist found in the unknown *ἄγαλμα Μηδείας* (Anthology, ix. 593).

οἶκτον ὁμοῦ καὶ λύσσαν ἐτήτυμον ἔνθεος ἀνὴρ
μαρμάρῳ ἐγκατέμιξε, βιαζομένην δ' ὑπὸ τέχνης
λαϊνὴν Μηδεῖαν ὄλης ζῆμνησεν ἀνίης.

sculpture as thus summarized are only found in the representation of the giants on the frieze, and are reserved for this theme or for the barbaric type, to which they are appropriate. If this were true, it would still be desirable to see if this style appeared in the Greco-Roman work that dealt with the same subject. But it is interesting to note that this reservation was not made by those who worked at Pergamon: that, though it is the giant-head of the youthful type that is the completest example of what I have called the Pergamene countenance, yet some of the essential traces appear in the faces of the divinities, and also in the human faces of the smaller frieze: nor is it only in the giant-body that the violent treatment of the muscles is seen. It has been made a complaint about the figure of Zeus in the frieze that the torso is too gigantesque. Also the excited and over-vehement expression is given to the faces not only of the giants but of some of the divinities as well. In spite of the fact therefore that many of the best traditions of the older sculpture were maintained at Pergamon, we have here a peculiar type of forms and a mode of expression becoming fixed and conventional.

Again, the qualities of this style appear throughout the whole of this colossal frieze in greater or lesser degree of impressiveness. The sculptors are from many nations, but there is unity in their work; and though of course there are great differences of skill in the execution of different slabs, yet no one has yet succeeded in assigning this series to the Attic and that to the Rhodian workshop. For instance, the figure which for no particular reason has been called Orion shows—as I have before pointed out—a drier and more restrained style than most of the others, and a more prominent marking of the bone-structure of the head. But we cannot claim this slab for the austerer style, independent of Asiatic voluptuousness; for in the face and form of the giant that lies at his feet the marks of the ‘Pergamene’ style are most conspicuous. Many special points of difference might be discovered between the series of slabs on which Hekate and the kindred divinities are represented, and that on which Amphitrite and the sea-divinities appear in combat. Not only is the execution inferior in the latter, but there are fewer specific marks of the school in the rendering of the torso and the face. But there is no new principle of composition, no different theory of formal treatment in this group, so that we might speak of a separate and independent style.

And—as I have incidentally noticed before and will soon show by illustration—the heads of the smaller frieze show on the whole the same characteristics as those on the larger, only that the dominant expression is less intense and their contour is rounder and softer, and the marking of the bone-structure of the skull which may be discerned on two heads of the larger frieze cannot be discovered on this.

The result of this brief and general statement will be this—that as a certain spirit and style appear throughout the mass of sculpture discovered on the site of Pergamon, and as no earlier work of sculpture displays the same style so conspicuously or so consistently, and as this has become a mannerism at Pergamon being used irrespective of theme, it is natural and scientific to

speak of a Pergamene style or epoch : and the Pergamene is a species of the Hellenistic work.

We may admit that there was no Pergamene 'school'—that is a body of native sculptors showing in their work the impress of local character and influence. But those who worked at this place worked *de consilii sententia*, with some unity of method and theory, and what they achieved was important enough to serve as a standard.

To trace the prior influences that explain this style and to collect the elements in the older sculpture from which it is built up, lies beyond the scope of this paper. But in passing I may illustrate the theory that I advanced before of an affinity between the style of Scopas and Pergamene work. Certain striking traits in the Pergamene type of countenance appear in the Tegean heads from the temple of Athene Alea: these are the protuberance over the forehead, the great breadth between the eyes, the very deep eye-sockets, and the protruding centre of the eyeball. I was strongly impressed with the resemblance between the head of the giant who is attacked by the goddess with the mysterious jar and the youthful helmed head from Tegea; and one of the larger heads from Pergamon in the magazine of the Berlin Museum shows the same expression of mouth and the same roundness of forms as some of the separate female heads in the British Museum found at the Mausoleum. That Scopas' style had great vogue in Asia Minor is in accord with the account of his life and sphere of work.¹

Before enumerating those monuments for which there is only internal evidence of connection with the Pergamene school, I will briefly record those of which the 'provenance' from Pergamon is certain, and which are of value in illustrating the special style.

Besides the great frieze, there are the slabs of the smaller frieze which probably ran round the interior of the altar, most of which are still in the magazine of the Berlin Museum. The subject-matter of these has been successfully and skilfully explained by Professor C. Robert in the numbers of the years 1887 and 1888 of the *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts*, but without much reference to the details of the style. I am only concerned here with shortly illustrating the affinity which I have already affirmed to exist between the sculpture of the smaller and that of the greater frieze.

In the representation of Telephos with the infant Orestes and the young Electra,² the face of Electra shows some of the marks of the type described, and the torso of Telephos the characteristic handling.

The group of Heracles and the infant Telephos³ suckled by the wolf is very interesting on account of the connection which it has with representations which will be noticed later of the Greco-Roman period. It concerns the present point because the forms display the Pergamene style

¹ On a Bithynian coin of Lysimachus (in the British Museum, soon to be published in the series of Bithynian Kings) is a head of Heracles with many of the essential traits of the Pergamene type of countenance.

² Sketched in *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, p. 66.

³ Overbeck, *Geschichte d. Griech. Plastik*, vol. ii. fig. 133a.

very markedly. The rendering of the abdomen and of the swelling courses of muscles above the hip recall the sculpture of the gigantomachy; the pose of the arm across the breast, by which the biceps and pectinal muscles are joined, is probably chosen partly because this sculpture is fond of dealing with colossal masses of flesh. Though the motive is very different, the pose is the same in the representation of the giant who is sinking down beneath Zeus. In the battle-piece, the scene sketched in Professor Robert's paper,¹ we are in various ways reminded of the larger frieze; the dead man falling head-downwards is a familiar motive; there is the same profuse detail of slaughter here as there—the same realistic rendering of the blood rushing from the wound, and the structure of the forehead and the eyes and the rendering of the hair are the same. Another scene of combat,² in which a naked warrior is falling with blood dripping from his side, and the helmeted head of another is seen prostrate on the ground beneath, produces a very similar effect as the last.

On three unconnected slabs of the smaller frieze we notice strikingly similar types of heads: namely, on one where a bride is standing before the statue of Athene Polias³ and a bearded man is by her side; another⁴ where a kingly figure with his guards is hurrying along as though at some sudden news; a third⁵ where another bearded man is raising a laurel-bough towards a statue of Apollo. In all three the male countenance has most of the same forms and the same peculiar expression as we find in so many heads of the larger frieze—the deep-set eyes and the great breadth between them, the protruding forehead, the fleshy cheek-bones, and that expression restless and unfixed which is difficult to describe. Now, according to Robert's most probable explanations, the personality is different in each case, and we cannot say that in each case it is the head of Telephos who appears in three different scenes. In fact we are here presented with a fixed form, which the Pergamene sculptor uses without much consideration of personality or ethos. It appears again in a free head which is exhibited in the Museum near to one of these slabs, and which is supposed to be a head of Poseidon.

The last point of resemblance between the larger and the smaller frieze which need be noticed here is the careful exactness with which both in one and in the other such accessories are rendered as the texture of the drapery, the feathers of the helmet's plumes.

It may then be concluded that the smaller monument, though carved perhaps by different hands, belongs immediately to the same school of work.

On the other hand, it is markedly distinguished, as Overbeck has well pointed out, by the picturesqueness of its relief style. The picturesque element had not indeed been wanting in the frieze-work of the gigantomachy; but the handling of the surface of the relief was there entirely in accord with the old plastic tradition: the background is the same for all the figures, and

¹ *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* 1887, p. 256.

² Robert, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1888, p.

91, T.

³ *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* 1888, p. 45, Pl. I.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 87, Q.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 57, P.

all are on the same plane. But in the Telephos slabs there is often an ideal background, perhaps a natural scene, and figures are on a higher and lower scale, and the groups are massed together in different layers. This arrangement, as well as the plastic framework by which the scenes are divided, betrays the influence of painting on sculpture—an influence beginning to be dominant in the Alexandrine period—and probably gives us the clue for explaining the picturesque character of Roman relief work. If this theory be true, a general method of composition will have been borrowed for Rome from Pergamon.

Besides the Telephos frieze, there are many other fragments of sculpture brought from Pergamon, most of them lying at present in the magazine of the Berlin Museum. But it is not possible to find much of the local characteristic style in all of them, and it would be unreasonable to expect such uniformity; for Pergamon was a storehouse of works of art gathered from all parts of Greece, and the first Attalus took his share of the spoils of Corinth. Thus such works as the Athena Nike, the helmeted head and headless statue of Pallas in the Pheidias style,¹ and many of the larger mutilated figures not yet exhibited may have no real connection with the site on which they were found, and do not weaken the theory derived from other works of a specific Pergamene style.

To those of this latter class that have already been examined may be added the following:—

(a) The remains of a seated male figure, lacking the head and arms, the left leg and most of the right: on his back was a mantle, a fold of which appears on his right thigh, and on his neck are traces of long hair. The right arm was brought across the breast, as if it were resting on some support at this side, and the whole body is inclined in this direction. The most conspicuous mark of its style is the very soft treatment of the surface and of the large fleshy masses; the breasts are very swollen and almost feminine, and this fact, together with the pose and the whole rendering, suggests a statue of Dionysos. If this is the right name, we have then four representations of the god from the site of Pergamon—this seated figure, the slabs from the larger and a smaller frieze found on the same site representing Dionysos *γυγαντολέτης*, and the slab from the Telephos frieze on which the god has been discovered moving hastily to the left, the three last having very much in common with each other and with the local style. Now we know that there was a worship and a temple of Dionysos at Pergamon, and we can gather its importance from more than one source.² It is not improbable that among the mentioned fragments of sculpture survives a reproduction of the temple statue, which may more naturally be supposed to be that of a seated or peaceful figure; but other examples may be quoted of a temple divinity represented in active or dramatic pose, and it is not impossible that the figure on the reliefs preserves something of the forms of the temple statue.

¹ *Vide Hellenic Journal*, 1886, p. 271, 'The Works of Pergamon and their Influence.'

Book XLI. 61: letter from Ptolemy to the Pergamenians, *C.I.G.* 3537.

² *Vide* the oracle in *C.I.G.* 3538: Dio Cassius,

Unfortunately, the coinage of Pergamon does not supply us with any clue; but a coin of the Cilician Seleucia shows us the figure of Dionysos closely resembling that on the Pergamene frieze-slabs.¹

(b) The cast of a large statue of Hermaphrodite, placed in the Assyrian room, the original of which was found about the south-east of the altar, and is now at Constantinople. The right arm is missing, and the left shoulder has been restored with plaster. At present the work has attracted notice only on the ground of an obvious resemblance in the arrangement of its drapery to the Venus of Milo—a resemblance which may be only accidental, and which contributes nothing to the solution of any question concerning the latter; but it deserves serious attention on other grounds, and chiefly because it is the only Greek statue which has survived of this semi-oriental figure. The Hermaphrodite of the Louvre and that of Florence are only Greco-Roman copies, and still later and inferior to these in execution is the St. Petersburg statue. The Pergamene work far excels these in execution, for the surface is softly and warmly wrought, and in moral conception, for the combination of male and female forms is given without any particularly sensual effect. The face is high, and springs in low relief from the throat; the flesh is strongly emphasized, but the cheek-bones are also marked. The features are close, so to speak, and rather flattened, the chin being short and drawn up as it were to the mouth; the lips are full and rather pouting. There is nothing original in the pose, as the body inclines rather languidly towards the left, the left arm resting on the trunk of a tree. The only other work of the same subject that it recalls in the disposition of the drapery and partly in its attitude is the Hermaphrodite of the Villa Pamphili.²

It would be interesting to know if there was any affinity between the statue from Pergamon and the 'nobilis Hermaphroditus' of Polycles. The question is of course fore-judged if we assume that the copies of the sleeping Hermaphrodite, the statues in the Louvre and Florence and St. Petersburg, preserve the type and form of the original which Pliny praises; but this is only an archaeological conjecture. At any rate, the Polycles whose work upon this theme was most notable cannot have been the sculptor of Ol. CII., but either the second Polycles of the middle of the third century or the latest of this name belonging to the Attic 'revival.'³ And it is not improbable, from the internal evidence of Pliny's text, that it is the sculptor of this latest period to whom he refers.⁴ In this case the Hermaphrodite of Polycles might be almost contemporary in origin with that which has been brought from Pergamon, and which will always remain of importance for a certain simplicity and freshness it possesses, and its comparative purity of expression and form.

(c) A statue of a tall male figure, standing at ease, his weight being

¹ Mionnet, vol. iii. p. 601 : Cilicia, No. 298.

² Clarac, Pl. 667, No. 1548, A.

³ Vide C. Robert, *Hermes*, xix. p. 307.

⁴ In the first part of sec. 19, Book XXXIV., Pliny enumerates the various epochs of bronze-

sculpture, and afterwards the works that illustrate these epochs. If the Polycles he mentions is not the latest sculptor of that name, then he has left the latest period without any monument to illustrate it.

thrown on his left leg, and his left hand gathering up his garment, which leaves bare his breast and right shoulder; most of his right arm is missing, but it seems to have been lifted and supported perhaps on a staff. The face is rather full and covered with a short beard; the hair is somewhat raised above the forehead, which is prominently marked and barred. Although the expression of the face is not very definite, the statue is very probably an Aesclepios; for the position of the arms, the arrangement of the drapery and the treatment of the hair accord with a representation of the god that appears on certain Pergamene coins.¹ If the figure is really an Aesclepios, it is then the earliest instance yet discovered among Pergamene monuments of a type of the god of which the origin is doubtful, and which is probably quite distinct from the well-known work of Phryomachus.

(d) Somewhat different in form from the last is a small figure in terra-cotta exhibited in the Antiquarium at Berlin, an undoubted Aesclepios and of Pergamene 'provenance.' The god is once more erect, and the himation covers the lower part of the body and the left shoulder in the same fashion, but his right hand is resting on his hip, and in his left is the serpent-rod. In these respects it is a replica of the statue from Cyrene published in the *Hellenic Journal* (IV., p. 47); but the terra-cotta figure is bearded, and a youthful Aesclepios is a type that has not yet been found at Pergamon, although we might believe that it was not unfamiliar to the native imagination, since in the vision of Aristides the god wore some of the forms of Apollo.²

(e) The two satyrs from Pergamon, published by Dr. Furtwängler,³ the one a perfectly preserved bronze figure, the other a statue of Parian marble wanting the head and arms. The meaning and probable genealogy of these works have been fully discussed by the above-mentioned writer; it is only necessary to note here that the rendering of the anatomy shows in each case the manner peculiar to the school, namely, the powerful articulation of the flesh, and that the execution of the panther's fell and of the nebris reminds us of the skill so notable on the frieze in the handling of different materials. Whether the bronze figure with its plebeian and bucolic type of head supplies us with another criterion for bringing certain works—hitherto isolated—under the Pergamene species, may be afterwards considered. It may appear that this type is not especially Pergamene. But the figures prove at least that we may attribute to this school an affection for strained and complicated movement and pose—'a rhythm distortum et elaboratum'—that descends to them from Myron.

(f) The torso and lower body of a Triton, one of the figures that stood on the acroterion of the altar. I have already mentioned that most of these appear to be free reproductions of the divinities of the larger frieze, and their movements suggest the same action. It is quite possible that this statue of the Triton has the same dramatic meaning, for his right arm was evidently

¹ Vide Warwick Wroth, 'Aesclepios on the Coins of Pergamon,' *Num. Chron.* Ser. III. vol. ii. p. 22, Pl. II. 8.

² ἄμα μὲν Ἀσκληπίος, ἄμα δὲ Ἀπόλλων.

Aristid. Ier. λογ. β., Dindorf, i. 469.

³ Vierzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste 1880.

raised on high as though brandishing a weapon, and his left hand holds a shell. There may be an allusion here to the old tradition according to which Triton served as trumpeter in the gigantomachy. The torso is treated so as to suggest the liquid element to which the personage belongs, and that the Pergamene sculpture achieved something in the representation of the beings of the sea the Triton of the Vatican—to be considered later—gives us fair reason to believe. It is evident that the skill which this sculpture possesses in softly rendering the surfaces of the flesh would stand it in stead when handling this theme.

(g) The female head well known through photographs and casts, which might be more conveniently considered in connection with the 'Venus of Milo.'

(h) I have referred above to fragments of a smaller relief-work, containing figures about fourteen inches in height, which has been brought to Berlin from Pergamon, and which is of some interest because it also represents a gigantomachy and copies certain groups of the larger altar. For instance, we see the figure of Dionysos showing the same treatment, the same half-feminine forms, and the same posture as the Dionysos of the larger frieze; the face is well preserved, and of the same type as the other heads of Dionysos which I have examined. Of much ruder work are two other reliefs, perhaps belonging to a consecutive frieze, but probably of later origin than that just mentioned, representing Zeus and Athene in the battle. The god is striding forward with violent action, with his left foot on a prostrate giant of human form; brandishing the thunderbolt in his right hand, with his left he has caught a serpent-footed giant by the hair (though the hand is missing, the interpretation is hardly doubtful). Zeus bears no aegis, and the resemblance of the scene to the greater frieze is not very close. The rendering of the forms shows the later exaggeration of the Pergamene style, and there is no fineness of surface. Athene with the aegis is hurrying to the left; only the right half of her body and no part of the neck and shoulders is preserved. The figure somewhat resembles the bronze of Athene with the giant published in the *Hellenic Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 91.

(i) Of much greater importance is a free statue of Zeus about six feet in height, which I have slightly referred to in a former paper—one of that series of statues which were probably carved simultaneously with the frieze-work of the great altar, and which probably stood above it between the pillars of the colonnade. No doubt this also is Zeus *Γιγαντολέτης*, for the posture and drapery are very similar to those of the Zeus on the frieze. And the differences arise mostly from the inevitable differences between a relief-figure in a group and a single free statue; that is, the action is less dramatic and violent. The head of this Zeus is only slightly inclined to the right, and the action is more directly to his front; there is no back-swing of the body, but he is striding forwards with right foot advanced and right arm uplifted. There is a certain dignity also and reserve in the motive of the left arm which merely supports the drapery, and the muscles are not so violently rendered nor the veins so swollen. If this is copied from the frieze-figure—

of which I am doubtful—it is a very intelligent copy, and takes an important place in our scanty series of Zeus-statues of a Greek period (Fig. 1).

Besides these works of sculpture there are several moulds, found on the site of Pergamon, for statuettes and reliefs, which are exhibited in the Berlin Antiquarium. Many of them are for the forms of divinities, such as Hermes, Apollo, Bacchus, Aphrodite, but it is hard to discern in them any features



FIG. 1.

specially characteristic of Pergamene work except in the Hermes, whose forehead and chest recalls something of the style.

There are also in the Antiquarium a number of small terra-cottas from Pergamon, but few of them give any clear illustration of the native manner, and the aggregate of them do not serve to corroborate Pliny's¹ remark con-

¹ *N.H.* 35, 160 : 'In Asia Pergamon retinet nobilitatem hujus artis.'

cerning the fame of Pergamene pottery. Two of them deserve mention here: one a female head (No. 6702), showing the unmistakable marks of the type; another a torso, that might be that of Eros or Bacchus, in many ways resembling the fragmentary statue described above, especially in the soft handling of the large masses of flesh on the breast and abdomen. And here also a chlamys is seen, passing round the left shoulder and appearing on the right hip.

So far as I am aware no museum, except the Berlin and the British, the University Galleries at Oxford, and the museum at Constantinople, possesses any monument of marble, bronze, or terra-cotta that is known to have come from the site or immediate vicinity of Pergamon. And all that we have is the colossal torso from Elaea—the port of Pergamon—which has not yet been published. It is probably a fragment of a statue of the seated Heracles. The characteristic style is very noticeable in the soft and lax rendering of the forms, and the deep depressions that throw strong shadows over the large masses of flesh, in the treatment of the lower part of the torso, and in the swollen veins.

The only other marble work that may with certainty be added to this list is a male head from the smaller frieze, in private possession at Dresden, of which I have no personal knowledge, but which is briefly mentioned in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1884 (p. 63).

The coinage of Pergamon contributes much to our knowledge of the local cults, and occasionally illustrates a local myth, but exhibits very little of the peculiar style in question. Nor should we expect to find much of it on this class of monuments; but an Alexander's head in the lion's skin on a coin probably of the period of Eumenes II.,¹ and a Pergamene coin of the time of Septimius Severus, showing Heracles with the hind of Cerynea, recall the familiar style in the rendering of the forehead and eyes.

A few fragments—not long discovered and not yet published, so far as I am aware—from the Stoa of Attalus II. at Athens may perhaps be reckoned among the monuments that come from the site or territory of Pergamon. Whether the king employed his own sculptors or Athenians for the decoration of his monument might be an open question; but the style of these fragments makes for the former supposition.

(a) A female head inclined to one side, with a veil falling over the back part. It has the peculiar highly-wrought expression which the sculptors of this school loved to give; and it shows their characteristic treatment of forms—the long oval contour, the deep eye-sockets, the forehead protruding in the centre, the short firm mouth. We might name it a head of Demeter.

(b) Another female head of colossal size, very similar in forms and expression, with half-open mouth, a highly-arched upper lip, and the same treatment of the forehead.

(c) A barbarian head, probably a Gaul's, displaying the characteristic Pergamene rendering of this type in the high cheek-bones, the hair and eye-

¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen der Dynastie von Pergamon*, Taf. 3, No. 19.

brows; but there is more realism of detail in this than (for instance) in the head of the Dying Gaul of the Capitoline.

Before beginning the review of the monumental evidence that proves the diffusion of Pergamene style throughout other localities, there are some literary notices that are valuable to collect.

Among the arts cultivated with the greatest success in the later Greek and the Greco-Roman period was that of mosaic; and it is probable that Rome was to some extent indebted to Pergamon for the introduction and expansion of this art. 'Celeberrimus fuit in hoc genere Sosus qui Pergami stravit quem vocant asaroton ocon';¹ it is likely that he belonged to the earlier Attalid period, and it is possible that he was one of those who wrought the mosaics for the magnificent ship of Hiero II. of Syracuse (about 232 B.C.), which is one of the earliest recorded and certain instances of mosaic-work used for private luxury.² Now it is shortly after the date at which the Pergamenian kingdom was ceded to Rome (B.C. 133) that this art became popular in the latter city; and that this is more than a mere coincidence seems indicated by the name that is commonly applied in later literature to the mosaic-pavement—asarotum and asarotici lapilli—a general term, derived from the Pergamene work. The theory could be better established if one could discover in Roman mosaic sure traces of the Pergamene style; and the attempt would be adventurous, as no mosaic has been found on the excavated site or in the vicinity of Pergamon, and it would be hazardous to seek in so different an art for the same style that appears in the sculpture; but a few clues of connection may be gathered, chiefly from the representation in mosaic of Alexander's battle.

In his *Campanische Wandmalerei*³ Helbig has thrown out the suggestion that this work is derived from an original—probably a painting—that belongs to the same epoch and tendency as the Attalid historic sculptures. We may note that the same principle is observed here as there in the rendering of the barbaric type, and some of the same features reappear, and the real type is given without excessive naturalism. Now it cannot be said that any and every achievement in historic art in the Hellenistic era immediately falls to the credit of the Pergamene school, for Cyrene or Alexandria may claim to have done work of the same kind and power in regard to the African nationalities. But it is much more probable that the type of the Persian race was originally a theme of Asia Minor art rather than of Greco-Libyan or Greco-Egyptian. And the mosaic in question is not without evidence in support of this. There is a certain resemblance—that must not however be too much insisted upon—between the figure of the Persian who is transfixed by the spear of Alexander, and that of the young giant who is falling before Athene on the altar-frieze. His face and the faces of some of the other Persians show something of that character and that expression in eyes and

¹ Pliny, *N.H.* 36, 184.

² The art of mosaic had been employed perhaps as early as the fifth century for the decora-

tion of temple-pavements; *vide* Letronne, *Lettres d'un Antiquaire*, pp. 313-315.

³ P. 44.

forehead that mark the gigantesque type; and the reflection of the prostrate Persian's countenance in his own shield recalls to our mind a similar trait in Sosus' mosaic, the reflection of the bird's head in the water. I am aware that these indications are of rather slight force; but they combine with more general considerations of probability to connect the mosaic with the historic work of the later epoch rather than with the picture of the Egyptian Helena to which¹ Overbeck would refer it. The violent dramatic spirit, the highly-wrought pathos, the masterful characterization of the Persian race, are features in the work that are difficult to reconcile with the belief that the original was painted by a woman in Egypt soon after the middle of the fourth century B.C.

The popularity of the work of Sosus is proved also by the existing imitations; the birds drinking from the cup on the Herculaneum mosaic are a reproduction of part of his subject, but it throws no light on any special character of style. As has been already said, it is scarcely fruitful to try to find any main stream of Pergamene influence in Roman mosaic-work; but here and there in certain themes a certain affinity may be observed.

The literary record concerning Pergamene art, that is next in importance to the record of the Attalid dedications at Athens, is a series of epigrams describing the representations in relief on the pillars of the temple that was raised at Cyzicus by Attalus II. and Eumenes II. in honour of their mother Apollonis. According to the transcriber of the epigrams they were actually inscribed on the pillars themselves—*ἐς τὰ στυλοπινάκια ἐγγράπτο, περιέχοντα ἀναγλύφους ἱστορίας*.² That the verses and the art were contemporaneous in their origin cannot be believed, as the irregularities of the metre point to a very late period; perhaps their inscription is only imaginary, and they are the work of a late Byzantine. But there can be no doubt that they describe actual monuments, the decoration of the temple-pillars at Cyzicus—and record some of the productions of the artists who worked for Attalus and Eumenes. Many of the subjects can be illustrated, and some have a special interest for Pergamene legend, and may very probably be the work of the sculptors who carved the smaller Pergamene frieze. The first³ in the series is a representation of Bacchus leading Semele to Olympos with Hermes preceding, and an escort of Satyrs and Sileni with torches. The text is too vague to tell us much about the composition, but we may conjecture a youthful Dionysos standing in the chariot by the side of Semele in the centre of the scene.

The words *τὰν ἄθεον Πενθεῦς ὕβριν ἀμειβόμενος* can refer to nothing that was there in the scene, unless we suppose a combination of two separate myths on the same slab; and the evidence of other monuments cannot help us towards any reconstruction of it, for with the exception of one broken vase we have no representation of the ascent of Semele. The chief interest of the

¹ *Pompeii*, p. 425.

² The epigrams were first noticed by Visconti, *Iscrizioni Greche Triopce*, p. 102: for textual criticism *vide* Jacob's *Exercitationes Criticae*,

vol. ii. p. 139; they have scarcely received any archaeological criticism.

³ *Vide Anth. Pal.* iii. 1.

record is that it gives us another example of the figure of Dionysos as a theme of Pergamene sculpture; and I have already noted with what peculiar expression and forms the type of the god was handled by the men of this school, to whom chiefly, we may believe, the later modifications of the type are due. But it is doubtful whether there is any Greco-Roman sculpture dealing with this subject in which we can definitely trace the effect of their work. The head of Bacchus in Leyden, published in the *Mon. dell' Inst.*, ii. 41, and described by Furtwängler¹ as being 'd'une expression puissante et animée, d'un grand élan et empreinte de ce pathétique un peu rude qui caractérise les sculptures de Pergame,' appeared to me, on personal observation of it, scarcely to have the value thus ascribed to it, and to show little affinity in its forms to Pergamene style.

The choice of this subject for the decoration of the Cyzicene temple need not have been suggested by the local worship of Dionysos at Pergamon, but by the desire to illustrate the affection between son and mother—the idea expressed in nearly all these reliefs.²

The second representation is that which stands in the closest connection with the local legend: the recognition of Telephos by his mother Auge, the incident that is recorded by Hyginus, and perhaps was found in the *Μυσοί* of Sophocles. The Cyzicene relief has a particular interest, because its subject is closely connected with that of one of the smaller frieze-slabs that have been brought from Pergamon, on which in spite of its mutilation, we can discover the form of Telephos³ and the serpent that miraculously intervenes between the son and the mother to prevent the intended matricide. On a vase of the later archaic period we see Telephos fully armed and pursuing Auge who is hastily retreating (*Arch. Zeit.* 1853, Taf. 60). But neither of these representations can give us an exact clue to that on the temple of Apollonis; for both these are dramatic and violent, but the words of the epigrammatist evidently describe a peaceful situation, the moment of the discovery, and the purpose of Telephos to lead his mother back to his native land; and such a scene accords well with the whole of this series of mythic subjects. But it is very rarely⁴ found among surviving monuments, and it may take rank by the side of the smaller frieze as illustration of the original work done by the Attalid sculptors in the field of Pergamene myths.

Many of these Cyzicene representations are so to speak *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, far-fetched themes of which existing works supply us with no illustration, and which are chosen merely as mythic or historic records of filial piety. It is only necessary here to mention those that have some discoverable relation with known monuments, and some importance for the history of Pergamene sculpture. Great interest attaches to the sixth and the fourteenth representation, the former being the slaughter of Python, the latter the death of

¹ *Collect. Sabouraud*, vi. 23.

² But the presence of the Sileni in the scene may be an allusion to the Dionysiac society that existed at Pergamon of *Βουκόλοι* and *Σειληνοί*. *Vide* inscription, vol. vii. p. 10 of *Hermes*.

³ *Vide* sketch in *Jahrb. d. deut. Inst.* 1887, p. 245, fig. C.

⁴ The meaning of the relief in Brocklesby Hall (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*), 'Telephos and Auge,' is very doubtful.

Tityos at the hands of Apollo and Artemis. From the heading and the text of each epigram we can partially reconstruct the scenes. In the first Leto is flying before Python, and Apollo and Artemis are shooting—ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς Δελφῶν. We must suppose that the rocky terrain was indicated, and from the words οὐ θήσει τρίπον ἐνθεον we may conjecture that the tripod was actually seen near the god, as it is in the representations of Apollo Pythoc-tonos on the coins of Rhegium. What is unusual in the Cyzicene rendering of the myth is the presence of Artemis in the first place; for apart from this instance she is not, as far as I am aware, found in this scene, except in those rare and different vase-representations which show Leto fleeing from Python and holding the twin children in her arms; secondly, the presence of Leto herself interpreting the myth as an illustration of filial piety.

Apollo is avenging Leto for Python's pursuit of her at the time of his birth; only thus will this scene express the idea of the whole series. But this is the rarer and probably not the original view of the myth, and in support of it we can only quote the legend of Hyginus, the vase-representation mentioned above, and the Homeric hymn to Apollo as it appears in the fanciful reconstruction of O. Gruppe.¹

The fourteenth epigram describes a very similar subject, and the figures of Artemis, Apollo, and Leto appear again. The form of the dying Tityos may have been lying at the feet of Apollo, and thus the group would have closely resembled that in the Pergamene frieze of Apollo and the fallen giant of human shape, as in a former paper it has been noticed how the Pergamene Apollo resembles the slayer of Tityos as he appears on a red-figured vase.² While in the earlier vase-representations, for instance on an archaic Corinthian vase in the Louvre, Tityos though usually wounded is often still erect and retreating, the sculptor of the Cyzicene slab has followed what was probably a prevalent mode of treating this theme. We gather from the epigrammatist's words that the giant was streaming with blood from his wounds, and we have here an indication of that love of sensational realism which is seen so frequently in works of this school.

From the Pergamene and Cyzicene monuments, then, we have evidence that the type of Apollo was familiar in Pergamene sculpture, as we know also that he enjoyed special worship both at Cyzicus and Pergamon.³ We may also suppose, as the sculptors were dealing with closely cognate themes, namely, the slaying of the giants, of Pytho, and of Tityos, and as the action of the god is on the whole the same in each, that the pose and form of Apollo was very similar in all these representations. And we may enlarge the group of works connected with the Belvidere statue by including in it these representations on the Cyzicene temple.

The seventh epigram describing the representation of the fate of Dirce is of great importance, as it is the only sure proof we have that Pergamene

¹ *Die Griechischen Kulte und Mythen*, p. 530.

² *Hellenic Journal*, 1885, p. 127.

³ Ἀπόλλων ὁ καλλίτεκνος, Arist. *τερ. λογ. β.*, Dind. 169; Hekataeus, *Frags.* Müller, 202.

sculpture dealt with this theme. For the Farnese group by itself is insufficient evidence, its authenticity being so corrupted by excessive restoration that, though we may find a general resemblance to Pergamene manner and spirit in its picturesque character, in its dramatic violence, and in its expression of the pathos of merely physical suffering, yet we cannot find in it the surer formal marks of affinity. And the inscriptions found at Pergamon, at first supposed to show that one of the sculptors of the Farnese group was employed for the decoration of the Pergamene altar, are now admitted by Dr. Conze to be doubtful. But the epigram proves that the main motives of the Cyzicene representation were the same as those of the monument in Naples.

ἄγε καὶ ἐκ ταύροιο καθάπτετε δίπλακα σειρήν,
ὄφρα δέμας σύρη τῆσδε κατὰ ξυλόχου.

Both brothers are engaged in tying Dirce by a double cord to the bull, and the body is to be dragged along a bushy ground—a picturesque trait found in the Farnese group and similar to some in the reliefs of the smaller Pergamene altar-frieze. And it seems probable that Antiope also was present and that Dirce was making appeal to her; at least this is grammatically the most natural interpretation of the words

Δέσμιον ἦν πάρος εἶχε διὰ ζηλήμονα μῆνιν
Νῦν ἰκέτις αὐτῇ λίσσεται ὀδυρομένη.

Whether the Farnese group or the Cyzicene relief was the earlier is hard to say, but the epigram justifies us in bringing the former into near relation to Pergamene sculpture. It may be that the myth was first handled by painting, as it seems a theme more appropriate to that art; but we have no proof of any representation earlier than the Pergamene, and there is nothing to hinder us supposing that it was in this school that the subject first received artistic treatment. We find the same scene on a relief from Volterra and on two Pompeian frescoes:¹ on the former and on one of the frescoes we find something of the Pergamene style in the expression and rendering of the face.

The eleventh epigram describes the myth of Polydectes and Perseus, who is turning him to stone with the Gorgon's head. The verse implies that the sculpture was able to express the petrefaction of the limbs: how this was possible for an art that had obtained complete mastery in the handling of the surface may be gathered from that frieze-slab of the great altar, on which a youthful giant with stiffened limbs is sinking down before the aegis of Zeus.

The evidence of the epigram supports the supposition that among the existing representations of Medusa we may find traces of the Pergamene hand. Certainly in the range of its expression and some of its forms, the Ludovisi head shows affinity with the work of this school, as has

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1852, Taf. 47, 48. Zahn, iii. 91.

been pointed out by Trendelenburg,¹ who compares it with the head of the youthful giant in the first slab of the Pergamene frieze (4); but here it is the still living energy of rage and hatred that is expressed in the contorted features, while in the Medusa the bitterness of pain and hate is shadowed indeed in the lips and drawn eyelids, but there is an approach in the features to frozen insensibility, and the expression is not so violent but profounder. In both works, however, we see the strong expression of a pathos that is more physical than mental, and this is a marked though perhaps not a 'peculiar' property of Pergamenian sculpture. As regards the forms of the Ludovisi head, the long wavy hair, the large eye-sockets, the arched lip recall the well-known characteristics of this style, but the face has not the usual contour nor the usual lines and depressions.



FIG. 2.

There is another head of Medusa, a terra-cotta mask from Tarentum (Fig. 2), published in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1883, Pl. 3, which the writer there classes among works of this school. The head is in private possession; but so far as one may judge from the reproduction, the view about its origin or affinity is correct. The wrinkled forehead, the breadth of face, the distance between the eyes, the form of the mouth and of the arched upper lip, vividly remind us of some of the younger giants' countenances. Again, the Medusa

¹ *Die Gigantomachie*.

head from Stabiae shows the same spirit of workmanship, and some of the forms are the same.¹

But it would be rash to conclude with certainty from the above evidence that this type of Medusa—with its romantic expression, with the strained pathos of its forms—was the achievement of the Pergamene school. It may be that an older generation discovered a mode of expression for the agony of death, and that this became a traditional mode for rendering the dying passion of a Laocoon, a Medusa, or a youthful giant. Only there are no monuments that prove this type to be older than the earlier Pergamene era; and there was no other school in the Alexandrine period that possessed such mental aptitude, so to speak, for the fullest representation of physical horror. At least the works that have been compared help us to conceive how the Medusa appeared on the Cyzicene relief.

The historic incident represented in the relief described in Epigram 17—the sons carrying their parents on their backs to save them from an eruption of Etna—is not without interest, in that the story recalls the myth of Aeneas and Anchises; and this representation may be compared with the Greco-Roman representation of Anchises on the shoulders of Aeneas. A late and much defaced statue in Cologne of a warrior armed with helmet, sword, and cuirass, and bearing on his left arm a man who holds some oblong object on his lap may represent an Aeneas with his father. The latter's head is missing, but the warrior's face shows something of the Pergamenian type in the deep-set eyes and the lines about the brow and lips.

The last epigram of this series has this unique interest, that it gives us the earliest instance of the rendering of a Roman myth by Greek art. The scene on the slab was the deliverance of their mother by the twins Romulus and Remus; and we might almost believe from the words of the epigram that the suckling of the twins by the wolf was represented on the same relief by that sort of 'contaminatio' of incidents which sometimes appears in the later sarcophagi. That Pergamene sculpture was the first to treat of Roman legend is not not only a proof of the political friendship of the two states, but also assists the belief in the strong influence of Pergamene art in the Roman period.

And it may be more than a mere coincidence that the earliest known monument that illustrates certain scenes from the Virgilian epic, the Roman Columbarium, published in *Mon. del Inst.* X., Tav. 60, shows many points of connection with Pergamene work. Some of these have been noticed by Professor Robert in the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Instituts*,² who compares the building of Alba Longa, as represented on the Columbarium, with the building of the city on one of the slabs of the Telephos frieze. We may notice also the resemblance between the recumbent figure of the river-god, in the scene on the Roman work showing the exposure of the twins, with the deity in the Pergamene representation of the deliverance of Prometheus, the pose and drapery being the same in both; also between the female figure—

¹ Zahn, i. 58.

² 1888, p. 95.

probably a nymph—seated on a rock and a person of like form and in like pose on the Telephos frieze. We find also certain motives that were favoured by the sculptors of Pergamon in their representations of combat appearing in the battle of the Trojans and Rutulians on the Columbarium; such as the fallen warrior with his head on his arms and his hair streaming to the earth, and the warrior planting his foot on the body of another prostrate combatant and dragging his spear from the wound.

These are the most important contributions that this series of epigrams offers to our list of genuine Pergamene works. A detailed analysis of the text might further reveal the occurrence on the Cyzicene reliefs of certain ‘common-places’ of Pergamene art; for instance, in the third scene, where Phoenix was being blinded by his father—*ἦγε δ’ ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς λαμπάδα παιδολέτιν*—the blazing torch thrust into the face recalls more than one passage in the Pergamene gigantomachy. To show the action of fire on flesh implies a facility—acquired late by Greek sculpture—to produce picturesque effects; and I do not remember to have seen this motive in any Greek monument of plastic art earlier than the Pergamene period.

Among the literary records of works at Pergamon we need only notice for the present purpose those which we may believe to refer to works that were actually produced by the sculptors or painters who worked in this style. It is not always easy to say whether the record has this value, or merely describes something that had been brought to Pergamon by the zeal of the royal collectors. For instance, do the words of Pausanias—*γραφὰὶ ἐν Περγὰμῳ τὰ Πολυξένης παθήματα ἔχουσιν* (10. 25. 10)—describe pictures brought there by Attalos or Eumenes, or fresco-paintings on the wall of some public building there? The latter is perhaps more probable, as he is speaking of a connected series of paintings. In this case we have a record of Pergamene art, and obviously the subject is of that pathetic nature that would attract an artist of this school; but as far as I know there is no existing monument of the Polyxena legend that at all betrays the influence of this style.

Among the sculptors employed by Attalus II. was Epigonos, whose name is preserved by a Pergamene inscription, and who no doubt is the same as the sculptor mentioned by Pliny, 34. 88: ‘Epigonos praecessit in tubicine et matri interfectae infante miserabiliter blandienti.’ It has been suggested with some probability that the ‘tubicen’ is a Gallic warrior with the curved trumpet; and the second work also may have represented a slain Gallic or barbarian woman with her mourning child: both subjects belonging then to the sphere of historic sculpture, and the latter offering opportunity for the expression of the highest pathos. The connection of the Ludovisi head called Medusa with Pergamene art can hardly be doubted; and if, as is now often believed, it is no Medusa head at all,¹ we might interpret it as the head of a barbarian woman sinking to the ground in death. And it might be

¹ Friederichs-Wolters's *Bausteine*. But Professor Brunn, in a recent paper, has ably and convincingly defended the old view.

a copy from the Greek period of the "mater interfecta" of Epigonos. A very similar subject was found in a painting of Aristides, the contemporary of Alexander ('oppido capto ad matris morientis ex vulnere mammam adrepens,' Pliny, 35. 98), which may have inspired the work of Epigonos. There was at least one painting of Aristides in Pergamon. Being a great master in the expression of pathos, for whose works Attalus I. appears to have been very zealous, he may have exercised on Pergamene painting the same sort of influence as was exercised by Scopas on its sculpture.

We have abundant ancient testimony to prove that many cities of northern and central Asia Minor were subject to the Pergamene dynasty or exposed to its influence,¹ and in many cases it can also be proved that the artistic style of Pergamon was diffused where the dynasty acquired political power. An instance of the wide radiation of this influence is the giant's head from Trebizond, published by this *Journal* in 1886. The connection of Pergamon with Cyzicus is shown not only by the epigrams in the Anthology, but also by the records concerning Stratoniceus and Phryonachus; the former a native of Cyzicus and one of the plures artifices (qui) fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia,² the latter being one of the same group of sculptors, and famous for his Asclepius that stood in the Nikephorion of Eumenes II. and was carried off by Prusias of Bithynia, and for his Priapus that he wrought for Cyzicus.³ We perhaps obtain some impression of this statue from the later coins of Lampsacus with the representation of Priapus leaning on a thyrsos and offering a libation over an altar-flame. We might believe then that among monuments found on the site of Cyzicus we could discover Pergamenian tendencies of style; but our stock of these is very scanty: and I can only mention the coin-type of certain Cyzicene staters, on which appears a figure of a lion-hearted man with wings resembling closely the giant on the Pergamene frieze with whom a young god is wrestling; and a bas-relief from Cyzicus, now in Constantinople, representing a battle of the Greeks and Gauls, one of the Gallic heads closely resembling in type the chieftain's head in the centre of the front of the sarcophagus of Amendola, which latter work undoubtedly shows the Pergamene influence.⁴

Itaea, the port of Pergamon, and Attalia founded by Attalus II.,⁵ probably contained monuments that belonged to this class. I have already mentioned the torso in the British Museum from the first of these places, and on one of the coins of Itaca we see a native myth in the representation of Auge being rescued by fishermen from her chest—a very pictorial subject that might be derived from a Pergamene painting.⁶ A coin-type of Attalia is a running Artemis with two torches—possibly a type of Pergamene religious sculpture.

At Tralles and at Parion there were monuments of Pergamene work: at

¹ *Vide* especially Livy, xxxviii. ch. 39.

² Pliny, xxxiii. 154, and xxxiv. 84.

³ 'Ανθετ' Ἀναξαγόρης με τὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ ποσσὶ
Πρίηπον
ἐν χθονὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρω γούνατι κεκλιμένον.

Τεῦξε δὲ Φυρμάχος.

Anth. ii. 120, 9: Planud. iv. 239.

⁴ *Vide* Reinach, *Revue Archéol.* 1889, p. 320.

⁵ Strabo, 667.

⁶ *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Inst.* 1885, p. 21.

the former a palace of Attalus II., built and adorned by artists in his employ; at the latter a large altar, erected by Hermocreon, a sculptor who worked for Eumenes II., and Parion seems to have been generally favoured by the dynasty. We hear of their political connection with Smyrna and Phokaea,¹ but we have no monuments, so far as I am aware, that illustrate this. The head of Bacchus, reported to have come from Smyrna,² is indeed ascribed by Furtwängler to the Pergamene class, being, as he writes, 'd'une expression puissante et animée, d'un grand élan et empreinte de ce pathétique un peu rude qui caractérise les sculptures de Pergame;' but on observation of the original I was unable to detect any close affinity with this style. The expression is excited but superficial, and neither the expression nor forms of the face nor treatment of the hair serve to remind us at all vividly of any Pergamene head.

Of the close connection between Pergamon and Ephesus there is much ancient evidence,³ and that a certain community of style prevailed in the work of the two cities is probable enough. It is true that we can gather little that is positive from any monument of sculpture; for the Borghese warrior in the Louvre who appears to be defending himself from the attack of some horseman, and the statue at Athens found in Delos which M. Reinach compares with it,⁴ do not show the distinct peculiarities of this school, though there is a certain affinity to Pergamene work in the mode of representing the action; it is a mere conjecture therefore to say that they are derived from the Athenian group of Attalus' dedication, and that they are statues of Greeks defending themselves from Amazons. But in the terra-cottas from Ephesus we occasionally find traces of the style of this school; for instance, in the small Ephesian terra-cotta in Berlin, a youthful satyr's head in the same pose and of the same expression as the head of the 'dying Alexander;' and in another small terra-cotta from the same site, also in the Berlin Antiquarium (marked No. 7597, *b*), a female head with ivy-leaves, perhaps Ariadne, in features and expression something like the well-known Pergamene female-head.

We have two monuments of the Greco-Roman period, one from Aphrodisias in Caria and one from Telmessos in Lycia,⁵ that have a direct or indirect connection with the Pergamene; both are relief-representations of the Gigantomachy, and in the figure of Zeus and some of the giants' forms on the former, and in the pose of Zeus and Apollo on the latter relief, we are reminded of some of the sculpture of the large altar.⁶ It is unfortunate that we do not know the 'provenance' of any of that large group of statues in Naples, Venice, the Louvre, and elsewhere, representing barbarians, Amazons, and giants, and derived in some way from Pergamene originals. If M.

¹ Polybius, v. 77.

² Published in the *Mon. del. Inst.* ii. 41, and by Furtwängler in *Collection Sabouroff*, vi. 23.

³ Livy, xxxviii. 39, and Strabo, 641.

⁴ *Bull. de Corresp. Hell.* 1889 (Janvier), Plate XI.

⁵ Telmessos is among the places mentioned by Livy as ceded to Eumenes II. by the Romans for his help in the war against Antiochus. Livy, xxxviii. 39.

⁶ Vide Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunst Mythologie*, Bd. I. Taf. v.; cf. *Mon. del. Inst.* III. xv.

Reinach's theory that they are copies from Asia Minor of works at Pergamon or Athens could be proved, they would afford the most striking instance of the wide diffusion of Pergamene influence throughout Asia Minor. We might suppose also that it spread to some of the adjacent islands, but at present archæology has offered no proof of this. Naturally the island which stood in the closest relation to the Attalid capital as a centre of art was Rhodes, but the question how this relation should be expressed may be reserved, as it raises the whole question concerning the Laocoon.

In tracing this influence throughout later art it might be well to follow first the clue afforded by certain themes which Pergamene art had made especially its own. That which was most strictly proper to this locality was the myth of Telephos. Originating in Arcadia, it received there no expression¹ in art except at the hands of Scopas, who carved on the temple of Tegea that part of the myth which possessed the greatest Hellenic interest, the battle between the Greeks and Mysians. But elsewhere in Greece there were representations of certain details of the legend. The healing of Telephos, owing doubtless to the influence of the Attic drama, had become a theme of fourth century art, as Professor Robert has pointed out,² and we may conclude from Pliny's³ statement that this subject was treated by other schools of Greek painting besides the Pergamene. We cannot therefore refer off-hand to some work of this school as the archetype of each of the later representations of the various parts of the Telephos legend, but only when the style of such monuments points in this direction.

This is especially the case with those monuments of the Greco-Roman period which represent the discovery of Telephos, who is sucking the roe while Heracles is looking on.⁴ The most striking of these is the Pompeian picture;⁵ the figure of Heracles agrees with that in the similar representation of the smaller Pergamene frieze; and the expression of the face is proper to this school; and certain details also suggest that this is a copy of a Pergamene original—the fringe on the drapery of the goddess, who probably personifies the mountain Parthenion, and the type of the lion who stands behind Heracles.

We may compare with the Pompeian picture the same representation showing marks of the same style on the terracotta relief belonging to the Berlin Antiquarium, in which the arrangement of some of the figures and the pose of Heracles, who is holding up his club before him and touching his

¹ In Tegea there was also a temple and a statue of Auge, ἐπονομαζομένη Αἰγὴ ἐν γόνασιν (Paus. viii. 48, 5); this probably has no reference to the myth of Telephos' birth, but the pose ἐν γόνασιν and the evidence from ancient Spartan sculpture—a representation of a kneeling woman between two divinities of child-birth, published *Mon. d. deutsch. Instituts*, 1885—suggest that the worship and the statue at Tegea refer to Eileithyia, and the name Pausanias gives us may be due to a popular mis-

understanding.

² *Bild und Lied*, p. 35.

³ Pliny, xxxiv. 45.

⁴ I have suggested in *Hell. Journ.* 1886, that in all probability this group is an original invention of the Pergamene school; there is only negative evidence for this belief, and even this is not complete as long as we do not know the date of the representation of Telephos and the goat seen by Pausanias at Helicon: ix. 31, 2.

⁵ *Vide Zahn*, iii.

chin with his hand, are different, but which shows the type of features common to works of this class. In the representation on the Cameo of Commodus in the Berlin Museum, where the same scene appears, the attitude of Heracles is again somewhat different, as he stands with both hands held down in a less meditative posture.

A later moment of the same drama is marked by the representation in the Louvre of the infant Telephos in the arms of Heracles: a work that may be a good Roman copy of a Pergamene original. The face of the hero is of the same type here and in the Pompeian picture; and the bodily forms recall those of the Glyconian statue.

We can scarcely doubt that this latter, the colossal Farnese Heracles, is a work wrought under the influence of the same style; but the view that it presents a type that was originally devised for the group of Heracles and Telephos can no longer be maintained. For in the earliest example of it—a fine tetradrachm,¹ of Alexander, the hero stands alone: and in the wall relief found at Alyzia,² of nearly the same age, the solitary figure of Heracles is seen in nearly the same attitude. We cannot describe this type as that of Heracles gazing on his son, or of Heracles with the apples of the Hesperides, for it is only in a very few of the later instances³ that the hand which is behind his back contains the fruit, but simply as one type of the resting Heracles. This then was borrowed for the theme of Telephos by the Pergamene school, who borrowed so much, and was modified so far that the right arm was brought across the chest; from what ancient work or from what older sculptor they derived it we cannot determine. For of the different reasons that have been brought forward for assigning it to Lysippus, none is of any scientific value; and the Farnese statue, in its exaggeration of the merely physical force, in its ‘mountains of gross flesh,’ in the realism of its details such as the treatment of the veins and eyelids, is very far from the style of Lysippus as we know it from record or from monument, but shows in the body at least a later development or degeneracy from the Pergamene style. The head is not distinctly Pergamene but its forms may be traced back to the latter part of the fourth century.⁴ In fact only one representation by this school of the Heracles countenance has been preserved, namely in the relief of Prometheus and the vulture at Berlin; and as the face of Heracles is here youthful, it does not show any very close affinity to the Farnese type.

In later representations of the giants we find, as we might expect to find, that the influence of Pergamene style has been considerable.

We must of course remember in this connection the dying giant at Naples, but for reasons above given it cannot be regarded as a striking achievement of

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3, Ser. III. Taf. I. 5.

² Heuzey, *Mont Olympe et Acarnanie*, Pl. XI.

³ In nearly all the instances the hand with the apples is modern; a genuine example is the coin of Philippopolis struck in the reign of Caracalla (Müller-Wieseler, *Denk. d. a. K.* I. No. 155). On the other hand nearly all the antique representations of Heracles with the

apples are of quite different type; e.g. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.* Pl. 787, 1969, 1971.

⁴ As Helbig (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 1868, p. 336) has shown by comparing it with the head of Heracles in the Museum of Bale, which he supposes to be of good Greek period, but which seemed to me rather to be excellent work of the early Roman period.

this school. Of far greater importance and in far nearer relation to this art is the head of the dying Alexander at Florence which I have before compared in detail with some of the heads of the frieze; and we may even say the same of the little fragment from Trebizond in the British Museum which was published in the *Hellenic Journal*, year 1886. A fragment in the Central Museum of Athens may be mentioned here because in my opinion it belongs to a representation in relief of a gigantomachy in a style closely resembling the Pergamene, though the marble is different from that found so abundantly on the site of Pergamon. It has been described and photographed in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts*,¹ and my observation of the original confirmed the impression which the photograph gives, that it is a monument of the Greek period. It is a naked male torso with traces of a large curl of hair on the shoulder (Fig. 3).



FIG. 3.

The pose is violent and the body distended as of one giving back from a blow and desperately defending himself, for the right arm is uplifted and he seems falling forward to the right; or we might imagine that the right arm was brought back over the head and we might interpret the whole posture by means of the very similar figure in the Pergamene frieze of the youthful giant overthrown by Athene. As the limbs are thus at full stretch we do not see that massing together of the muscles which is so noticeable in many figures of the larger Pergamene frieze, but the muscles are large and rendered with

¹ Year 1880.

much softness, and these soft surfaces, the dramatic and pathetic posture, the rendering of the diaphragm and of the strained columnar throat, the hint of the flowing masses of hair, are reasons that speak strongly in favour of the above interpretation.

It is needless here to enumerate those later monuments of the Gigantomachy published in Overbeck's *Atlas zur Kunst-Mythologie* that show nearly or remotely the influence of Pergamene work; many of these have already been mentioned in these papers, and in some cases the illustrations in Overbeck are evidence sufficient. A very important monument of this class which has strangely remained hitherto without much notice is a statuette about 3 feet 6 inches in height belonging to the Museum of Carlsruhe¹ (Fig. 4). The pose of the figure is not unlike that of the Athenian torso. It probably represents a human-limbed giant who has fallen on his knees in the fight, while his antagonist—a divinity who must have been attacking him from his left—was dragging back his head until it touched his shoulder: both the giant's arms are missing, but the left must have been outstretched in the attempt to press back his antagonist, and the right was probably raised towards the giant's head. The marble seems to be Italian and the work to belong to the early Roman period. The motive is the very commonest in the wide range of the representations of this myth, often used but not invented by the Pergamene school. The torso and the face, much of which seems to have been polished by the action of water, show the imitation and the exaggeration of the Pergamene manner: the lips which are so notable a feature of the type in question are here half covered with the beard, but the mouth is wide open; the eye-sockets are very deep and seem to have been hollowed out by a borer; the centre of the forehead is corrugated; the wild hair is tossed about in thick clusters; the muscle-surfaces of the torso are large and swollen. The work is said to have been found in the year 1883 in the ruins of a Roman villa near another statue which belongs also to this style. The Carlsruhe fragment is all the more interesting—unless the interpretation here given is wrong—because it and the group in Wilton House of Heracles and the giant are the only instances as yet discovered of the treatment of this myth by free sculpture.

To the early Roman, perhaps the Republican, period belongs the fragment in Naples, published in the *Archæologische Zeitung* by Lange, 1883 p. 82, and no doubt correctly interpreted by him as the fragment of a giant who is serving as an architectural support. The figure is also partly dramatic, as the pose of the head and the expression of the features show that he is cowering beneath the thunderbolt. The Pergamene style appears unmistakably in the treatment of the hair, the eye, and the mouth. The giant's figure serving as an architectural support is found in early Greek and in late Roman art: among such monuments may be mentioned one—so far as I know un-

¹ Photographed and briefly noticed by Lanciani in the *Bull. della Commiss. Archæol. Comunale di Roma*, xii. year 1884, p. 213-214, who suggests that it represents a Prometheus

bound; he compares other representations of Prometheus, e.g. Millin, *Gall. Myth.*, Pl. XCIII., but the Carlsruhe fragment proves that the legs were posed differently.



FIG. 4.

published—in the museum at Trier, an architectural fragment with several figures of giants, of little importance except as showing in the features and treatment of the muscles the distant influence of the work of the Attalid group of sculptors.

Other later works dealing with the same theme may be mentioned to show the long survival of the earlier style. The Igel monument, erected by a noble Roman family of Trier, still stands on the left bank of the Moselle some six miles above the city, scarcely impaired by the changes of seventeen centuries. It preserves many figures of the old mythology and religion, and on the north side, up the face of one of the Corinthian columns, is a figure in relief that is derived from the artistic tradition of the Gigantomachy, a young giant half-sinking to the ground with his arm over his head in an attitude that recalls the figure in the corner of the relief on the staircase of the great Pergamene altar.

Perhaps the most interesting monument of sculpture that has survived on German soil from the late Roman period is the mysterious monument found at Merten near Metz and now preserved in the Museum of the latter city. It has been published and described in the *Revue Archéologique*,¹ but the evidence which could precisely fix the date and historical reference has yet to be discovered. It is mentioned here on account merely of the curious group which crowns the edifice, a cavalier in the cuirass of a Roman soldier striking down a half-human serpent-legged giant who holds a stone in his right hand while extending his left arm obliquely behind him. It is rough stonemason's work but not without spirit; the material is red sandstone; the face of the giant is very savage and shows an exaggeration of that traditional type of features that we are tracing. It is well known that the Gigantomachy like the battles of the Amazons was the symbol of the struggle between civilization and barbarism, and it would not surprise us to find in the neighbourhood of Metz a representation of the combat of the gods and the giants, or a historic representation of the contest between Roman and barbarian. But the sculptor of the Merten monument has confused the symbol with the thing symbolized: a Roman soldier striking down a giant is an unique and rather ludicrous motive.

So far as I am aware these are all the works existing in Europe that deal with this theme and preserve something of the manner of the Pergamene school of sculpture. But in cognate subjects, such as the combats of Bacchus with the Indians, we might expect to find reminiscences of this style: and we certainly seem to find them—so far as can be judged from a sketch—in the representation of a sarcophagus in the cathedral of Cortona.² The interpretation of the figures has been matter of difficulty, but probably the view of Klügmann³ is correct, that it is a scene of combat between Bacchus with his following and the Indians. But if it was not for the fact that the enemies of the god appear to be issuing or retreating through the gateway of a city, and

¹ *Ibid* the year 1879, Pl. II.

XXX.

² Published in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, Pl.

³ *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 31.

that one of them wears 'anaxyrides' we might naturally suppose that the youthful warriors with their wild hair, their excited mobile features, were not Indians but giants, as is also suggested by their fighting with stones. It is not only their features but their action and forms that remind us of Pergamene work. The young Indian who throws himself in the way of Dionysos' chariot and threatens the Centaurs who are drawing it might be compared with the opponent of Artemis on the frieze of the great altar. We have here monumental evidence of the analogy that is sometimes expressed in literature between the Indian campaign of Bacchus and the Gigantomachy.

So far the traces of the Pergamene style have been noted in monuments that are known to have had some connection with Pergamon or that dealt with subjects that had been appropriated by its school. I shall afterwards try to show that the same style has touched the representation of subjects that had not necessarily this local connection: and that from its wide application we can ascribe to it a deep influence upon the later days of classic art.

L. R. FARNELL.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1889-90.

AFTER the remarkable harvest of the last few seasons, some lull in the activity of explorers and the startling succession of new discoveries was to be expected. So far as the number and variety of results is concerned, it must be acknowledged that this season cannot compare with its predecessors; but a year which has yielded two so splendid acquisitions as the gold cups of Baphion, and the statues by Damophon from Lycosura cannot be said to yield to any in interest. Such discoveries as these are enough to show that we have as yet no reason to believe that the treasures buried in Greek soil are approaching exhaustion; the complete clearing of one site, such as the Acropolis of Athens, only frees energy that can as easily find an outlet elsewhere.

As was to be expected from last year's report, there is but little new to record from the Acropolis. The loose blocks, drums of columns, &c., have been reduced to an order that goes far to destroy the picturesque appearance of the mass of ruins. It is difficult to say what advantage can be gained by arranging everything in straight rows, but protests have proved useless. The tower of the minaret and the later casing of the west door of the Parthenon still remain, difficulties having arisen to prevent their projected removal. Few discoveries have resulted from this arrangement of the various blocks lying about. Some inscriptions will be found duly recorded by Dr. Lolling in the *Deltion*; and the lower portion of the well known colossal owl has been discovered and pieced on: the bird is now almost complete. Along the north side of the Parthenon, and at a short distance from it, has been found a row of five holes cut in the solid rock. Their position seems to show that they are later than the construction of the Parthenon; and if so it is hard to see any cause for their being made until mediæval times: similar holes elsewhere, *e.g.* at Paphos, were certainly not ancient, and were probably cut in comparatively recent times to serve as receptacles for grain or water.

Inside the north chamber of the Propylaea, commonly known as the 'Pinacotheca,' the soil has been explored down to the rock, and some portions of the cornice of an early building, apparently circular,¹ have been found built into its foundations. The ground has also been turned over down to the rock on both sides of the piece of 'Pelagic' wall inside the 'Beulé' gate, but without very important results. The work of demolishing all later walls and houses round the entrance of the Acropolis has also been completed, and the sculptures from the Asclepieum, formerly stored in one of these, have been removed to one of the still

¹ This statement, as well as many others I express my obligation throughout, without quote from the official *Δελτίον*. To it I wish to take in every instance.

closed rooms of the National Museum. The projected restoration of the south wing of the Propylaea has not been attempted; but at the two corners of the Propylaea facing the great staircase it has been discovered that there once stood the statues of horsemen which were seen and described by Pausanias, who doubted whether they were the sons of Xenophon or not. Portions of the inscribed bases and pedestals of these statues have been found, and it has been possible to restore the pedestal at the south corner, at the angle between the great staircase and the little steps leading down from the platform of the temple of Wingless Victory. The inscription is of sufficient interest to be quoted at length :—

Οἱ Ἰππῆς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων, ἱππαρχούν-
των Λακεδαιμονίου, Ξενοφώντος, Προνάπου·
Λύκιος ἐποίησεν Ἐλευθερεὺς Μύρωνος.

It is inscribed on the two opposite sides of the best preserved pedestal; the lettering is almost identical, but there are slight variations; and each reads a different way up. Both also are inconsistent in their characters, which appear to be an imitation or copy of an inscription of the middle of the fifth century. Dr. Lolling has given in the *Δελτίον* an exhaustive discussion of all these difficulties. It is at least clear that the original dedication and inscription must have been earlier than the building of the Propylaea; and that two restorations must have taken place, one probably when the Propylaea were built, and one later. In Roman times a yet farther vicissitude awaited this statue of a horseman; an inscription on the same pedestal in honour of Germanicus seems to show that it was adapted as a monument of his Olympian chariot victory in A.D. 17. Pausanias' story about the sons of Xenophon may perhaps result from a misunderstanding of a hurried note of the names in the inscription. The occurrence of the name Lycius as artist is of importance both for his chronology and that of his father Myron.

Before passing from Athens to the rest of Greece, I must record the progress made in the arrangement of museums and in the protection of the ancient sites. The Acropolis can now be studied with the help of Mr. Kawerau's plan,¹ which gives provisionally, and on a small scale, the results of the excavations which he has superintended. The large museum on the Acropolis has been definitely arranged for the present; and though much still remains to be done with the fragments of statues, buildings, and vases, future changes will probably only affect matters of detail. Small popular guides to the Acropolis and the Museum have been officially published; but a scientific catalogue is still anxiously awaited. A great change for the better has been effected in the region of the Dipylon gate and the ancient cemetery near it, where several of the most beautiful grave-reliefs still remain *in situ*. The whole space containing these antiquities has been surrounded by an iron railing, and they are thus protected properly and made accessible to study. The bank of earth containing formerly the main gas-pipe has also been removed, and thus the most confusing topography is made a little easier to follow.

The National Museum is now the chief centre of activity in Athens. As

This had not yet appeared when Mr. May last year, though it was published before Schultz prepared his plan for this *Journal* in Mr. Schultz's appeared.

some confusion seems to exist as to its name, last year's statement may be here repeated. It was formerly known as the Central (κεντρικόν) Museum, being thus opposed to the local collections (ἐπαρχιακά). The name Central sometimes survives, but has no longer an official existence, having been superseded by the title National (ἐθνικόν) Museum. Now that the Acropolis Museum is for the present reduced to order, Mr. Kabbadias and Mr. Stais are energetically re-arranging the National Museum, which is now almost out of the hands of the builders. Not only is the complete quadrangle and its central bar completed, but smaller corridors have been erected at the sides of all the older galleries: thus ample room is gained for the ever increasing acquisitions of the Museum. It is hardly worth while to record differences of arrangement, especially as the present order may not be the final one. But a word of protest may be raised against making the undoubtedly authentic Scopaic heads from Tegea yield the place of honour in the fourth century room to the very doubtful 'Eubuleus' head from Eleusis. Surely few who have seen the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia can accept the theory that attributes this to the same hand; yet apart from such a theory the head has no right to its place. The most important of the acquisitions of the National Museum last year consist of all the principal bronzes from Olympia, including the famous boxer's head and the archaic Zeus. The reason given for this change is that the damp climate of Olympia was affecting the preservation of the bronzes; but all will be glad to hear that, for whatever reason, they are now more accessible to students. Two rooms of terra-cottas and bronzes have been arranged, and are accessible by special permission, though not yet thrown open to the public. The fine collection of terra-cottas from Tanagra and elsewhere has been increased by the acquisition of a collection from Asia Minor, which affords a very interesting contrast. Among the vases the most conspicuous are those from Eretria found last year. The lecythi with Homeric scenes are especially interesting. One represents Circe; another Odysseus and the Sirens. The last is most interesting from its resemblance both in drawing and technique to the Cyrenaic vases, and seems to afford another link connecting the Attic white-slip vases with those of Cyrene and Naukratis. Two lecythi with the inscription Δίφιλος καλός may help in fixing the date of this class of vases, which must of course follow the red-figured vases to an earlier period than that formerly assigned to it. Another interesting acquisition is a small marble disc, with a seated man painted on it and the inscription, μνήμα τόδ' Αινέα σοφίας ἱατροῦ ἀρίστου. As Mr. Dragatsis has suggested, this is probably a portrait of Aeneas, the uncle of the great Hippocrates of Cos, and himself also a distinguished physician. It may have served as a sign or ornament in a doctor's or chemist's shop, much in the same way as the bust of Hippocrates is still used by chemists. In any case it is of great importance as a painted portrait of the fifth century; the preservation is tolerable, though of course the colours are much faded.

In Attica, outside Athens, some early tombs have been opened. Trials were made first at Belanideza, near Spata, on the site where the stelae of Aristion and Lyseas were once found; and then at the large tumulus near Bourbá. This last proves to be a mass of tombs of various periods. In the earliest there are traces of the burning of the corpse in the grave itself, numerous fragments of the wood remaining; an air-shaft seems to have been constructed to facilitate this process. Over the tombs was erected a structure like a sarcophagus of unbaked brick. It is stated that fragments of 'Mycenae' pottery were found in a tomb of a higher

level than this and consequently later. An account of this discovery by Mr. Stais, with plans by Mr. Kawerau, is promised.

Undoubtedly the greatest pre-historic discovery since those of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae is the tomb excavated by Mr. Tsountas at Baphion, near Sparta. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this in detail, since Mr. Tsountas has already published a description of the tomb and its contents, together with excellent drawings of all the articles discovered, in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* for 1889. Especial attention may be called to the fact that it seems to have been an undisturbed tomb of the bee-hive type, now generally recognised as belonging to the later period of the 'Mycenae' civilisation; and that the discoveries are such as to confirm this view. In the tomb itself distinct traces of the use of lime-mortar are said to have been found. The gold cups with the bulls and men speak for themselves. Artistically they are far beyond anything previously discovered of this kind; but they still remain a complete puzzle, and no affinity to any known art can be seen in them. The collection of 'island-gems' is a splendid one, giving finer or clearer examples of the most interesting types; and the axe with two holes in its blade may well resemble those through which Odysseus shot his arrow.¹ This is the first example discovered upon Greek soil, though similar ones have been found before in Syria.² But a glance at plates 7—10 of the *Ἐφημερίς* will do more than pages of description to show the nature and importance of Mr. Tsountas' discovery. The excavations were made at the expense of the Greek Archaeological Society.

The most important discoveries at Lycosura are due to the suggestion of Mr. Cabbadias, who in July 1889 advised excavations there with a view to discovering the temple of Despoena and other remains of the ancient town; the work was in charge of Mr. Leonardos. Fragments of colossal statues which were discovered belong beyond a doubt to the group made by Damophon of Messene, and described by Pausanias; and thus we have another original work by a sculptor of the fourth century. The fragments recovered have been brought to Athens, and some of them are already exhibited in the National Museum. It seems doubtful whether they will suffice for a complete re-construction of the group, but three of the four heads survive. The four figures were Demeter and Despoena seated, and Artemis and Anytus standing behind them; the missing head seems to be that of Demeter, for one larger and two smaller heads remain, one of the latter being that of a bearded man, the other two of youthful female type. They all show a very distinct individuality of style. The most peculiar feature is the mouth, which has very full lips and is at the same time compressed sideways into a very narrow space, thus giving a peculiar expression. The hair also, especially in the male head, has the rough and matted character which belongs usually to post-Lysippean works. But until the publication of adequate reproductions of these heads, which we may hope for shortly from Mr. Cabbadias, it is not of much use to discuss their style; all that can be here indicated is their importance. In them and also in the drapery we may also see indications of the practice of another technique than that proper to marble; and this is probably to be attributed to Damophon's preference for acrolithic statues, which were, as has been well pointed out by Overbeck and others, the cheaper substitute of his day for the

¹ See Dr. Warre's suggestion in this *Journal*, 1884, p. 213.

² So Mr. Greville Chester informs me.

great chryselephantine works of the fifth century. Thus in two of the heads the eyes were inserted in some other material; and the drapery has upon it most elaborate designs in low relief which are, at least in one case, spread over the whole surface of the garment. These remind us much more of the designs on the golden drapery of the Olympian Zeus than of marble work; they represent various forms of men, women, and beasts, and especially of monsters.

Other excavations have been undertaken by the Greek Government in the island of Aegidia or Anticythera, half-way between Cythera and Crete. Here Mr. Stais discovered the basis of a statue and also a temple belonging to Apollo Aegileus; he also discovered Greek fortifications and other remains. At Sparta Mr. Castromenos has excavated the Menelaion, and also reports that a mosaic has been found with portraits of Sappho and Alcibiades, and other subjects identified by inscriptions.

For the Greek Archaeological Society Mr. Philios has made excavations in the neighbourhood of Megara, and has especially investigated the topography of the road along the Scironian rocks. Among other things he thinks he has discovered the temenos of Zeus Aphesios.

The French School has continued its operations at Thespieae, where various trials have been made near the ancient town as well as in the Valley of the Muses, near the temples and theatre I referred to last year. At Tegea also some topographical investigations have been made, and parts of the ancient wall of the town have been discovered, as well as a few inscriptions. The same school has also now begun excavations at Episcopi near Damala on the site of the ancient town of Troezen, and has worked in conjunction with Mr. Carapanos on the site of the ancient town at Corfu.

The German School has not been able to undertake much excavation this year, as Dr. Dörpfeld has been employed in helping with the excavations of the German Institute at Rome in Southern Italy, and also in working with Dr. Schliemann in the Troad.

The American School has continued its excavations at Plataea, Dr. Waldstein and all the students of the School sharing in the work. They have made a plan of the district, with the especial view of elucidating the account of the battle of Plataea, and have discovered another portion of the Edict of Diocletian, in Greek this time; last year they found a portion of the preamble in Latin. The excavations do not seem to have identified with certainty any of the temples or other buildings of the ancient town.

This year the British School also has taken its share in the work of excavation in Greece. In Cyprus Mr. Munro and Mr. Tubbs have been excavating at Salamis for the Cyprus Exploration Fund; but the members of the School in Greece have also been able to undertake work upon a large scale at Megalopolis. A full report of this work will appear elsewhere. Excavations were first begun on the north side of the river Helisson, on the site of the ancient agora, and a great part of a long stoa along its north side (stoa Philippeios?) was discovered, as well as some foundations near the river to the south-east, before work was interrupted by difficulties as to compensation for the crops. The excavations were then transferred to the theatre; and it was found that the stage was in very fair preservation, and had not, like so many, been tampered with in Roman times. The lowest rows of seats are also perfect, and contain inscriptions. The stage is different from others, such as that at Epidaurus, and is of especial interest since its

foundations, with doors, seem to be at a higher level than we find in other cases, and to have steps in front leading down towards the orchestra. It is premature to say more of this at present, but the theatre can hardly fail, when cleared, to be among the most important yet investigated in Greece. At the back of the stage is a square portico, and two altars have been found in the neighbourhood; one of them is of considerable size (36 ft. \times 6 ft. 3) and is ornamented with triglyphs; it may be the altar of Heracles or of Ares mentioned by Pausanias. A tumulus on the north of the river, and to the east of the town has been opened; it is probably that described by Pausanias as the tomb of Aristodemus. It was full of tombs of various periods, mostly late; some gold ornaments were found in a cylindrical marble urn; but they are not of early date. The work is under the supervision of Mr. Loring, Mr. Richards, and Mr. Woodhouse, with Mr. Castromenos as Government Ephor.

In Byzantine matters not much has been done by the Government. Daphne remains as it was last year, but that the scaffolding has been removed from the dome. Meanwhile another Italian artist is expected. St. Luke also remains in its deplorable condition. The Greek Society of Christian Archaeology has done something in Athens, and its collection of antiquities has now been opened. Excavations have also been made in the church of St. Andreas under the direction of Mr. Lambakis. Mr. Schultz and Mr. Barnsley have made good progress with their drawings of the Byzantine churches of Greece, and intend also to proceed to Mt. Athos during the summer, where similar work is much needed.

E. A. G.

P.S.—The controversy as to the statue on the Acropolis associated by Dr. Studniczka with the basis inscribed with the name of Antenor has already attained considerable dimensions; but its importance is very great, not only because of the particular statue concerned, but also as affecting the very principles of archaeological evidence. The last contribution is that of Dr. Heberdey, in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Institute at Athens for 1890. I am glad to have been able to discuss the question before the statue itself with Dr. Wolters, Dr. Heberdey, and others, and so to appreciate and understand their view of the matter. It is fair to Dr. Heberdey to add that his paper, being dated March 1890, must have been written before this discussion took place, though it has only just appeared.

It will be best to repeat first, as briefly as possible, the arguments already adduced. Dr. Studniczka, supported also by Dr. Wolters, gave the following grounds for the connexion of statue and base; correspondence in (1) size, (2) shape, (3) depth of plinth, (4) size of clamp-hole, (5) position of clamp-hole.

To this I answered in this *Journal* (1889. p. 278) that 1, 3, and 4 were of very little weight as evidence; that 2 could not be pressed, as the plinth was broken away on all sides, and so its original shape was only a matter of inference; and that 5, the only apparently valid argument, was erroneous in point of fact, for it is impossible to mount the statue on the basis so that the two clamp-holes correspond in position.

Dr. Heberdey acknowledges the accuracy of my statement and measurements as to point 5; and so Dr. Studniczka's main argument at once collapses; this was also acknowledged by Dr. Wolters and all others present at the discussion of the question. I did not however state that the connexion of statue and basis was

impossible, as I might have done, supposing the holes to be made for the insertion of an iron clamp to hold the basis to a statue and the statue to a basis ; but merely asserted that trustworthy evidence for the connexion was entirely lacking.

Dr. Heberdey next propounds a theory that the two holes have no connexion whatever with one another ; the lower one is, he says, merely a channel, enlarged at the top, for pouring down lead to fix securely the top of the basis to the pillar on which it rests : as to the upper hole, in the plinth of the statue, he suggests that the large cavity above the hole in the basis was filled with lead, that a projecting pin was let into this lead, and that on to this pin the statue was lowered, the hole in its plinth serving to guide the workmen in this process. I do not wish here to discuss the probability of the latter part of this theory ; it does not appear convincing, and the nearest analogy Dr. Heberdey can quote is the pegs in the centre of the drums of the Parthenon columns, which do not seem very similar in purpose. But I would point out that Dr. Heberdey completely rejects any attempt to connect the holes in plinth and basis, and calls any argument based on such a connexion worthless. Thus, he says, my chief argument disappears ; he should rather have said that Studniczka's chief argument disappears, and so my refutation of it is superfluous.

Returning to the evidence for the connexion of statue and basis, Dr. Heberdey can only assert that according to his theory it is not impossible to bring the hole in the plinth above the wide cavity over the smaller hole in the basis ; thus it is not impossible that the two may belong, but as much may be said of any statue and basis about the same size.

Arguments 4 and 5 have therefore entirely disappeared ; 1 and 3 are, as I before pointed out, quite worthless as evidence. Nothing is left then but 2, the correspondence in shape between the socket in the basis and the outline of the plinth ; how much this evidence is worth may be seen by a glance at Dr. Heberdey's illustration (p. 127 *art. cit.*). The outline of the plinth is preserved only in a very small portion ; and nowhere does it either approach the edge or follow the curve of the socket in the basis, while in all other connected plinths and sockets the fit is exact. But one question will decide the matter. Can any one assert that, apart from argument 5 (as to position of clamp-holes), Dr. Studniczka's theory would ever have met with general acceptance ? I doubt whether, without this argument, he would ever have thought the theory worthy of publication ; but certainly neither he nor others would have thought of making it a foundation for long and important discussions of Attic art. Now this, the only valid argument, has entirely disappeared, as is acknowledged by all who have investigated the matter. Yet instead of at once relegating the theory based upon it to the numerous class of probable but unproved hypotheses, useless as a basis for scientific work, attempts are made to retain the theory after the evidence upon which it is based has been rejected, and to prop it up by other arguments or theories which would never have sufficed to gain it acceptance in the first instance. It is not too much to say that such a practice is subversive of all scientific work in archaeology ; and the importance of the results in this case is so great that a really strong protest is necessary. When so valuable and interesting a paper as that of Dr. Gräff in the same number of the *Mittheilungen*¹ takes its start from an unproved hypothesis like this, the loss to

¹ Dr. Gräff's paper was written, I believe, before my first disproof of Studniczka's theory.

archaeology is too great to be passed over. It is therefore to be hoped that archaeologists will not continue to accept a theory after they have rejected the evidence on which it is based; and that they will, without any preconceived notion, begin anew the weighing of the evidence for the connexion of the statue with the basis of Antenor. All that is now left of that evidence cannot, I think, suffice to convince any unprejudiced judge of more than a possibility, or at most a probability, of this connexion. And on a mere probability, in so important a matter, no farther arguments or theories ought to be founded.

E. A. G.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens. JANE E. HARRISON and
MARGARET DE G. VERRALL.

It is no exaggeration to say that this book is the most important archaeological publication that has appeared in England for some time past. It is eminently a practical work : the writers knew exactly what they wished to do and have done it. Miss Harrison expresses her aim in the Preface as being to illustrate and unravel the Attic mythology, and with that end in view to take Pausanias as her guide, commenting on all relevant remains of Greek art, as well as the monuments of Athens, and including for the sake of completeness a few monuments that have no mythological significance. Thus the book is not merely an essay on Greek mythology and an admirable pattern of the way in which myths should be treated, but also a scholarly guide-book. Mrs. Verrall has translated the portion of Pausanias' *Attika* which deals with Athens, omitting historical digressions, and the translation divided into portions is prefixed to each chapter. It is as a rule faithful, but is not quite free from mistakes.

The introductory essay is an admirable piece of work, suggestive and inspiring. Miss Harrison has made the subject of vase-painting peculiarly her own, so that she knows—what no one can know without study—exactly how they are to be used. It is very rarely therefore that she presses their evidence too far : she does not endeavour to reconstruct out of them lost poems, but insists that they give glimpses into the popular accepted mythology of their period. The aetiological method which she has pursued is very sound, and gives many quite convincing results. Thus in dealing with the birth of Erichthonios, she shows how the story of the opening of the chest is invented to explain the ritual of the Arrephoroi, and in many instances, how genealogies may have been framed with an object in view to appropriate a foreign hero, or to clear up an unmeaning ritual observance. The theory that myths danced in pantomime influenced representations is equally novel and attractive. From her treatment of Triptolemos as the grain-giver (p. l. for which she might have compared Paus. viii. 4, 1), of Theseus (p. xcvi.), of the story of Dionysos and the pirates (p. 250), one derives much instruction. The unsatisfactoriness of much hypothesis is most strongly felt in the story of Erigone and the Aiora festival. The vase (fig. 6) might as well have been omitted ; -αλη is obviously καλη, and why is the picture 'to be taken as a charming and vivid representation of what must have gone on at the Aiora' ? The Kodros-vase is

admitted to be of doubtful interpretation : but one must protest against any even hypothetical construction of mythology out of its miscellaneous assortment of names. The interior of the Hieron kylix (p. ci.), is the only case in which we hold Miss Harrison is absolutely wrong in her interpretation. The text is very complete and systematic : all possible authorities including scholiasts and inscriptions have been brought together. There is a profusion of illustrations, which will give some idea of the extant remains to those who have not visited Athens. It seems ungracious to complain, but the small scale of several of the reproductions from photographs renders them worthless. Those *e.g.* on pp. 78, 94, 300, and 494 are useless even to those who have seen the spots : and often the illustrations will only serve to supplement a defective memory. Still if the book can—as we hope it will—serve as an inducement to many to visit Greece, its usefulness will be proved in a very practical way. The latest literature, the newest theories, the final evidence of excavations have all been laid under contribution, and the reader may feel sure that what he reads represents the present level of scientific opinion, though the scope of the book does not allow discussion of the early sculpture discovered on the Acropolis. Miss Harrison is well acquainted with the latest writings of Loeschke, Robert, von Wilamowitz, and others : but the peculiar value of her work is that it embodies the views—often as yet unpublished—of that master of topographical study, and coryphaeus of architectural archaeology, Dr. Dörpfeld. To those who have not had the privilege of hearing his eloquent expositions on classic sites, it is something to have a summary of them in her pages, particularly with respect to the Theatre, when we are all impatiently awaiting his publication. Meanwhile it would be obviously unfair to him to express a final opinion on an exposition of his views, which though authorized by him is not his own. Of his unique generosity it would be impertinence to say a word of praise. We notice that Miss Harrison differs from him only on the question of the old Athena temple. Her fresh attempt to make Pausanias see and describe it is no more successful than his. If Dr. Dörpfeld had limited himself to the position that it was re-built after the Persian Wars, instead of descending to the expedient of a lacuna in Pausanias, he would have received a more favourable hearing. Miss Harrison, not willing entirely to desert her high authority, divides into two what is usually supposed to be a description of one building, the Erechtheion : but does not succeed in bolstering up a bad theory. In the discussion of the East pediment of the Parthenon, her predilection for vases has surely led her astray into the extraordinary idea that the art of Phidias could represent a doll-Athena rising out of the head of Zeus. The restoration of this pediment is an unprofitable and insoluble problem, but this idea at least one must deprecate. Nor does it seem a happy suggestion, that one of the river-gods in the West pediment is the sewer Eridanus ! The most modern views on Enneakrounos, the 'Theseion,' the Agora, and the Theatre are expounded with lucidity and force, and though surprising to those who have not followed the latest researches will, except perhaps in the case of the Theatre, be conclusive. Many minor matters have been cleared up by her industry. Those who have tried to use guide-books for archaeological purposes know how soon even Baedeker and Joanne fail, much more Murray, and will be duly grateful for her explanation of the Asklepicion, the choragic monument of Thrasyllus and the Dipylon, to take a few typical cases. The book is so nearly complete, that one may note a few points, where the second edition might be enlarged. The Tower of the Winds and the

construction abutting on it might have been touched on more fully: the question of the road through the Propylaea, how it went and whether the chariots ascended, is not treated: the myth of Talos (i. 24, 4; i. 26, 4), might have been illustrated from vase-paintings: the inscription of 'the statues of the horsemen' might well be added and commented on: and one would have been glad of more discussion of the early palace remains and 'Pelagian' construction on the N. side of the Acropolis.

Enough has been said to show the excellence of this work. Miss Harrison's style is lively and vivacious to the last degree, and her power of lucid exposition makes her pages pleasant reading. As a help to the archaeologist it will be stimulating, and as a propaedeutic for all who would visit Athens quite indispensable.

G. C. R.

Schliemann's Ausgrabungen in Troja, Tiryns, Mykenä, Orchomenos, Ithaka, im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft dargestellt. CARL SCHUCHHARDT.

THIS work is not, as the title might lead one to expect, a scientific criticism of Dr. Schliemann's excavations. It is confessedly popular, but popular in the best sense, being accurate without any sacrifice of interest. The author is well qualified for the task, for he spent rather over two years at work in Greece, chiefly at Mycenae, and besides this he enjoys the friendship of both Dr. Schliemann and Dr. Dörpfeld, and is well acquainted with their latest views.

The book opens with a short life of Dr. Schliemann, much on the lines of his autobiography in 'Tiryns.'

Then follows an account of the 'Troja' remains, in which the identification of the second city with the Homeric Ilios is accepted without reservation. A special chapter is devoted to the demolition of Captain Bötticher's latest *brochure*.

The excavations at Tiryns receive, comparatively speaking, less attention, and no attempt is made to connect them in any way with the Homeric poems.

The Mycenae antiquities, on the other hand, are treated of very fully, and in fact take up more than two-thirds of the book. Not only is Schliemann's work described, but that of M. Tsuntas is well summarized, and an excellent map of the Acropolis of Mycenae as it stands after his excavations added.

In the better known, earlier excavations Dr. Schuchhardt has arranged his material with some skill, and has laudably kept the articles found in the various graves quite distinct from one another. He has besides added some twenty-three new sketches of his own of objects hitherto unpublished.

All that is problematic and polemical is to be found in the last chapter, where the position in History of the Heroic Age is considered. A strong protest is made against the theories of Köhler, Studniczka, and Dümmler that the Carians were the people to whom the 'Mycenaean' civilization belonged. The claims of the Homeric Achaeans to the position are stated with much force, and a sketch of the extent and nature of the civilization given. The earliest and latest dates, as fixed by the scarabaei and other Egyptian monuments found, are assumed to be 1500-1000 B.C. In conclusion, the theory is propounded that the Trojan war, which occurred in this period, was an expedition of the 'Mycenaean' Achaeans to punish Asiatic pirates who had raided the Peloponnese, but that the epos describing

it was not written, or rather collected, until after the Dorian invasion had swept the 'Mycenaean' civilization away.

It will be seen from this short account that even to those who possess the larger works on Troja, Tiryns and Mycenae, Dr. Schuchhardt's book will be of value, not only as bringing them up to date, but also in showing the connecting links between the several discoveries. To those who have no access to the originals there is no need to recommend the work, for in it they will find the pick of their illustrations and maps, and that too in a handy form and at a low price.

W. C. F. A.

Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin. FRANZ STUDNICZKA.

THIS book has grown out of a paper read in 1887 before the Archaeologische Gesellschaft at Berlin, by Professor Studniczka.

The starting-point of the treatise is the Cyrenaic vase found by Mr. Petrie at Naukratis (*Naukratis* I. plates 8, 9). To prove that it was not made at that town, but in Cyrene, the whole class of vases to which it belongs is examined in a most masterly way.

A double connection with Sparta on the one one hand and Egypt on the other is traced in their *technique* and subject-matter, as well as the inscriptions.

Two new points deserve special mention. On one of the vases a throne is represented on which the legs of the back are carved as the hind, not as the fore, legs of an animal. Dr. Studniczka shows that the only Greek instances of this are in early Spartan bas-reliefs, though it is very common in Egyptian monuments. Still more striking is the identification of the seated figure of Zeus (generally called Prometheus) on another cup with the Ζεὺς Λύκαιος on Arcadian coins, for Herodotus tells us of a Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθος at Cyrene. As to the vase from Naukratis, the interpretation already given by Mr. E. A. Gardner in this *Journal* is fully worked out. The Nymph holding branches of silphion and apple, who stands in the centre, is the Hesperid, Cyrene, the mother of Aristaeus, the first planter of silphion. The puzzling winged figures who fly on both sides of her are explained as Harpies, or wind deities, in accordance with the passage which Dr. Max Meyer has discovered in Philodemus (p. 43 ed. Gompertz), where the Harpies and Hesperides are spoken of as being identical. The whole picture then becomes an allegory of the Winds who favour the growth of the silphion and apples which the Hesperid nymph, Cyrene, protects.

An unpublished fragment of a relief in the treasury of the Cyrenacans is next considered. It represents the torso of a female figure, who is wrestling with the lion. A comparison with a relief and a statuette from Cyrene in the British Museum shows that this is the goddess Cyrene. The figure seems to have been part of a pedimental relief, to which also a fragment of a cock found with it probably belongs. Even this cock serves Professor Studniczka's purpose, for he is able to show that it has a curious row of feathers down its back which are otherwise only seen on cocks of Cyrenaic vase-paintings. He then examines the myth of Cyrene as told by Pindar and later writers; how the Thessalian huntress was seen by Apollo strangling a lion, and borne by him to Cyrene, where she became the mother of the great nature-god, Aristaeus.

The problem how a Thessalian nymph came to be the patron deity of a Dorian

city leads to an examination of the legends which tell of the founding of Thera and Cyrene and the genealogies connected with them. Their discussion occupies more than half the book, and so complicated is the argument that it is impossible to criticise or even epitomize it off-hand. The net result however is, that the population of Thera before the invasion of the Spartan Aegidae were not Phoenicians, but Minyae from Thessaly. They had come by way of Boeotia, where they were known as Cadmeans, a name which is not, as is generally assumed, Phoenician, but Greek. These Minyae revolted under Battos against the Dorian supremacy of the Aegidae, but failed in their attempt, went into exile, and founded Cyrene. This startling theory is accompanied by many remarks by the way, which are not less novel. Thus we learn, for instance, that Pindar did not belong to the family of Aegidae, and that the oracles concerning Cyrene quoted by Herodotus (which are shown to be forgeries by their traces of the Dorian dialect) are excerpts from an epic collection made by Battos, and attributed to Mopsus.

The nymph Cyrene, who thus came from Thessaly to Libya with the Minyae by way of Thera, is no mere personification of their city, and cannot accordingly derive her name either from it or from the hill *Kύρη* near it. It is rather the other way about, as is shown by the fact that the name is found in other parts of Greece.

The true derivation, Dr. Studniczka finds in the fact that Cyrene was a double of Artemis, Thera being her hunting-ground, just as the *Κόρης θήρα* near Lebadea was. Her father, Hypseus, too, must be the same as the great mountain-god, known elsewhere as *Ύπατος* or *Ύψιστος*. She had as sisters the nymphs of the Arcadians, Kallisto and Themisto, who, like her, belonged to the old Cadmean-Minyan mythology. The connection with Artemis suggests that the name is derived from the root of *κύριος* and *κυρώω*, and that it is in this character that she is represented as *πορνία θηρῶν*, under the form of the 'Persian,' or 'Asiatic Artemis.' This type of a winged goddess strangling lions or other animals is not Oriental, but genuinely Greek, and was used not for Cyrene alone but for other goddesses, such as Medusa and Nemesis. As applied to Cyrene, it is best seen in a painting on a fragment of a 'Melian' vase, which probably comes from Thera. (Furtwängler, *Berl. Vasensamml.* Nr. 301).

Owing to the influence of the Epos, Cyrene was reduced to the rank of a heroine, and it is only in connection with the city she presided over that her former greatness was remembered. Even there her son Aristaeus was more popular. Pindar, however, speaks of her as *χρυσόθρονος* (*Pyth.* 4. 260), and from this Professor Studniczka infers that she had a temple as Polias, in which her seated statue formed the centre of the local city cult.

This temple he recognizes on the map given by Smith and Porcher on the hill where he believes Battos founded his city. However this may be, he admits that in historical times the chief feast of the city was the *Ἀρτεμεία*, for even in Cyrene Artemis soon supplanted her ancient rival.

Two appendices are added to the work—one on Phalanthus, the founder of Tarentum, by the author; the other on Hector, by Dr. Dümmler. In this latter, the grave of Hector, which Pausanias saw near Thebes, is taken as the text for the contention that the older lays, from which his exploits were borrowed by the Homeric rhapsodists, came from Boeotia. To explain the journey of the lays to Aeolia, a theory based on the *Ion* is propounded, that the island of Chios was

settled by colonists from Euboea and Boeotia, who drove out the aboriginal Carians. As we know that the Carians worshipped Hector, this makes the chain complete.

W. C. F. A.

Die Neu-Attischen Reliefs. FRIEDRICH HAUSER.

THIS is a very useful work, and sheds light on one of the most difficult questions in regard to ancient monuments, namely the exact nature, purpose, and date of archaistic sculptures. Mr. Hauser's method is exhaustive. He gives a detailed description of the known reliefs of the neo-Attic school, beginning with those which bear the signatures of Salpion, of Sosibius, and of Pontius, and proceeding to the consideration of other reliefs which bear the same character as these. He finds the most general character of these reliefs not in their affectation of the style of any one period, for the style varies greatly, but in the paratactic principle of their composition. Their producers seem to have had by them in stock the schemes of figures taken from reliefs of various ages, and to have combined these figures into new compositions without regard to unity or consistency. Of these schemes many are due in the author's opinion to the invention of the toreutic workers, more particularly to Calamis. Nor do the changes introduced by the copyists of later ages in types originated by great masters appear to be more than slight and superficial. 'In Archaisischen mehr echt Altes steckt, als man gewöhnlich annimmt.' The main arguments on which this view is based are the occurrence in the same composition of figures belonging to various periods and schools of art, and the recurrence in reliefs representing quite distinct subjects of figures identical in design, and bearing no satisfactory relation to the groups into which they are introduced. Useful sketches of fifty of these recurring schemata are engraved in the plates. Among the earliest of archaistic reliefs, Mr. Hauser places those of the Corinthian puteal discussed by Prof. Michaelis in this *Journal* (1885, p. 48, Pl. LVI., LVII.), which he regards as not really dating from early times, but rather from the fourth century B.C. In the course of the work Mr. Hauser has occasion to discuss a great number of ancient monuments, and to glance at a multitude of archaeological problems: his remarks show great care as well as boldness, and will be very welcome to those to whom the discrimination of archaistic from archaic work is an attractive subject.

P. G.

Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs. C. ROBERT. Vol. II. Mythologische Cyklen.

WE have at length a volume of the great Corpus of ancient sarcophagi undertaken many years ago by the German Archaeological Institute, and executed with vast labour by F. Matz and C. Robert. The second volume, comprising the reliefs of sarcophagi with mythological subjects comes out first, and it is doubtless the most important of all. The whole work is to be finished in seven volumes. Probably it is only those who do some work on a Berlin Corpus who have any idea of the enormous expenditure of time and pains which they involve; and the savants who undertake them, with no hope of reward, deserve the gratitude of the learned world. We cannot presume in a few lines to estimate the merit of the work before us: but we cannot refrain from expressing disappointment in one respect, that the illustrations are not more frequently produced by photography

(sometimes it is impossible), and that they are upon so small a scale. It still remains the fact that there are no representations of sarcophagi, except those in the Vienna *Vorlegeblätter* which can be used in class-teaching; for which reason the testimony of these valuable monuments is generally undervalued. In this Corpus the sarcophagi could have been figured on a much larger scale at a cost by no means proportionately greater; and it seems a great pity that the chance was lost. Considering the cost of the work, some £11 for this one volume, we feel this defect to be serious. Otherwise the book is a monument of labour and ability.

P. G.

The Attic Theatre. A. E. HAIGH.

ALTHOUGH all English classical students are supposed to know something of the Attic stage, there has been hitherto no work to which they could be referred, except Donaldson's, which is out of date. The recent work of Albert Müller on *Bühnenalterthümer*, and Dörpfeld's excavations in Greece have paved the way for a sound and scientific investigation of the ancient theatre, and these qualities strongly mark Mr. Haigh's book, which is a credit to English scholarship, learned, sound, and full of common-sense. Mr. Haigh treats alike of the history of the Attic drama, of the mode of production of plays, and of the antiquities of the theatre. On many vexed questions, such as the admission of women to the performances, the style of acting and the like, he propounds definite views, which it will not be easy to overturn. He does not admit the theory recently advocated by Dörpfeld of the non-existence of a stage in the theatres of the fifth century, views based upon the supposed testimony of existing theatres in Athens, Epidaurus, the Piræus and elsewhere, and accepted by Kawerau in his article *Theatergebäude* in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*. Of course until Dörpfeld publishes all the grounds of his views they cannot be finally set aside, but Mr. Haigh makes out a very strong case against them. The book contains many illustrations; but none which are without authority. It is no small boon to be rid of the misleading engravings which have deformed some previous works.

P. G.

THE ALKMENE VASE FORMERLY IN CASTLE HOWARD.

[PLATES VI., VII.]

IT has often been a matter of regret that a Greek vase of much importance as to subject and unique in being the work of a particular painter named Python was inaccessible except by a visit to Castle Howard in Yorkshire. That, I am glad to say, is no longer necessary. The vase has become the property of the British Museum. But there remains a difficulty of another kind. The vase had been published in 1837 by the French section of the Institute in Rome,¹ but so rare has that publication become that very few English students have ever seen it. We propose now to remedy that matter by a re-publication of the vase (Plates VI. and VII.).

The characters in the principal scene are Alkmene, Amphitryon, Antenor, Zeus, Eos, and two Hyades. Except these latter, each figure has its name attached to it. But, though the names are plain enough, the interpretation of the scene has been a subject of controversy. Originally the scene was described as the 'Apotheosis of Alkmene,' against which there was at least this objection that in the legend Alkmene had survived Amphitryon, and could not therefore in her apotheosis be assisted by him, as that explanation of the vase would imply. In 1872 the question was re-opened by Engelmann² in connexion with another vase, now also in the British Museum, on which the same subject occurs in an abbreviated form. Engelmann argued that the meaning must be this: Amphitryon has come back from the wars, and, being enraged at the reception given him by his wife, has determined to take vengeance on her, whereupon she has fled for refuge to an altar followed by him and his friend Antenor. Instead of dragging her from the altar they proceed to sacrifice her on it, building up a pyre of wood in front and fetching torches to light it. Alkmene in this extremity very naturally appeals to Zeus, who comes to her aid, hurling his thunderbolts and sending a tempest of rain to put out the fire. On some points of detail Engelmann is wrong, but on the whole this explanation of his seems to me right.

¹ *Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut*, 1837, pl. 10.

² *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1872, p. 5.

In the centre of the picture we have Alkmene seated in great distress appealing with upstretched arm to Zeus who is partially visible in the upper part of the scene. Amphitryon and Antenor are about to light with torches the pyre which they have heaped in front of her. Zeus has hurled his thunderbolts at them, but apparently these thunderbolts, though they have fallen close to Amphitryon and Antenor, are only meant as accessories to indicate the thunder and lightning which accompanied the tempest of rain, that being the chief feature in the response of Zeus to Alkmene's pleading. The tempest is represented partly by a rainbow enclosing a black space thickly dotted with drops of rain and partly by two Hyades above the rainbow who pour down streams of water from a hydria. The presence of Eos (ΑΩΞ) marks the time of the incident as early morning. A similar figure occurs in the upper field of a vase with Cadmos at the fountain.¹ There she holds a mirror, and possibly on our vase it has been a mirror also.

It may be mentioned here that Alkmene is described by Engelmann as seated on a pyre ornamented with a frieze, and by Klein as seated on a sarcophagus: but neither is right. She has fled to an altar for refuge and is seated on it. Among Greek altars this shape is not uncommon, nor is the ornamentation by means of triglyphs unusual. The altar of Jupiter Milichius in Pompei is ornamented exactly in this way by a band of triglyphs along the top.² The rest of the altar would be hid behind the pyre.

In support of this interpretation of the scene there appears to be no direct evidence in the legends of Alkmene handed down to us. The story told by Hyginus makes Amphitryon go no farther in his anger than refuse to stay with Alkmene any more. There is no word of positive vengeance. So also in the *Amphitryo* of Plautus the injured husband abstains from violence. It will be remembered, however, that in Plautus the climax is reached by Alkmene appealing to Zeus, who answers her by sending a terrific storm of thunder and lightning, amid which she gives birth to Herakles and Iphikles: *Strepitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitrus; ut subito, ut prope, ut valide tonuit*. It is that storm no doubt which we have on our vase. But Plautus seems to have known another version of the storm. In the beginning of the *Rudens*, as Engelmann has pointed out, he calls a violent storm an 'Almena of Euripides,' and the inference is that a violent storm had been a principal feature in the lost drama of *Alkmene* by Euripides. Among the fragments of that drama that have survived, there is a line³ which I think may be assigned to a dialogue between Amphitryon and Antenor at the moment represented on our vase. One or other of them might very well have asked, 'Where did you get that torch of pine?'

πόθεν δὲ πεύκης πανὸν ἐξεύρες λαβεῖν;

¹ Millin, *Gal. Mythol.* II. pl. 98.

² Overbeck, *Pompei*, 3rd ed. p. 90. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, ii. p. 731, observes that the seat is like an altar but supposes it to be placed above the pyre, and therefore misses the point that she

had fled to an altar for refuge.

³ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 368: the line is quoted by Pollux, 10, 117 to show πανός = λαμπός.

It is not unusual to find on painted vases illustrations of the dramas of Euripides. They have been conveniently collected in a memoir by Dr. Julius Vogel.¹ Euripides was in fact the favourite poet of the vase painters, and that was not strange considering his love for effective incident. But in this instance it has struck me as curious that he should have chosen for his *Alkmene* a scene so much resembling the end of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, where Herakles commands that he be carried up Mount Oeta and then placed on a pyre of oak and wild olive which is then to be lit with a torch (v. 1193)—

καὶ πευκίνης λαβόντα λαμπάδος σέλας
πρήσαι.

When this was done, and when the pyre was lit, says Apollodorus (2, 7, 7, 6), a cloud with thunder carried up Herakles to the heavens; and this is



illustrated on a vase,² where we see him ascending in a quadriga driven by Victory above a pyre on which lies a human trunk. One might say of him, 'he came in a storm and went in a storm,' and if that view of his life was current in antiquity we could understand the impulse of Euripides to do for the birth of Herakles what Sophocles had done for his death. In the *Trachiniae* (v. 1087) Herakles implores Zeus to send a thunderbolt and put an end to his pain. Later on (v. 1139) he speaks of the manner of his death having been foretold, and recognizes the prophecy in the poisoned chiton of

¹ *Scenen Euripid. Tragödien in Griech. Vasengemälden.*

² Gerhard, *Ant. Bildwerke*, pl. 31.

Nessos. We may suppose that it had also been foretold him that his body would be burnt on a pyre before he was yet dead, though of course to reveal that in so many words would mar the climax of the drama. He reveals it in his commands to make the pyre. At all events the new vase tells us very plainly that, just as the death of Herakles was attended by sacrifice fire and storm, followed by a new life among the gods, so also his birth in this world had been attended by circumstances of that same nature.

So far I have spoken of the vase as an illustration of the *Alkmene* of Euripides, just such a scene as the painter may have observed on the stage when that drama was acted. But it should here be explained that the vase is about a century later than the time of Euripides, and that the production of the great tragedies on the Athenian stage had ceased long ago. Either then our vase is a direct copy from some old, contemporary illustration of the drama, which is not altogether improbable, or it is a new and fresh realization of a scene witnessed during a revival of the drama elsewhere than in Athens. There is much that points to the latter view. In shape and method of execution the vase belongs to a large class, found mainly in Southern Italy, on which it is common to see grotesque representations derived from the comic stage, as it existed in Tarentum and Lower Italy in the third century B.C. The farces (*φλύακες*) that were then in vogue had for one of their aims to parody the old tragic dramas that were then being revived and were commanding attention in Lower Italy. There is a very large number¹ of vases from Italy illustrating these farces, and they are curiously consistent in their shape and method of execution. As I have said, our new vase has much in common with them in these respects. But it seems earlier a little than any of them. It has preserved more of the traditions of the grand age. It is in no sense the illustration of a farce, and yet there is something quaint in the figure and action of Amphitryon, doggedly bent on setting fire to the wood in spite of thunderbolts and storm. By giving him this importance in the scene an almost comic element is thrown into the play, and this is the impression which is made on me also by the famous vase of Assteas, a vase which is always spoken of along with our new one. We can hardly look without a smile on the Assteas vase with its picture of Herakles in his madness setting fire to his furniture and proceeding to throw his child on the flames, so quaintly is the scene presented to us, and yet how tragic is the whole! Similarly on a large vase of ours with Lycurgos slaying his children the scene is tragic, but the aspect of Lycurgos and of several others of the characters is extremely quaint. Much the same may be said of another Museum vase representing Dolon, Odysseus and Diomedes. There also the incident was tragic enough; nor is it intentionally given on the vase in a comic manner. Yet the effect is certainly odd. Klein² describes it as something like a ballet scene with three solo-dancers, but he uses this comparison merely to express his sense of the quaintness of the scene, not at all to describe the intention of the painter. No less curious is the apparent large-

¹ Heydemann, *Jahrbuch* 1886, p. 260.

² *Euphronios*, 2nd ed. p. 144.

ness of style in the drawing of the figures on these vases, especially on the Dolon vase. It has a tendency to reach a culmination in the heads of the figures, which are much exaggerated in size and in expression. I can only suggest as a possible explanation of this phenomenon that the actual revival of the old Athenian tragedies which took place in Southern Italy in the third century B.C. had been itself attended by marked elements of exaggeration, that actors had sought for new interpretations of the old characters and incidents while at the same time striving to retain the lofty manner and large style of the old plays, and that the effect of the whole was something like an approach to caricature, which the clever wits of the day would soon perceive. At all events the clever wits of the day did make huge fun of these revivals, whether for the reasons I have suggested or not, and it is equally a fact that a number of clever vase painters followed closely in the wake of the wits. In one of the vases of this class in the British Museum we see a parody of a scene from a drama of *Alkmene*. It is coarse in every sense, but in one technical matter it affords a comparison with our new Alkmene vase. I refer to the use of a peculiar red colour with white spots painted on it such as you see on the dresses of the Hyades. So far as I know, that precise colour is unusual on vases. There is something like it in the archaic black figure vases, but with this difference, that the white spots on them are not painted on above the red colour, though much ingenuity is occasionally shown to make them look so. They are placed close beside the red, and were fired in the same firing with it, whereas on our new vase the white spots involved an extra firing, and therefore betray a more complicated, more advanced method. I do not say expressly that we have here a revival of an archaic process, though it is a fact that in a very large series of late vases from Southern Italy—the class known as Apulian vases—there is a very obvious return to the archaic spirit in some points of detail, such as in the employment of rosettes on the vacant spaces of the design. In no sense is this a deliberate imitation of the strictly archaic use of rosettes, and yet it betrays an evident return of the archaic spirit in some measure. Then again it is to be remembered that among late vases there is another considerable series which imitates the very archaic vases of the geometric style. The imitation, though far from exact, yet reproduces the general colour and form of these very archaic vases in such a way as to give at first sight an impression of great antiquity.

I have mentioned these points of detail because they seem to lend some support to the view that the revival of the old Attic tragedies in southern Italy in the third century B.C. had been attended with a forced revival of the old artistic spirit also, and that this forced spirit is reflected in the group of vases to which the new one belongs and in which the Dolon and Assteas vases are the most conspicuous examples. These vases seem to me in their quaint way to reflect the honest but infatuated effort of the time to revive the old tragedies, just as the great mass of vases from the same localities but a little later in date reflect the grotesque farces which drove the revived tragedies out of the field.

The painter of the vase signs himself Πύθων ἔγραφε, reminding us by his

use of the imperfect instead of the aorist ἔγραψε of a vigorous controversy. Pliny¹ had extolled the ancient artists of the grand time for their modesty in employing the imperfect tense to show that their work was incomplete. He professes to have only known two or three who did otherwise. But we have now a very large number of artists' signatures, and they do not bear out the statement of Pliny. There is no such regularity as he implies. On the other hand, among the archaic signatures of sculptors there is certainly a considerable love for the imperfect, and this appears to have been revived among the late sculptors in Rome, who imitated the archaic manner. So that for our present purpose we may also claim the signature on our vase as an affectation, rightly or wrongly, of an old Greek manner.

On the reverse the subject is Dionysos advancing between the Maenads. In the upper field and half hid among hills are Pan and a Satyr with a figure between them which used to be called Semele,² but may be Ariadne. Pan has both hands raised in astonishment. His face resembles a Satyric mask. His goat's legs are partly visible.

It remains only to add that in the matter of colouring the vase was found to be a good deal restored, not so as to alter the facts, but yet to the extent of disfiguring the drawing in some respects. These restorations have been removed, and the new illustration shows the vase without them. The two vases held by the Hyades had been turned into two very ugly amphorae. They are now seen to be hydriac, as they ought to be. The thunderbolts also were badly restored. One handle of the vase has been broken in antiquity, and repaired with lead in a curious and interesting manner.

A. S. MURRAY.

¹ Pliny, *N.H.* Praef. 26. See Brunn, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. viii. p. 234; *Probleme in der Vasenmalerei* p. 4 and *Gr. Künstler* ii. p. 650:

Jahn, *Vasen der Pinakothek*, p. cx. and Klein, *Euphronios*, 2nd ed. p. 51.

² Brunn, *Gr. Künstler* ii. p. 732.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN EASTERN CILICIA.

[PLATE VIII.]

HEARING of extensive and unidentified ruins on the banks of the river Jeihan (the ancient Pyramus) at a spot now called Bodroum to the east of the Cilician plain, just as the river enters the plain from the gorges of the Anti-Taurus, we determined to visit the site. The result of our explorations, made in the early months of this year, are as follows.

Our route took us past the rock of Anazarba and Kars Bazaar, at which places we decided to spend a few days, and though the spots have both been previously described we were able to add a few points to the information concerning them, both epigraphical and topographical.

ANAZARBA.—Caesarea penes Anazarbum, as Ptolemy calls it, was second only in importance to Tarsus of the cities of Cilicia during the days of imperial Rome, and was the metropolis of the eastern portion of the great plain. The town was built at the foot of a long rocky mountain, rising like an island out of the plain for the extent of three miles and attaining an altitude of 2,000 feet. The walls as they at present stand are of Armenian and Saracenic construction, enclosing a parallelogram, one side of which is protected by the mountain; but they contain many portions of Roman work, notably the great southern gate formed by a triumphal arch erected in the time of Justinian, when that emperor restored the town after it had been ruined by an earthquake. These walls, still almost intact, were surrounded by a moat and a second outer wall roughly put together out of the *débris* of the old Roman walls; amongst this *débris* we found three inscriptions (Nos. 6, 8, and 11), and a column about thirty yards outside this wall was inscribed with No. 12.

Inside the walls the remains of the town are so ruinous that they afford very little hope of identifying any sites or reconstructing a plan of the town; but from some fallen columns I imagine a long colonnade ran through the centre of the town from Justinian's gate, similar to that at Pompeiopolis; this indeed was a favourite mode of decoration in the Cilician towns. The flat space inside the walls is now used as winter quarters by a tribe of some sixty Afshars, who inhabit a few huts constructed out of the reeds which grow in the neighbouring marshes; in these huts we lived during the three days of our stay at Anazarba. The spot is terribly unhealthy during the summer heats and entirely deserted then. There are the stately ruins of two

aqueducts which brought water from the mountains to the town across the plain, and the ruins of several buildings of no special interest outside the walls; but a close examination of the mountain itself yielded a few satisfactory results.

To the south of the mountain is a stadium three quarters of a mile long with rows of seats still discernible cut in the rock. To the front of the stadium ran a colonnade of Corinthian columns; at the back the long straight rock of the mountain had been chiselled to form a promenade, and the wall behind had apparently been decorated with inscriptions and honorary tablets which have long since disappeared. Above this wall is a vast sea of rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi with inscriptions (nearly all obliterated) of late Roman and of early Christian date, of which No. 10 is a specimen.

At the north end of the stadium is a cleft in the rock a few yards wide, almost separating the southern from the main portion of the mountain, with a path through it leading over to the eastern side. In this deep cleft are several rock-inscriptions, almost entirely obliterated, with the exception of No. 7: this is cut in a circle under a cross, and points to the cleft having been used in Christian times as a refuge in times of peril.

Proceeding northwards we find traces of several public buildings—the theatre cut in the rock, several fallen columns, tombs and bas-reliefs, one of which latter, though much effaced, is worthy of note. It has five figures upon it, four of them nude athletes; to the left one man holds up another by the left leg whilst he walks on his hands, and the right leg hangs loosely down; to the right are two nude boys, and in the centre stands a figure robed in a toga, holding a chaplet in his right hand and a palm-branch in the other. Against this relief is a small altar cut in the rock with a half-moon over it: above is a tomb with a long but obliterated inscription.

Rock-cut steps lead behind the theatre to the acropolis on the summit of the mountain. To the right and left of this ascent are numerous rock-cut ornamentations, including several stelae, a large vase, altars, &c. The ruins at the summit are all of Armenian date, and a small church has a long Armenian inscription round it (see V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*). From the summit a clear idea of the strategical importance of Anazarba can be obtained, the isolated mountain-rock being protected on two sides by rivers which unite a little to the south, namely, the Pyramus and the stream now called the Sombaz.

Proceeding along the line of mountain to the north of the town we came across two points of interest. About 200 yards from the walls by an exceedingly difficult ascent of about eighty feet a large arched cave is reached, high up on the walls of which is inscription No. 4. It was impossible to get near enough to take a squeeze, but by standing on a projecting rock with the aid of glasses I copied it as it here stands.

Half a mile further north, approached by a gentle slope, is a cave-tomb; above it is a long inscription presumably in verse, carefully obliterated with a chisel; above this again is a relief in two portions with legend No. 5. On the right relief the three Erinyes are represented; Teisiphone is seen with a

snake in her hand, Allecto has an axe over her shoulder, but what Megaira carried it was impossible to make out. On the relief to the left are also three figures; Crocos seated on a chair, Papes standing, and a woman standing to the right, whose name is obliterated.

KARS BAZAAR.—Kars Bazaar is a cluster of villages about four hours' ride from Anazarba, at the foot of the mountains; the river Savroon flows just below it. It has a considerable amount of ancient remains, but no traces whatsoever of walls. Here stands an early Christian monastery surrounded by a wall and cells; the church in the centre has been converted into a mosque, but neither outside nor inside could we find any inscriptions. Three stelae with inscriptions have been used as supports for the balcony of the school; two are given by Davis in his *Asiatic Turkey*. The third is No. 3, and is interesting as giving us the same names as No. 5, from the cave at Anazarba. From a cottage wall we got No. 2.

Used as the floor of a reed cottage we found an exceedingly fine tessellated pavement, on which after we had had it washed we found the Christian dedication No. 1. The letters occupied a space of about two square yards, and the pattern surrounding them is very elaborate in tesserae of black, red and white, with a border. Many other tessellated pavements are scattered about in the streets and houses of Kars Bazaar; but though the place was of considerable importance and had its guild of fullers, yet we could find no inscriptions by which to identify its name; possibly it may have been the site of villas and summer residences for the inhabitants of Anazarba. Flaviopolis, the first stage on the northern road, must be either here or at Sis, as both towns are on a river. It is difficult to decide, for the coins of Flaviopolis represent it as situated on a stream (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 603). After a close examination of Sis, I could find no trace of anything earlier than Armenian remains; hence I am inclined to place Flaviopolis at Kars Bazaar.

Proceeding along the edge of the plain to the south-east we reached the banks of the Pyramus in about three hours after leaving Kars Bazaar, at a spot called Hemita Kaleh. Here a spur of the mountains comes right down to the river, leaving just room for a small village of reed huts inhabited by Afshars. Along here passed the ancient road eastwards, which eventually crossed over into Syria by the Amanides pylae, a few miles behind the modern village of Osmanieh. This valuable strategical point was protected by a castle on the summit of the spur; the castle is of mediaeval date, though bearing ample evidence of being built on a structure of earlier time. There are considerable traces of ancient workmanship along the edge of the mountains, rock-cut tombs, sarcophagi, &c. These we glanced at as we went along, and after a two hours' ride along the road between the Pyramus and the mountain, our ultimate destination was reached, namely, the vast ruins now known as Bodroum.

About half a mile from the ruins we found a tribe of Afshars encamped in reed huts, with their flocks, on the first slopes of the mountains. Amongst these we took up our abode during our stay at Bodroum, and

hired workmen to assist us in turning over stones with a view to the identification of the site.

BODROUM. The ruins of Bodroum are situated on rising ground about three quarters of a mile from the Pyramus, the intervening space being thickly covered with remains of heroa and other buildings. The line of the ancient walls is not very easy to follow, being mostly in ruins and overgrown with grass and brushwood: but the accompanying rough plan gives an approximate idea of the town, whilst the map of the district is compiled from two sketch maps made by Major Bennett from his own survey and material supplied by Professor Ramsay, who has kindly placed them at my disposal. From a distance the most conspicuous object is the acropolis. It is built on a spur of the mountains, similar to that at Hemita Kalch, which penetrates into what was the centre of the town: it is crowned by a mediæval fortress constructed out of the ancient ruins with many pieces of carving let into it, altars with bulls' heads and garlands, architraves, &c. Behind the acropolis is a cutting in the rock, forty feet deep, separating it from the spur and with an ancient road passing through it, joining the eastern and western portions of the town. Along the spur ran the aqueduct, cut in the rock, which supplied the town with water from the neighbouring hills; and there are traces of large reservoirs for the storage of water within the precincts of the walls.

Of the ancient remains in the town the most conspicuous are those of the long colonnade, with a double row of columns; it started from the southern gateway and is still traceable for a distance of 320 yards, terminating at the back of the theatre. The columns are of a red and blue conglomerate and closely resemble, though less ornate, the columns of the long colonnade at Pompeiopolis. They have Corinthian capitals and Ionic bases; the diameter of the shafts is 2 ft. 8 in., the height $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The space for the road between the two rows is 35 ft., and the columns are at regular intervals of 8 ft. About half-way up the eastern side was a gateway and, as far as it was possible to calculate, each row had about seventy-eight columns, only thirty of which (including both rows) are left standing, and very few of these in perfect condition. The colonnade was erected on a wide platform with a gentle ascent, passing at the foot of the acropolis and flanked by fine public buildings; so that the effect, before the town was reduced to ruins, must have been exceedingly striking. One peculiar architectural feature was noticeable about some of the columns on the higher elevation, a feature which we also noticed in the colonnades of Pompeiopolis and Olba. A narrow drum was let in to the centre of the shafts with a stone bracket made in the same block, presumably to carry a statue with an inscription beneath. This same feature is noticeable also in the long colonnade at Palmyra leading to the temple of the Sun, and would appear to have been a fashionable feature in the Roman architecture of Eastern Asia Minor.

The theatre is large, much larger than that of Anazarba; but it is a later one, and built, not cut in the rock. The length of the proscenium is sixty-two feet, but it was too ruined to obtain measurements of the rows of seats and

diazomata. An Afshar family inhabit it, with their flocks; so the place is naturally buried with refuse.

For some time we were unable to come across any inscriptions to guide us as to the name of this ancient city; but after a systematic search and the turning over of likely stones we succeeded in collecting fifteen in all, which enabled us to identify it beyond a doubt, and collect several interesting facts concerning its history. The nomads who live in the neighbourhood of the ruins during the winter and spring months have a burial-ground a little distance up the hill-side to the west of the city; they have placed over the graves, generally upside down, inscribed stones from the ruins, and with the same material they have constructed two threshing-floors just above the theatre. From these two sources we obtained the largest number of inscriptions, namely, Nos. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27 and 28, which put us in possession of the facts that the town was anciently called Hieropolis, and that it was a seat of the worship of Artemis Perasia. Close to the colonnade in the centre of the town are the foundations of a large building, presumably the hieron and temenos of a temple. Within these precincts we dug up a stele with inscription No. 16 upon it, and the natural conclusion is that this ruin is the site of the temple of Artemis Perasia, from the revenue of which an honorary stele was erected to the legate M. Domitius Valerianus.

In the upper part of the town, on the spur of mountains, are several rock-cut tombs and foundations of public buildings, which unfortunately yielded no epigraphical results. But down in the valley below we were more fortunate in our researches. In the ruins of a Christian church we found inscriptions Nos. 23 and 26, and by the side of some columns, which may possibly have been the agora, we found inscription No. 25 on one long slab. A little further up the valley are the ruins of thermæ, and, beyond this point, walls of sustention to prevent the soil of the mountains from being washed down into the town.

The apparently conflicting evidence of Strabo as to the site of Hieropolis-Castabala as being in Cappadocia has been ably discussed by Mr. Hicks in his note to No. 14. I will only add here that in the Frankfort edition of Ptolemy a note is affixed in the margin to the name Castabala, '*Perasia prius dicta.*'¹ And assuming that Strabo is right and that a Castabala existed in Cappadocia near Tyana and Cybistra, the additional appellative of Hieropolis, which Strabo does not give, may have been added to distinguish the one on the Pyramus from the other, and to indicate that it was the original seat of the worship of Artemis Perasia. Assuming this to be the case, the extraordinary point is that Strabo, who is so accurate in all his details concerning the geography of Asia Minor, should omit so important a place as Hieropolis-Castabala on the Pyramus.

J. THEODORE BENT.

¹ Published 1605 by Gerardus Mercator and Petrus Montanus.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM EASTERN CILICIA.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARS-BAZAAR.

KARS-BAZAAR is about four hours from Boudroum; in its situation it agrees with Flaviopolis, standing on a branch of the river Pyramus, at the foot of the mountains. Unfortunately none of the inscriptions reveal the name of the site.

1.

'A very handsome tessellated pavement in a cottage, with an elaborate pattern, in the centre of which is the following legend.' Copied by Mr. Bent.

ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΤΟΥΕΥ
 ΤΕΛΟΥΣΣΥΝΕΡΓΙΟΥΤΩΝ
 ΓΝΑΦΕΩΝΤΗΝΜΕΤΡΙΑΝ
 ΗΜΩΝΤΑΥΤΗΝΚΑΡΠΟΦΟ
 5 ΡΙΑΝΔΕΧΟΥΔΕΣΠΟ
 ΤΑΠΑΡΑΤΩΝΑΧΡΙΩΝΣ
 ΟΥΔΟΥΛΩΝΠΑΡΕΧΩ
 ΝΑΦΕCΙΝΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ
 ΤΑΙCΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΙCΨΥΧΑΙC
 10 ΚΑΙΚΑΛΗΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ
 Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐ-
 τελοῦς συνεργίου τῶν
 γναφέων τὴν μετρίαν
 ἡμῶν ταύτην καρποφο-
 5 ρίαν δέχου Δέσπο-
 τα παρὰ τῶν ἀχρίων σ-
 οῦ δούλων, παρέχω-
 ν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν
 ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς
 10 καὶ καλὴν ἀπολογίαν.

Probably from the floor of an early church. Dedicated by the guild of fullers. It is interesting to see these trade-guilds, so common under the Empire in Asia Minor, passing unchanged into the Christian Church. For *συνέργιον* = *συνεργασία*, see *C.I.G.* 4346 and *Addenda*, p. 1163 (from Side). The phrase *ἀχρεῖοι δούλοι* is from St. Luke xvii. 10 (cp. St. Matt. xxv. 30),

and frequently occurs in the old Greek liturgies. For *καλὴν ἀπολογία* compare *Liturgy of Constantinople* (Hammond's *Liturgies*, p. 105): *καλὴν ἀπολογία* τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Our inscription does not look later than the third century.

2.

'Small round stelè at Kars-Bazaar.' Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΤΟΣ

Ἐπιθύμητος

ΠΕΡΣΙΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ

Περσὶ τῷ πατρὶ

ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

μνήμης χάριν.

Περσὶ is the dative of Περσεύς.

3.

'Three round stelae have been placed to support the columns of the present school at Kars-Bazaar. Two of these were copied by Mr. Davis, and published in his *Asiatic Turkey* (1879), p. 125. The third, which is somewhat obliterated, is as follows.' Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΡΗΓΕΙΝΟΣ

ΡΗΓΕΙΝΑΘΟΥΓ

ΚΑΙΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ

ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ

5 ΜΝΗΜΗΣ

ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ῥηγείνος

Ῥηγείνα τῇ θυγ[ατρὶ

καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης

τῇ γυναικὶ

5 μνήμης

χάριν.

The two inscriptions copied by Mr. Davis may be restored as follows; he notes that in (a) 'the name Commodus has been carved in place of another name erased.'

(a)

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι

Κομμόδω θεῷ

Σεβαστῷ

Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου

γ. τοῦ Δημητρίου, ἱερεὺς

τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος.

(b)

[Τ]ι. Κλ. Ἀδαῖος

Ἰλ<λ>αρείνη

τῇ γυναικί, καὶ

Ποπι(λ)ιανὸς

τῇ ἀδελφῇ, καὶ

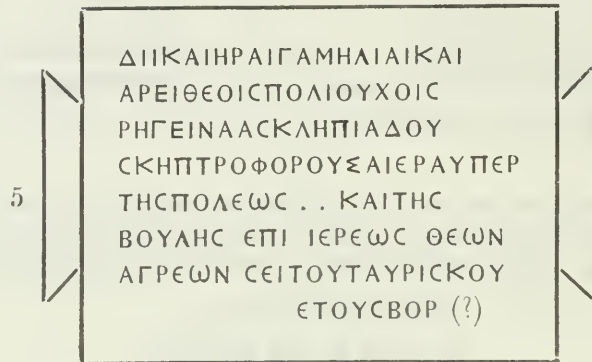
Δομετ<τ>ία ἡ μ(ῆ)τηρ

μνήμης χ(ά)ριν.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANAZARBA.

4.

‘High up in an almost inaccessible cave in a mountain behind Anazarba, with the aid of field-glasses I read the following inscription.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.



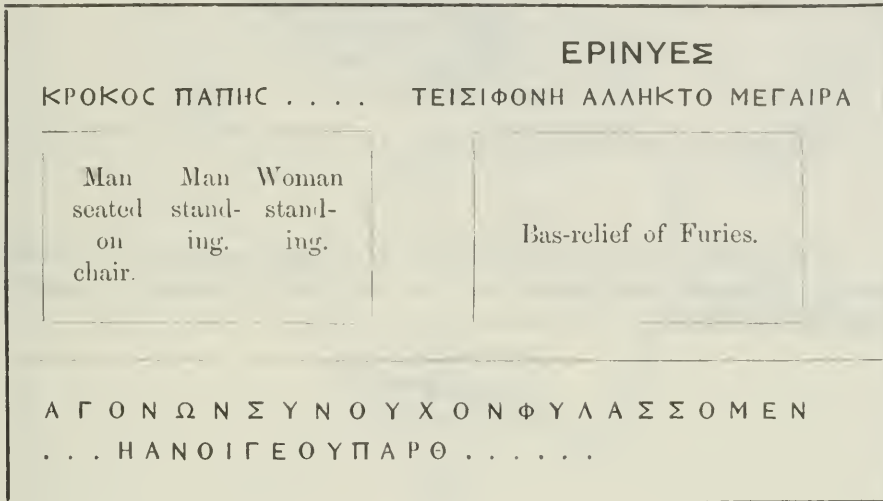
Διὶ καὶ Ἴρᾳ γαμηλῖα καὶ
 Ἄρει θεοῖς πολιοῦχοις
 Ῥηγείνᾳ Ἀσκληπιάδου
 σκηπτροφοροῦσα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ
 5 τῆς πόλεώς [τε] καὶ τῆς
 βουλῆς, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Θεῶν
 Ἀγρέων Σείτου Ταυρίσκου
 ἔτους βορ.

Dedication by Regina, a priestess, on behalf of the city and boulè of Anazarba, to the gods of the city. We may infer that Regina belonged to the same family which is referred to in No. 3. Mr. Bent is not sure of the numeral letters ΒΟΡ, but they appear correct. The coins of Anazarba (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 598) show that two eras were employed, one commencing B.C. 19, the second A.D. 20. Our inscription accordingly dates either from A.D. 153 or A.D. 192. I prefer the earlier date both because of the *iota adscriptum* (line 1) and the inconsistent use of ΕΕ, ΣC.

Hardly any inscriptions from Anazarba are known: a few fragments are published by Le Bas-Waddington (Nos. 1513—1518). This document informs us of the βουλῆ, names the chief deities of the city, and speaks of the worship of the θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς (on whom see *Hellenic Journal*, x. 1889, pp. 55—57). Whether their priest was the usual eponymus of the city, or is only named here because the document is a dedication, we do not know. I doubt the name Σείτος.

5.

'Inscription and bas-relief over a rock-cut tomb in the same mountain : copied, with sundry mistakes, by Davis in his *Asiatic Turkey*, p. 150.' Copy by Mr. Bent. Imperfectly given, from a copy by Langlois, by Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* No. 1513. Mr. Davis gives an indifferent woodcut of the whole relief.



Followed below by a long, presumably poetical inscription, purposely obliterated by the knife.

The headings are easily read :

Ἑρινύες.

Κρόκος· Πάπης· [ἡ δέινα].

Τεισιφόνη· Ἀλληκτώ· Μέγαιρα.

The inscription below is apparently much injured, and the copies fail us.

LE BAS.

DAVIS.

ΤΟΝΦΝΙΥΝΟΥΧΟΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝ
 CHANOITEOYNAPΦΣΙΠΠΙΞΙ

ΑΤΟΝΩΝΣΥΝΟΥΧΟΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΜΕ
 ΙΗΑΝΟΙΓΕΟΥΠΑΡΘ

Following the guidance of our three copies, we may perhaps try and restore the text somewhat as follows: "*Ἀγον(ο)ν εὐνοῦχον φυλάσσομεν [ὑπερθευ] ἀν(ω)γέου παρθ[ένοι].*" But this is very uncertain.

6.

'Anazarba: stone built into later wall of city (probably Saracenic).'
 Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
 ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙ
 ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΤΗΝΕΠΑΝΩΘΗΚΗΝ
 ΚΑΙΓΑΙΟΣΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ
 5 ΕΑΥΤΩΤΗΝΑΡΚΤΙΚΗΝ

Ἰουλία Ἀθηναῖς
 Γ. Ἰουλί(φ) Οὐάλεντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ
 καὶ ἐαυτῇ τὴν ἐπάνω θήκην,
 καὶ Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Σεκοῦνδος
 5 ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀρκτικήν.

Τὴν ἀρκτικήν, the recess to the north.

7.

‘Curious narrow gorge or cave to the S. of town (Anazarba): it contains several obliterated inscriptions, but only one, late Byzantine, is readable.’
 Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΘΕΟΟΧΜΩ
 ΝΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΗ
 ΚΑΙΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ



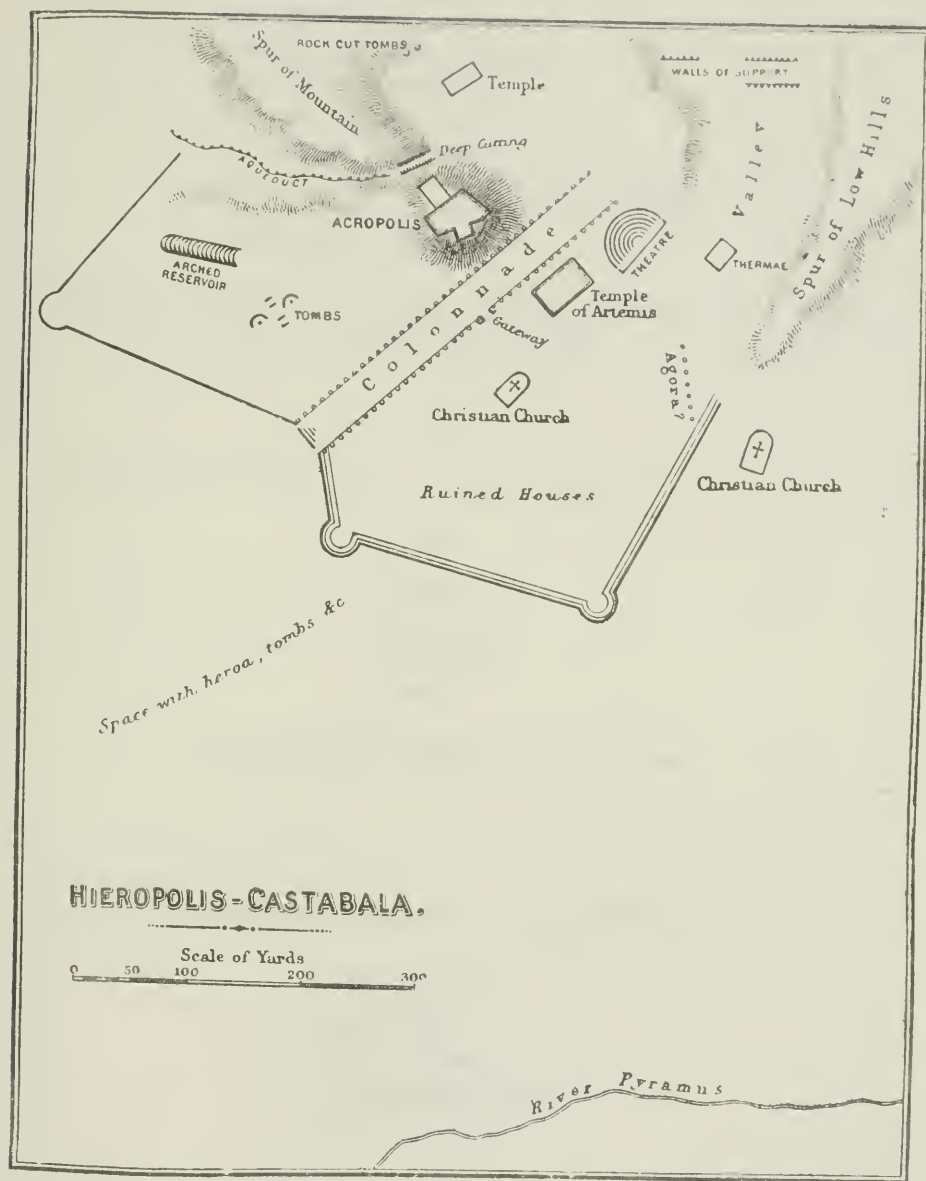
‘Ο Θεὸς ἡμῶν καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις.

Psalm xlv. 1 (LXX.).

8.

‘Stone built into city wall, Anazarba: the ends of the lines are all obliterated.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΘ
 ΤΡΑΤΑΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥΥΙ
 ΘΕΟΥΝΕΡΟΥΑΥΙΩΝΟΝ
 ΤΡΙΑΝΟΝΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ
 5 ΒΑΣΤΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΜΕΓΙΣ
 ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ
 ΓΙΚΟΣΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ
 ΤΟΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΥΠΑΤ
 ΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΠΠΤΟΝ
 10 ΓΕΤΗΝΤΗΣΟΙΚΟΥΜΙ
 ΣΥΝΤΕΧΝΙΑΛΙΝΟΥΡΓΟΣ



To face p. 235.

- Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ
 Τρα(ῖ)ανοῦ Παρθικοῦ νί(ον),
 θεοῦ Νερούα νίων(ον),
 Τρ(α)ϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν [Σε-
 5 βαστὸν, ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον,
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσία(ς) τὸ
 εἰκοστόν, αὐτοκράτορα
 τὸ δεύτερον, ὑπαττον
 τὸ τρίτον, π(ατέρα) π(ατρίδος), τὸν [εὐερ-
 10 γέτην τῆς οἰκουμένης
 συντεχνία λινοργῶ(ν).

Dedication to Hadrian in the year A.D. 136. Hadrian's third consulate was in 119; his twentieth tribunitian power in 136.

9.

‘Small round stelè: Anazarba.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΕΥΠΡΕ
 ΠΗΚΑΙ
 ΚΛΑΡΟΣ
 ΜΝΗΜΗΣ
 5 ΧΑΡΙΝ

Εὐπρεπῇ Κ(λ). (?) Κλᾶρος μνήμης χάριν.

10.

‘From stone sarcophagus: Anazarba.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΚΑΙΜΕΤΕΜΕΟ
 ΣΑΝΑΝΟΙΖΗ
 ΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΔΩ
 ΣΗΤΩΦΙΣΚΩΔΗΝΑ
 5 ΡΙΑΔΙΣΧΕΙΛΙΑ

.
 καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ ὁ-
 ς ἂν ἀνοίξῃ
 τὴν σορὸν δώ-
 σῃ (sic) τῷ φισκῷ δηνί-
 5 ρια δισχείλῃ.

11.

‘From a stone in wall : Anazarba.’ Copied by Mr. Bent.

ΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ	Δροῦ[σον] Καίσαρα
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΣΤΟΥΥΙ	Τιβερίου [Σεβα]στοῦ νί-
ΟΝ ΑΣΤΟΥΥΙ	όν, [θεοῦ Σεβ]αστοῦ νί-
ΩΝΟΝΕΛΕΝΟΣΙ ΑΣ	ωνόν, Ἑλενος Βασ[ι-
5 ΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ	5 λέως Φιλοπάτορος
Α(Π)ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ	ἀπελεύθερος.

Dedication in honour of Drusus junior, son of the Emperor Tiberius, by Helenus, a freedman of Philopator, King of Cilicia.

Drusus died in A.D. 23 (*Tac. Ann.* iv. 8—11). Philopator died in A.D. 17 (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 42), having (apparently) succeeded his father Tarcondimotus, who was killed at the battle of Actium, B.C. 31 (*Head, Hist. Num.* p. 618). The very rare mention of these petty kings of Cilicia invests this inscription with considerable interest.

12.

‘Column of temple with dedication.’ Copy by Mr. Bent.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ

INSCRIPTIONS FROM POMPEIOPOLIS.

13.

‘Found at Pompeiopolis; now in the churchyard of Greek church at Mersina.’ Copy by Mr. Bent. It has been printed by M. Kontoleon, *Mittheilungen des d. arch. Inst.* xii. p. 258.

ΛΕΥΚΙΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΟΣΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ
 ΥΙΩΙΘΕΟΥΥΙΩΝΟΙΝΕΩΝΗΓΕ
 ΜΟΝΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΕΚΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ
 5 ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
 ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

Λευκίῳ Καίσαρι, Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος
 υἱῷ, θεοῦ υἱων[ῶ]ι, νέων ἡγε-
 μόνι, ἐυεργέτῃ ἐκ προγόνων,
 5 Πομπηῖοπολιτῶν
 ὁ δῆμος.

Dedication by the people of Pompeiopolis to Lucius Caesar, brother of Caius Caesar, son of Julia and Agrippa.

Lucius was born B.C. 17, and died August 20, A.D. 2. The title of *princeps juventutis* was apparently granted him by Augustus when, on January 1, A.D. 2, he assumed the toga virilis at the age of 14: see Mommsen, *Res gestae Divi Aug.* ch. xiv. pp. 52 foll. Our inscription therefore belongs to the first eight months of A.D. 2.

Another dedication from Pompeiopolis, in honour of Pompey, is published by M. Doublet, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xii. p. 427, following the text of M. Kontoleon, *Mittheilungen*, xii. p. 258. Mr. Bent's MSS. certify that the copy is accurate with the exception of ΚΑΙΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΣ omitted before ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BOUDROUM (HIEROPOLIS-CASTABALA).

14.

'Stone built into Yourouk's threshing-floor.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
ΔΕΙΝΩΝΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ
ΑΝΔΡΑΑΓΑΘΟΝ
ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΟΝ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν
Δείνωνα Ἀριστάρχου
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν
γεγεννημένον.

Letters of good time, perhaps first century B.C. This document and those which follow abundantly prove the site to be that of a city called Hieropolis. The further mention of θεὸς Περασία in Nos. 16 and 17 may justify us in identifying this Hieropolis with the Hieropolis-Castabala spoken of by Strabo (xii. 537): ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περασίας ἱερόν, ὅπου φασὶ τὰς ἱερείας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακίᾳς βαδίζειν ἀπαθεῖς· κἀνταῦθα δέ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρυλοῦσιν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ορέστου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, Περασίαν κεκληθῆσθαι φάσκοντες διὰ τὸ πέραθεν κομισθῆναι. That Castabala and Hieropolis were names of the same Cilician town is well known to numismatists (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 603). All therefore might seem to be clear, and yet the site and identification of this town present difficulties which cannot even now be fully removed.

The fullest discussion of the question, up to the time of Mr. Bent's discoveries, is that by Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen von Hieropolis-Kastabala und über die geographische Lage der verschiedenen Kastabala* (in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, x. 1883, p. 267). His article has the merit of placing before the reader a complete digest of all the evidence available, whether ancient or modern. He begins by describing all the known coins of the city, which form a fairly continuous series from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175—164) to the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253—260). He observes truly

that on the coins the town is commonly called Hieropolis-Castabala (ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΚΑΣΤΑΒΑΛΕΩΝ) or Hieropolis πρὸς τῷ Πυραμῷ, whereas in ancient writers the local name Castabala is universal. The evidence of inscriptions was not of course forthcoming when he wrote his paper.

He next cites all the passages in ancient literature which mention the town. They are neither numerous nor very clear. The only passages which really concern us are from Strabo, Ptolemy, and Curtius. They are so important that I will repeat them here.

(a) Strabo, xii. 534—5 (after speaking of the ten στρατηγίαι or districts of Cappadocia): προσεγένετο δ' ὕστερον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας τοῖς πρὸ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ στρατηγίᾳ, ἥ περὶ Καστάβαλά τε καὶ Κύβιστρα μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ ληστοῦ Δέρβης, τῷ δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα περὶ Ἐλαιοῦσαν Κιλικία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τὰ πειρατήρια συστησαμένη.

(b) Strabo, xii. 537: τὰ δὲ Τύανα ἐπικεῖται χώματι Σεμιράμιδος τετελειωμένῳ καλῶς. οὐ πολὺ δ' ἄπωθεν ταύτης (i.e. Tyana) ἐστὶ τὰ τε Καστάβαλα καὶ τὰ Κύβιστρα ὧν ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περσίδας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν (then follows the passage quoted above about the priestesses) . . . κομισθῆναι. ἐν μὲν δὲ τῇ Τυανίτιδι στρατηγίᾳ τῶν λεχθεισῶν δέκα ἐστὶ πόλισμα τὰ Τύανα (τὰς δ' ἐπικτήτους οὐ συναριθμῶ ταύταις, τὰ Καστάβαλα καὶ τὰ Κύβιστρα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ τραχείᾳ Κιλικίᾳ), κ.τ.λ.

(c) Ptolemy, v. 8, § 7: Castabala is named as an inland town, coming in the enumeration *after* Tarsus, Adana, Anazarba, and Mopsuestia, and *before* Nicopolis, Epiphaneia, and the Amanian gates.

(d) Curtius, iii. 17 (of the march of Alexander through Cilicia): igitur edito spectaculo ludiero castrisque motis et Pyramo anne ponte juncto, ad urbem Mallon pervenit: inde alteris castris ad oppidum Castabulum. Ibi Parmenio regi occurrit, quem praemiserat ad explorandum iter saltus, per quem ad urbem Isson nomine penetrandum erat . . . Isson deinde rex copias admovit.

Lastly, after reciting the confused and confusing statements of modern geographers on the subject, Imhoof-Blumer proceeds to sum up. He finds no less than four different cities presented to us as bearing the name of Hieropolis-Castabala: and he very reasonably asks whether it is not possible to simplify the matter and to recognize two or more of these cities as the same.

In the first place he dismisses the Castabala or Castabulum of Curtius (*d*), from consideration, as being quite a different city and too far to the S.E. to be near the site we are seeking. This opinion is very questionable. The city discovered by Mr. Bent (Hieropolis) may possibly be the city which Alexander reached in a day's march from Mallus, having sent Parmenio thither beforehand to explore the passes which led over the Amanus down to Issus. He himself marched up the valley of the Pyramus to Castabala, ready to cross the mountain from thence and descend upon the plain.

Next, the way in which Ptolemy (*c*) speaks of Castabala entirely agrees with the site of Mr. Bent's Hieropolis.

The difficulty comes in with Strabo, who in both the passages cited (*a*, *b*)

speaks of Cybistra and Hieropolis as being neighbour towns, and says of both in (*b*) that they are near Tyana (*οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν*). Now Tyana has been generally identified with Hissar, and Cybistra with Eregli, which lies a little to the S.W. of Hissar, and slightly to the E. of the lake Ak Göl. In other words, unless we entirely upset the established geography of these regions, we must understand Strabo to place Hieropolis-Castabala west of the Taurus. As however the coins compel us to seek the site of Hieropolis-Castabala *πρὸς τῷ Πυραμῷ*, we may incline to the opinion that there were two cities of the same name, and that Strabo's account refers to the one on the W. of the Taurus, and that the coins belong to the one to the E. There were two cities of Comana, alike in name and in their peculiar worship, reputed to have been introduced by Orestes; one of these was in Pontus and the other in Cappadocia, and to Strabo we owe our information respecting both of them. There may equally well have been two cities of Castabala. Here however another difficulty arises. Strabo specially says (in *b*) that the Castabala near Tyana and Cybistra contained a peculiar worship of Artemis Perasia. It is a singular fact that two of Mr. Bent's inscriptions (Nos. 16 and 17) refer to *θεὸς Περασία*. It seems impossible to avoid the inference that the city of Hieropolis discovered by Mr. Bent is not only the Hieropolis-Castabala *πρὸς τῷ Πυραμῷ* which issued the coins, but also the Castabala referred to by Strabo. That is to say, Strabo appears in the same breath to place Castabala, with Tyana and Cybistra, west of the Taurus, and also to describe it in terms which identify it with the newly-discovered city east of the mountain.

I see no means at present of explaining this difficulty. One resource would be to accuse Strabo of some confusion. This is a violent hypothesis, and I entertain so profound a respect for Strabo's judgment and for his mastery of the geography of Asia Minor, that I am unwilling to adopt this explanation.

In default of any fresh discoveries which may relieve us of the difficulty and clear the reputation of Strabo, I prefer to suppose either that his expression *οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν* is capable of a wider interpretation, or that there were two cities of the name, and with the same characteristic worship, as in the case of Comana.

15.

'Stone from Yourouk's burial-ground.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent, who notes that the stone probably came from the theatre.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΟΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
 ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΟΝΛΟΥΣΙΟΝΝΟΥΜΕ
 ΡΙΟΥΥΙΟΝΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΩΜΕΝΤ/
 ΝΟΝΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΩΝΕΥΣΕ
 5 ΒΗΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΟΝΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΑΘΗ
 ΡΛΙΤΑΑΝΑΘΗΙΙΑΤΑ
 [ΟΥΑΠΟΤΟ . ΗΜΟ . . . Ο]

Letters rather larger than in No. 14, and of somewhat similar type. The letters bracketed in line 7 are from Mr. Bent's copy: I cannot read them on the squeeze, which has failed in this part.

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱερόπολιτῶν
 Νουμέριον Λούσιον Νουμέ-
 ρίου υἱὸν Κορνηλία Νωμεντα-
 νὸν, ἑπαρχὸν τεχνειτῶν, εὖσε-
 5 βῆ καὶ φιλότειμον πρὸς τὴν Ἀθη-
 νᾶν?] καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα
 οὐ ἀπὸ το[ῦ δ]ήμο[υ]

*Ἐπαρχος τεχνειτῶν = *praefectus fabrum*, concerning whose office and status see Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* v. p. 516.

16.

Statue-base 'dug up near the long colonnade.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

Μ · ΔΟΜΙΤΙΟΝΟΥΛΛΕΡΙΑΝ
 ΠΡΕΣΒ · ΣΕΒ · ΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΙ
 ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗ
 ΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΗΒΟΥΛΗ
 5 ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΑΠΟΤΩΝ
 ΤΗΣΘΕΟΥΠΕΡΑΣΙΑΣ
 ΠΡΟΣΟΔΩΝ
 ΔΙΑΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΝΤΩΝ
 ΠΕΡΙΚ · Ι · ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΟΝΟΠ
 10 ΠΙΑΝΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΝ
 Μ · ΑΥΡ · ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ
 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΣ
 ΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΣ

Μ. Δομίτιον Οὐαλεριαν[όν,
 πρεσβ(ευτήν) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρά(τηγον), τὸν
 κτίστην καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν
 τῆς πόλεως, ἡ βουλὴ
 5 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν
 τῆς θεοῦ Περασίας
 προσόδων
 διὰ πρυτάνεων τῶν
 περὶ Κ. Ι. Φουλούϊον Ὀπ-
 10 πιανὸν Ἰουλιανὸν
 Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδου [τοῦ
 Ἀ]σκληπιάδου Κρίσπο[υ
 τοῦ ἱερομνήμονος.

Lines 10 foll.: Julianus is the son of M. Aur. Asclepiades, son of Asclepiades Crispus the hieromnemon.

The document is important for two reasons. First it gives the name of a new legate of Cilicia, M. Domitius Valerianus. A Valerianus is named by Liebenam (*Forschungen*, p. 180) as legate of Galatia 'about A.D. 197.' He may perhaps be the man.

Secondly, line 6 illustrates the statement of Strabo that at Hieropolis Castabala there was a worship of Artemis Perasia (xii. 537): ἐν τοῖς Κασταβάλοις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περασίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὅπου φασὶ τὰς ἱερείας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακιᾶς βαδίζειν ἀπαθείς· κἀνταῦθα δέ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρυλοῦσιν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ὁρέστου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, Περασίαν κεκληθῆσθαι φάσκοντες διὰ τὸ πέραθεν κομισθῆναι. Compare No. 14.

17.

'A small ornate column in Yourouk's burial-ground, of red and blue conglomerate.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΘΕΑΠΕΡΑΣΙΑ

Π. ΜΕΣΣΙΟΣΡΟΥ Ο

ΥΠΕΡ ΑΙ

Θεᾶ Περασία

Πο. Μέσσιος Ῥοῦ[φ]ο[ς] ?

ὁ ὑπο

On the epithet Περασία see Nos. 14, 16.

18.

'Broken stone in threshing-floor: presumably from neighbouring theatre.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent. Incomplete at left edge only.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΝ

ΙΔΙΚΟΣΤΟΥΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ

ΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΥΙΟΥΚΑΙ

ΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΙΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

5 ΣΚΑΤΑΠΑΙΔΟΠΟΙΙΑΝΔΕ

ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΣΥΝΤΗΒΑΣΙ

ΥΠΟΤΟ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝ

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν τὸν δεῖνα] Διογένους τὸν

. δικος τοῦ κτίστου

τῆς πόλεως]ου Καίσαρος υἱοῦ, καὶ

τὸν δεῖνα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τειμῆς χάριν

5 Ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός]ς, κατὰ παιδοποιῶν δὲ
τοῦ δεινός τοὺς] ἀνδριάντας σὺν τῇ βάσει,
κατὰ τὴν γεγραμμένην] ὑπὸ το[ῦ] Διογένους διαθήκην.

The restorations are merely conjectural, and I can suggest nothing satisfactory in line 3. In line 5 we have a curious variation of the usual phrase *φύσει δὲ τοῦ δείνος*.

19.

‘Stelè in Yourouk’s burial-ground.’ Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΚΑΘΑΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΕΔΟΞ	Καθὰ τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξ[εν].
ΝΕΩΝΑΚΙΝΕΤΑΥΡΟΥ	Νέωνα Κινεταύρου
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΑΡ	τὸν γενόμενον ἀρ-
ΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΩΝΣΕΒΑСТ	χιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν
5 ΚΑΙΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝ	5 καὶ δημιουργὸν
ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Εὐγένεια Δημητρίου
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΑΥ	τὸν γενόμενον αὐ-
ΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ	τῆς ἀνδρα, μνήμης
ΧΑΡΙΝ	χάριν.

Line 2: the name *Κινέταυρος*, which is all but certain, is new.

Line 5: we are informed of the title of one of the magistrates, *δημιουργός*. The title occurs in an unpublished inscription copied by Professor Ramsay recently in Western Cilicia. Also at Perga (*C.I.G.* 4342, 4342^b), Side (*ib.* 4347), near Termessus (*ib.* 4367g), and at Iotape (*ib.* 4411, 4413, 4415). It was therefore common in these regions.

20.

‘Circular piece of stone, apparently from theatre.’ Mr. Bent’s copy only: no squeeze taken.

. . . ΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΝΕΩΝΟΣΥΙΩΝ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡ
. . . . ρίου καὶ Νέωνος υἱῶν . . . Διοδωρ

21.

‘Circular stone; probably from theatre.’ Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ	
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΔΕ	ΚΡΟΝΙΔΗΝΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ
ΟΦΙΛΟΥΣΩ	ΑΝΔΡΑΑΓΑΘΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ
ΒΙΩΣΑΣΑΝ	ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
[‘Ο δῆμος]	
τὴν δεῖνα τοῦ δείνος] γυναῖκα δὲ	
Κρονίδου τοῦ Μην]οφίλου σω-	
φρόνως καὶ κοσμίως] βιώσασαν.	
[‘Ο δῆμος	
Κρονίδην Μηνοφίλου	
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον,	
τειμῆς χάριν.	

22.

'Small column or statue-base in Yourouk's burial-ground.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ·Α·
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΛΟΥΚΙ
·Α·ΝΟΝ

Ὁ δῆμος
Νεικόλαον (Νεικολαίου)
τὸν καὶ Λουκι-
ανόν.

Line 2: for Α in this sense see MM. Cousin and Diehl in *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* xiv. (1890), p. 105. Line 4: the superfluous dots are a blunder of the engraver.

23.

'Stone dug up in one of the Christian Churches.' Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

ΟΗΣΙΚΛΕΛΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΕΠΩΝΚΑΙΚΩΜΩΔΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΑΣ
ΙΑΜΒΩΝΠΟΙΗΤΗΝΚΑΙΛΟΓΩ
ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΣΤΙΚΩΝΣΥΝΓΡΑΦΕΑ
5 ΝΟΜΙΚΟΝΕΝΤΟΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΙΣ

ΟΙΦΙΛΟΙΤΟΝΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ
ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ

Ὅνησικλέα Διοδώρου
ἐπῶν καὶ κωμωδίας τῆς νέας
ιαμβῶν ποιητὴν καὶ λόγων
ἐγκωμιαστικῶν συγγραφέα,
5 νομικὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις·

οἱ φίλοι τὸν προστάτην
τειμῆς ἔνεκα.

Onesicles was a composer of epic verse, and of iambs in the manner of the New Comedy; he was also a writer of panegyrics, and an eminent lawyer (νομικός = juris consultus).

24.

'Stone from the other Christian Church: in large letters.' Mr. Bent's copy only.

ΠΟΜΠΗΙΑΝ ΠΟΣ . . .
ΗΡΩΟΝΤΕΚΝΟ . . .

Πομπηϊαν[ῆ?] Ποσ[ειδων τὸ
ἡρώον τέκνο[ις

25.

‘On a stone from a site presumably the agora or stadium of the ancient town of Hieropolis: see plan of town.’
Copy and squeeze by Mr. Bent.

(a)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

ΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΝΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ
ΤΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ
ΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΚΑΙ
ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΗΣΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΑΓΑΘΟΝΓΕΝΟΥΣΙΕΡΑΤ ΚΟΥ
ΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΑ

(b)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

ΗΡΩΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΓΥΝΑΙ
ΚΑΔΕΓΕΝΟΜΕΝ·ΝΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΚΑΙ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΖΩΣΑΝΦΙΛΑΝ
ΔΡΟΝΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΚΝΟΝ
ΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΙΚΑ

(c)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

ΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΝΑΡΖΥΒΙΟΥ
ΝΕΑΝΙΑΝΚΟΣΜΙΩΣ
ΚΑΙΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣΖΗ
ΣΑΝΤΑΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΑ

(a)

Ο δῆμος

‘Αρζύβιον Λουκίου,
τὸν γενόμενον γραμματέα
βουλῆς καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ
γυμνασιάρχον τῆς γερουσίας,
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γένους ἱερατ[ι]κοῦ,
τειμῆς ἔνεκα.

(b)

‘Ο δῆμος

“Ἡρῶ Ἀθηναίου γυναι-
κα δὲ γενομένη[ν] ‘Αρζυβίου
τοῦ Λουκίου κοσμίως καὶ
σωφρόνως ζῶσαν, φίλαν-
δρον καὶ φιλότεκνον,
τειμῆς ἔνεκα.

(c)

‘Ο δῆμος

‘Αρζύβιον ‘Αρζυβίου
νεανίαν κοσμίως
καὶ σωφρόνως ζή-
σαντα, τειμῆς ἔνεκα.

From the base of statues in honour of Arzybius and his wife Hero, and their son Arzybius. The son was dead, and perhaps the father also: the mother still lived (ζῶσαν, *b*). The form *ἐκκλησία* is not uncommon in late documents of Asia Minor (see *C.I.G.* 4028). Family pride, and not sacerdotal, is involved in the phrase *γένους ἱερατικοῦ* (in *a*); Arzybius came of a family which had frequently held priesthoods, and this was (under the Empire) a sign of hereditary wealth and dignity.

26.

Small round stelè.' Mr. Bent's copy only.

ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΜΕΙΝΙΟΣ

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΣ

ΥΚΙΟΥ ΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ

ΠΡΟΚΛΟΥ

5 ΑΠΩΝΓΟΝΕ

ΜΝΗΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ

[τὸν δεῖνα]

Λούκιος Μείνιος

Κλαυδιανὸς

Λο]υκίου Μεινίου

5 Πρόκλου

.

μνήμης χάριν.

27.

'Stelè dug up near Yourouk's burial-ground.' Impression only made by Mr. Bent, which I have deciphered with much labour.

. . . CIVS · T · F · CL · DEXTER · AVGVS

VS · BELLICIVS · SOLLERS · METILIVS ·

VS · RVTILIANVS · XVIR · STLIT

DIS · TRIB · MIL · LEG · III · AVG

5 AP · VII · VIR · EPVLON · SODALIS · . . .

OR · TRIB · PLEBIS · PRAETOR · FIDEI · CO

G · IIII · SCYTHICAE · LEG · AVG · PR · PR · PRO

CILICIAE

. . . cius T(iti) f(ilius), Cl(audia), Dexter Augus[tanus Alpin]us Bellicius Sollers Metilius us Rutilianus, decemvir stlit[ibus judican]dis, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Aug[ustae], septemvir epulon(um), sodalis . . ., [quaest]or, trib(unus) plebis, praetor fidei co[m]-(missarius), [leg](atus) [le]g(ionis) IIII Scythicae, leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) pro[vinciae] Ciliciae.

A Rutilianus, legate of Cilicia, is known; see Liebenam, p. 416, who quotes from the *Cod. Just.* ix. 43, § 1: Rutiliano legato Ciliciae rescripsit Antoninus Pius (*i.e.* between A.D. 138—161). Among his many names he has some in common with the polyonymous consul of A.D. 169, Q. Pompeius

Q. f. Senecio . . . Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers . . . Rutilianus . . . Sosius Priscus, from whom I have supplied [Alpin]us in line 2. They are, of course, different men. The first two letters of line 5 are very doubtful, and I therefore abstain from a conjectural restoration. It will be observed that here, and in No. 15 also, the priesthoods occupy their chronological place in the *cursus honorum*.

Immediately underneath the Latin inscription is the following, in late Greek characters:—

ΕΛΗΝΑΙΗΝΕΙΤΑΡΤΕΜΙΙ
ΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΝ
ΟΔΩΤΗΝΣΕΒΟΜΕΣΠΕΚ
ΠΝΕΙΤΕΣΥΠΡΙΝΘΗΒΗΣΛΑ
5 ΠΥΕΕΣΣΙΓΕΡΑΙΡΕΙΝΔΗΩΚΟΥ
ΡΑΣΜΗΤΕΡΑΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΗΣΚΛΥ
ΠΙΚΑΙΗΓΕΜΟΝΗΑΤΕΟΝΣΩΟΝΤΕ
ΦΥΛΛΑΣΣΕΚΑΙΚΛΕΙΝΗΝΥΠΑΤΟΝ
ΠΕΜΨΟΝΕΣΕΙΤΑΛΙΗΝΛΕΥΚΙΟΕΙΗΤΗ
10 ΤΟΔΕΣΟΙΒΡΕΤΑΣΟΥΕΤΑΡΟΙΟΔΕΞ
ΤΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΣΟΚΤΩΕΔΩΚΕ
ΤΥΠΟΥΣ

Εἴτε Σ]εληναίην εἴτ' Ἀρτεμι[ν | εἴτε σ]έ, δαῖμον,
πυρφόρον [ἐν τρι]|όδῳ Γῆν σεβόμεσθ' Ἐκ[άτην, |
πνεῖ τέ συ, πρίν θ' ἥβης λα[μπροῖς] | θυέεσσι γεραίρειν
Δηὼ κου[ροτέ]|ρας μητέρα Φερσεφόνης,
κλυ[θι, καὶ ἡγεμονῆα τεδὸν σώων τε | φύλασσε
καὶ κλεινὴν ὕπατον | πέμψον ἐς Εἰταλίην.
Λεύκιος εἰητή[ρ] | τόδε σοὶ βρέτας οὐ ἐτάριοιο
Δέξ|τρου καὶ τούτους ὁκτὰ ἔδωκε | τύπους.

An invocation and dedication to Artemis (Euploia) by Leucius, a physician, who prays the goddess to give the governor a safe passage home to Italy. The governor for whom he prays appears to be the legatus of the foregoing Latin inscription: his name is given as Dexter (lines 10—11). If so, we may not identify Leucius with the famous physician of Tarsus, who lived not later than the first century A.D. See Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* s.v. Lucius. We may translate as follows: 'Whether we adore thee as Luna, or Diana, or whether, O goddess, as Earth-Hecate bearing thy torch at the cross-ways, O breathe thou, and ere men honour with the bright offerings of youth Deo the mother of young Proserpine, hearken and keep safe thy governor, and waft him home for his consulship to famous Italy. Lucius the physician gave thee this image of his comrade Dexter, and these eight sculptures.'

I take *βρέτας* to be a statue of the legate, and the *τύποι* to be masks or medallions sculptured on the base. The note of time in *πρὶν θ' ἡβης*, κ.τ.λ., is so poetically given by the learned composer as to be obscure. I take it to mean 'before the time of the Eleusinian mysteries,' which took place in September, *i.e.* before the autumnal equinox, when storms were rife. The legate of Cilicia would quit his province on the last day of July (Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* iv. p. 395).

28.

- Q · ROSCIO · SEX · F · QVI · COELIO · POI
 EIOFALCONIDECMVIROSTLI
 SIVDICANDIS · TRIB · MIL · LEG · X · F
 VAESTORI · TRIB · PLEB · PR · INTER · CIV
 5 PEREGRINOS · LEG · AVG · LEG · V · MACED
 G · AVG · PR · PR · PROVIN · LYCIAEETPAM
 YLIAELEG · AVG · LEG · X · FRET · ET · LEG · PR · PR ·
 OVINCIAEIVDAEAECONSVLARIS
 XV · VIRO · SACRIS · FACIVNDIS · CVRATOR
 10 VIAE · TRAIANAE · LEG · AVG · PR · PR · PROV
 MOES · INF · ΠΟΜΠΕΙΟΝΦΑΛΚΟΝΑ
 ΑΥΛΟCΛΑΒΕΡΙΟCΚΑΜΕΡΙΝΟCΚΑΙ
 · ΛΑΒΕΡΙΟC · ΚΑΜΕΡΙΝΟC · ΥΙΟC · ΑΥΤΟΥ ·
 ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗC · ΛΕΓ · Ε · ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΗC ·
 15 ΤΟΝ · ΙΔΙΟΝ · ΦΙΛΟΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ · ΕΚΤΟΥ
 ΙΔΙΟΥ · ΤΕΙΜΗC · ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Q. Roscio Sex(ti) f(ilio), Qui(rina), Coelio Po[mp]eio Falconi, decemviro stli[tibu]s iudicandis, trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) X F[ret](ensis), [q]uaestori, trib(un)o pleb(is), pr(actori) inter civ[es et] peregrinos, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), [le]g(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provin(ciae) Lyciae et Pam[ph]yliae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), et leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae consularis, XV viro sacris faciundis, curator[i] viae Traianae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Moes(iae) inf(erioris).—Πομπείον Φάλκονα Αὔλος Λαβέριος Καμερίνος καὶ . Λαβέριος Καμερίνος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἑκατοντάρχης λεγ(εῶνος) ἔ Μακεδονικῆς, τὸν ἴδιον φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τειμῆς ἔνεκεν.

Q. Roscius Sex. f. Pompeius Falco is well known; see Waddington, *Fastes*, p. 202; Liebenam, pp. 94, 243, 261, 279; Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia Provinciis Romanis* (Berlin, 1885), p. 39. Falco was legate of Lycia and Pamphylia, A.D. 105, 106; of Judaea, A.D. 107—110; of Maesia Inferior, A.D. 117; of Britain, A.D. 121?—124; and was proconsul of Asia about A.D. 128. His *cursus honorum* is very fully given in our inscription, and all in chronological order, including his priesthoods. As however the last preferment here recorded is the legation of Moesia Inferior, it follows that

the monument is not later than A.D. 120, and not earlier than 117. It is set up by A. Laberius Camerinus, who had served under Falco in the tenth legion when Falco was legate of Judaea. Camerinus had probably settled in Syria or Cilicia. In line 8 the word *CONSVLARIS* is quite certain, and is noteworthy. From the destruction of Jerusalem onwards Judaea remained a separate province, distinct from Syria, and in charge of a praetorian or sometimes a consular legate. Our inscription indicates that Falco, although not yet consul, was in charge of what was virtually a consular appointment.

Such an arrangement would indeed be exceptional, but yet not without parallel; see *Ephemeris Epigr.* v. p. 386, No. 696, where Mommsen remarks: 'Priscus cum quaestorius legioni cuidam Syriacae praeesset, deficiente forte provinciae legato consulari *pro legato consulari* ipsam provinciam administravit.' It has been suggested by Rohden (*l. c.* p. 31) that the change from praetorian to consular legates for Judaea took place in consequence of the addition of a second legion (Legio VI Ferrata) to the province. Hitherto only the Legio X Fretensis was stationed there, and the legate of the legion was, by a well-known rule the legate of the province (see line 7). Our inscription does not mention Falco's consulate, nor is he called a consular. It is clear that he was a praetorian legate. But, if so, why is his province called 'consularis'? The question perhaps is connected with the sending of the Legio VI Ferrata to Judaea. The date and occasion of this addition to the forces in the province are alike unknown. Rohden (*l. c.*) suggests either the Jewish outbreak of A.D. 117, or the war of Hadrian, A.D. 131—133. But is it not conceivable that even earlier than either of these dates, and during the legation of Falco, the additional legion was sent to Judaea to meet some sudden emergency? If so, the province would become virtually 'consularis,' though in charge of a praetorian legate. I am aware that such a conjecture is highly hazardous. Yet it seems worth while to mention, in this connexion, that possibly Hege-sippus (fl. A.D. 150—190), who (as cited by Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 32) terms Atticus, the legate of A.D. 107, *ὑπατικός*, may not after all be guilty of a mere anachronism, as is commonly assumed, but may have had some historical justification for the phrase.

E. L. HICKS.

THE COLLECTION OF ANCIENT MARBLES AT LEEDS.

[PLATE XIII.]

THE collection of antiquities which forms the subject of this paper was presented in the year 1863—4 to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society by the Rev. John Gott, D.D., then Vicar of Leeds and now Dean of Worcester. He tells me that it came into his hands in the following way. Mr. Benjamin Gott, elder brother of the Dean's father, made a tour in Greece about the year 1815, in the company of an intimate friend, Mr. Rawson. They visited Smyrna, and returned through the islands to Athens, purchasing, in the course of their travels, a number of ancient marbles. Mr. Benjamin Gott died of fever at the Piræus, and was buried at Athens in the Theseium. Many years afterwards, when an English cemetery was opened at Athens, his body, with two others, was removed from the temple to this more fitting resting-place.

Upon Mr. B. Gott's death, the marbles passed into the possession of his fellow-traveller Mr. Rawson, in whose house at Halifax they remained for years. Here six of the inscriptions were copied and sent to Böckh for insertion in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* which he was then preparing.¹ Mr. Rawson died in 1845 or early in 1846. One of his executors was his brother, Mr. S. Rawson, by whom the marbles were sold to Mr. William Gott. From him they passed to his son, the Rev. Dr. Gott, who presented them (with a few exceptions to be presently mentioned) to the Museum at Leeds, where they now remain.

Mr. Rawson's collection at Halifax consisted partly of marbles which he and his fellow-traveller had acquired during their tour, and partly of later purchases—among the latter were certain antiquities of which his brother wrote (in a letter dated Halifax, 18th May, 1846): 'it was always understood that my brother had got them, as a great favour, from Westmacott, who had himself collected them in Italy.' These pieces from Italy comprised :—

¹ See *C.I.G.* 2265 ('Lapis, in Delo effossus, est nunc in oppido Halifax Britanniae in domo Rawsoni; misit Rosius ex schedis ab amico missis'); 2284; 2312; 2323; *Add.* 864*b*; 937*b*. The first volume of the *Corpus* appeared in 1813.

1. A statuette of a goat, in white marble.
2. A cinerary urn with an inscription :—

D · M ·
L · C L O D I O
P O L Y T I M O
P A T R O N O · O P T I M O
B · M · F · P E R S I C I V S
LIB

In the *C.I.L.* vi. 15764 there is described an 'urna marmorea in hortis palatii Glienicke prope Potsdam,' with an identical inscription, only omitting the last two lines. Is the Glienicke urn a forgery?

3. A small sarcophagus, inscribed as follows (= *C.I.L.* vi. 12010) :—

M · A N T O N I · I V L L I
P A T R I S · L · R V F I O N I S

4. A similar sarcophagus, inscribed as follows :—

D · V I T E L L I E · A R T E M I S I E · M
P O S V I T · C S A L L I V S F I R
M I N V S C O N I V G I · P · M

These four marbles from Italy were retained by Dr. Gott when he presented the rest of the collection to the Leeds Museum: they are now at the Deanery, Worcester. Besides these, the Dean retains in his own possession the following antiquities which formed part of Mr. Rawson's Greek collection :—

5. A marble head, inscribed ΘΕΟΦΡΑΚΤΟΣ: the head only is antique, the neck and shoulders (including therefore the inscription) are a restoration. Of this piece Mr. Rawson in the letter above quoted declares: 'I do not at all know where purchased—I cannot find any account of it.'

6. A pair of Corinthian columns, exactly alike, about 12 feet high; the capitals and bases are of white marble, the shafts being of a material which some call 'green jasper,' and which in a letter of Mr. Rawson's is called 'Verd antique.' These columns (Mr. Rawson wrote) 'were purchased at Smyrna from a Greek convent: the *pâpâs said* they had come from Ephesus.'

The rest of the collection, which comprises some very interesting objects, was (as already stated) presented by Dr. Gott to the Museum at Leeds.

Here it has been very much forgotten. It escaped the notice of Prof. Michaelis, when he was preparing his work on the *Ancient Marbles in England* (1882): and though Prof. Marshall, of the Yorkshire College, published a tract in 1879 at Leeds, *Observations on certain Greek Inscriptions in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, he omits two of the inscriptions, and of the rest he gives a not very accurate text and explanations merely general. The first person who called my attention to these marbles was the late Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, whose interest in Greek studies never declined with his declining years.

My object in this paper is two-fold. First, I wish to give a trustworthy text of the inscriptions, and to bring them into connexion with the more recent additions to archaeological knowledge, especially through the French excavations at Delos. Secondly, I wish to give a descriptive catalogue of the whole of this little collection, so far as may suffice to make it known to archaeological scholars. And here I have been greatly helped by the kindness of Professor Conze of Berlin. In 1889 I had the pleasure of calling his attention to the funeral stelæ at Leeds, with a view to the *Vienna Corpus* of sepulchral reliefs. In return, he has immensely added to the value of this paper by allowing me to embody in it the memoranda of his own examination of the Leeds Marbles, besides furnishing me with illustrations prepared under his own supervision. Professor Conze's notes are signed [C].

1.

MARBLE ALTAR.

Circular altar of white marble, ornamented all round with ox-heads, fillets and festoons. It has been completely but roughly hollowed out, and employed as a puteal or crown of a well: seven or eight deep grooves have been worn by the rope in the rim of the marble, which itself is worn smooth by long use. One side is now broken. Height, 1 ft. 7½ in.; original diameter, 1 ft. 10½ in. Apparently unpublished, except by Marshall, No. III.

ΟΙΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΙ	Οί ἀγορανόμοι
ΚΑΛΛΑΙΣΧΡΟΣ	Κάλλαισχος
ΜΟΙΡΑΓΕΝΟΥ	Μοιραγένου,
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	Διονύσιος
ΔΗΜΕΟΥ	Δημέου,
ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΣ	Σώχαρμος
ΣΩΧΑΡΜΟΥ	Σωχάρμου,
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕΙ	Ἀφροδίτει
ΤΙΜΟΥΧΩ	τιμούχῳ.

Dedication by the board of agoranomi to Aphrodite Timuchos. The marble is certainly from Delos, where we know the ἀγορανόμοι were three in number: see the Delian building-contract at Oxford, *C.I.G.* 2266 *A* lines 28, 29, *B* lines 7, 8, more correctly restored by Fabricius, *Hermes*, 1882, p. 6 (compare Homolle, *Les Archives de l'intendance sacrée a Délos*, p. 118, who fixes its date as B.C. 297): 'Αγορανόμοι Γλαῦκος Σιλαν....., Ἐμμένης Τιμοθέμιδος, Φᾶνος Διοδότου. Also a somewhat later dedication 'Ερμεί καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ by the ἀγορανόμοι of Delos, three in number, and their κληρωτὸς γραμματεὺς, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* x. 1886, p. 33.

The date of our dedication, to judge by the lettering, is not earlier and not much later than 200 B.C. The use of ΕΙ for ΗΙ ('Αφροδίτει) was so common during three and a half centuries B.C. (Meisterhans, *Grammatik*, p. 30), and so many examples occur in the Delian documents, that this feature does not help us to fix the date. The worship of Aphrodite finds frequent mention at Delos: see Homolle, *Comptes des Hiéropes*, p. 43, lines 128, 131; p. 48, line 181 (in all of which passages the spelling is 'Αφροδίτει); compare p. 142: 'Aphrodite était une des plus antiques divinités déliennes; Thésée passait pour avoir apporté de Crète son image et fondé son temple.' The Aphrodision stood within the temenos of Apollo (see Reinach, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, vii. 1883, p. 333 note).

Τιμοῦχος as an epithet of Aphrodite is new. Demeas is a Delian name (*ibid.* iv. 1880, p. 212; *Comptes des Hiéropes*, p. 28), and Σώχαρμος is found at Paros (*C.I.G.* 2399, 2408).

2.

INSCRIBED WALL-STONE.

Wall-stone of white marble; height, 2 ft. 8½ in.; width, 2 ft. 3½ in.

The slab is in perfect preservation, excepting a slight injury of the surface at the upper right-hand corner. *C.I.G.* 2323, 'ex Delo fragmentum'; Marshall, No. V.

<i>A.</i>	<i>B.</i>
ΓΟΛΟΣΣΑΝ	ΤΟΥΣΕ//// ΦΟΙΝΙΞΝ// ΤΟΥΣΕΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙΟΜΟΝΟ

Two dedications, perhaps independent of each other, but of similar date, are here inscribed upon the same wall-stone, which may have been part of a large base supporting statues. The first part of *A* is missing; it was engraved on another stone to the left. The right-hand portion of *B* occupied a wall-stone to the right. The date is indicated by Γολόσσαν in *A*, whom

we may identify with the well-known second son of Massinissa, who was his father's envoy at Rome B.C. 172 and 171 (Livy xlii. 23, 24: *Legati Carthaginenses eo tempore Romae erant, et Gulussa filius Massinissae... interrogari Gulussam placuit, quid ad ea responderet etc.*; *ibid.* xliii. 3). Upon the death of Massinissa, Gulussa received a share of his father's sovereignty (Appian, *Lilyca*, 106); he was a firm friend of Rome, and was present at the taking of Carthage B.C. 146 (Polyb. xxxix. 1, 2), but both he and his brother Mastanabal were cut off early by sickness, leaving Micipsa in sole possession of the throne (Sallust, *Jug.* 5). A son of his named Massiva is mentioned by Sallust (*ibid.* 35).

We know of three statues at Delos in honour of Massinissa the father (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* ii. p. 400, iii. 469, xi. p. 255); and in the accounts of the Delian *ἱεροποιοί* mention is made of a crown sent to him from Delos (*Comptes des Hiéropes*, pp. 10, 11), and of gifts of corn sent by him (*ibid.* pp. 14, 15). We need not wonder that his son Gulussa should be honoured also at Delos, both he and the Delians being loyal retainers of Rome. We may restore somewhat thus:—

A.

‘Ο δῆμος βασιλέα] Γολόσσαν
[θεοῖς]

B.

Τοὺς ε
Φοῦνιξ Ν
τοὺς ἑαυτο[ῦ ἐνεργέτας φίλιας
καὶ ὁμορο[ίας ἔρεκα.

3.

INSCRIBED STATUE-BASE.

A solid rectangular statue-base of white marble; 2 ft. 6½ in. high; 1 ft. 11 in. wide; 1 ft. 7½ in. from front to back. *C.I.G.* 2284; Marshall, No. II.

ΑΜΥΝΤΑΝΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥΚΝΛΙΟ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΣΑΜΥΝΤΟΥΣΟΛΕΥ—
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΛΗΤΟΙ

Lower down on the same face, in smaller letters:—

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝΜΥΡΩΝΟΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Ἀμύνταν Δυσιμάχου Κνίδιο[ν
 Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀμύντου Σολεῦ[ς
 εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸ[ν
 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ.

Ἑφαιστίων Μύρωνος Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίηι.

Dedication to Apollo, Artemis and Leto of a statue in honour of Amyntas of Cnidus.

The name Amyntas occurs on Cnidian amphora-handles (ἐπὶ Ἀμύντα), see Franz in *C.I.G.* iii. p. xiv. The style of the letters points to the first century B.C., and with this date all the other indications agree. In particular, the age of the artist Hephaestion is fixed with tolerable certainty. His signature appears on several other Delian statues: *C.I.G.* 2293 (a dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates); *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* iv. 1880, p. 220, p. 221; *ibid.* xi. 1887, p. 256; and others. A daughter of his, Διοδώραν Ἑφαιστίωνος Ἀθηναίου θυγατέρα, is named in another Delian dedication (*ibid.* vi. 1882, p. 321). All these are evidently of the Roman period, and probably belong to the first century B.C., before the Mithridatic War, B.C. 88: Homolle, *ibid.* viii. 1884, p. 136. This form of dedication (to Apollo, Artemis, Leto) is of frequent occurrence at Delos: compare *ibid.* p. 137; *C.I.G.* 2280, 2282, 2285, etc.

4.

INSCRIBED STELÈ.

Stelè of white marble let into the wall of the Museum: entire at bottom and right-hand: broken at the top and on left. Height, 2 ft. 8 in.; width, 1 ft. 1½ in. *C.I.G.* 2265 (where the copyist has omitted line 5 besides other inaccuracies); Marshall, No. I.

ΑΙΛΕ
 ΑΡΑΝΑΞΙΩΝΑΦΕ
 ΔΙΚΑΣΜΕΝΟΙΕΙΣΙΝΟΙ
 ΟΙΣΙΔΙΟΤΑΙΣΕΚΤΩΝ
 5 ΙΗΑΔΙΚΗΜΑΤΩΝΤΑΙΣΠΟΛΕ
 ΚΕΤΙΔΙΚΗΝΚΑΤΑΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΗΣ
 ΙΣΠΑΡΙΩΝΜΗΔΥΠΟΤΗΣΝΑΞΙΩΝ
 ΝΜΗΔΕΟΦΕΙΛΗΜΑΜΗΔΕΓΚΛΗΜ/
 ΗΘΕΝΜΗΔΙΔΙΩΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΝΙΚΑΤΑ
 10 ΩΤΟΥΕΓΓΛΗΜΑΜΗΘΕΝΕΚΤΩΝΠΡΟ
 ΠΡΟΣΑΥΤΑΣΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΩΝΗΑ
 ΊΣΕΝΤΟΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙ
 ΩΝΠΑΡΙΩΝΤΟΥΕΓΓΙΤΙΜΙΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΓΡΑΦΗΙΤΗΝΔΕΟΥΣΙΑΝΤΩΙΔ!

- 15 ΙΟΥΣΤΟΔΕΓΕΡΑΣΤΟΥΒΟΟΣΕΙ,
 ᾧΠΟΤΕΡΑΔΑΝΤΛΗΝΠΟΛΕΛΗΝΗΔ
 ΙΙΔΕΤΗΣΥΛΛΥΣΕΙΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΛΤΙ
 ΜΕΝΠΟΛΙΣΠΑΡΑΒΗΙΤΑΛΑΝΤΑΕΙΚΟΣΙ
 ΙΔΙΛΗΤΗΣΤΑΛΑΝΤΑΠΕΝΤΕΔΙΚΗΝ,
 20 ΛΛΥΣΙΝΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΝΕΚΤΛΝΕΠΑ
 ΜΠΤΗΣΑΠΙΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΙΠΠΙΛΗΝΟΣΜΙ
 ΤΛΜΜΕΤΑΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥΛΣΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΙΣ
 ΞΛΣΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥΦΙΛΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΝΟΣΛΣΔΕΠΑΡΙΟΙΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΘΟΥ
 25 ΟΣΠ'ΥΝΤΗΡΙΛΗΝΟΣΤΟΥΣΔΕΠΡΟ
 ΙΓΟΥΣΤΟΥΣΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΛΝΕΙΣΤΕΤΑΔ
 ᾧΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΤΗΝΔΕΤΗΝΣΥΛΛΥΣ
 ΣΤΕΙΑΙΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣΤΗΙΔ
 ΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΕΙ'ΗΚΟΟΥΣΕΚΑΤΕ
 30 ΙΝΣΥΛΛΥΣΙΝ

The inscription belongs without doubt to about 200 B.C. Its subject is briefly described by Böckh: 'litigabant Parii et Naxii: res delata ad Eretrienses ut πόλιν ἑκκλητον, quorum hoc decretum est.' The court of Eretrian dikasts probably sat at Delos (see §§ 8-9), where the marble was found, a copy having been inscribed at Delos as an inviolable and neutral city. Representatives of the two contending cities were also present, ἐπήκοοι (lines 29, 2: see Hesych. s.v. ἐπάκοοι· οἱ μάρτυρες. καὶ οἱ ἐπισκοποῦντες τὰς δικαστικὰς ψήφους, and compare *ib.* s.v. ἐπήκοοι).¹ Whatever may have been the subject of the complaints, Paros appears to have been the aggrieved party, and to have proved her case against Naxos, the Naxians being condemned in a fine payable to Paros (see § 7): the Parians are to expend some portion of this sum in sacrificing an ox to the Naxian god. The earlier paragraphs of the settlement (σύλλυσις) are lost: what remains may be restored as follows.

§ 1. *The settlement is now finally made* (lines 1-4):—

. καθάπερ τοῖς Ἐρετρίων δικαστ]αῖς ἔ[δο-
 ξεν καὶ τοῖς ἐπηκόοις τοῖς παρὰ Παρίων καὶ π]αρὰ Ναξίων ἀφε-
 σταλμένοις περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοὺς Ναξίους δ]εδικασμένοι εἰσὶν οἱ
 Πάριοι.]

§ 2. *All further action between individuals barred, in respect of anything that arises out of the disputes now settled between the two cities* (lines 4-6):—

¹ The term ἐπάκοος is found in a similar sense in Laconia: Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 267.

μηδεμίαν εἶναι μηκέτι δίκην τ]οῖς ιδιώταις ἐκ τῶν
 5 πρότερον γεγενημένων ἐγκλημάτων] ἢ ἀδικημάτων ταῖς πόλε-
 σιν]

§ 3. *All action barred as against Naxos by Paros* (lines 6-7):—

μηδεμίαν δὲ εἶναι μη]κέτι δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς
 Ναξίων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τ]ῆς Παρίων·

§ 4. *All action barred as against Paros by Naxos* (lines 7-8):—

μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ναξίων
 πόλεως κατὰ τῆς Παρίων·

§ 5. *No claim of individuals against either city allowed* (lines 8-10):—

μηδὲ ὀφείλημα· μηδ' ἐγκλημα
 μηδὲ ἀδίκημα εἶναι μ]ηθὲν μηδ' ιδιώτει μ]ηθενὶ κατὰ
 10 τῶν πόλεων·]

§ 6. *Nor claim against any individual by either city* (lines 10-12):—

μηδὲ κατ' ιδι]ώτου ἐγκλημα μ]ηθὲν ἐκ τῶν προ-
 τερον γεγενημένων αὐτῶ] πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐγκλημάτων ἢ ἀ[δι-
 κημάτων·]

§ 7. *The court recommends the Parians to sacrifice an ox to Dionysos the god of Naxos* (lines 12-16):—

ἔτι δὲ ἐκέλε]υσεν τὸ Ἐρετριέων δικαστήρι[ον
 θῦσαι βοὺν τὴν πόλιν τ]ῇν Παρίων τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τοῦ ἐ[πι-
 γεγραμμένου ἐν τῇδε τῇ] γραφῇ, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν τῶ Δι[ο-
 15 νύσῳ τῶ Ναξίῳ ἄγειν Παρ]ίους, τὸ δὲ γέρας τοῦ βοὸς εἶ[ναι

§ 8. *Penalties for the breach of this settlement on the part of city or individual* (lines 16-17):—

ὁποτέρα δ' ἂν τῶν πόλεων ἢ ιδι[ώ-
 της ἐναντίον τι ποιῇ τῇ]ιδε τῇ συλλύσει ἀποτεισάτω τί-
 μημα τῶ θεῷ τῶ Δηλίῳ· ἐὰν] μὲν πόλις παραβῇ, τάλαντα εἴκοσι
 ἀποτινέσθω δίκη, ἐὰν δὲ] ιδιώτης τάλαντα πέντε δίκη·

§ 9. *The date of the settlement in Eretrian, Naxian, and Parian reckoning* (lines 19-25):—

ἔν[α
 20 κυρίαν ἔχουσιν τήνδε τὴν σύλ]λυσιν γεγενημένην ἐκ τῶν ἐπα-
 κτῶν εἰς Δήλον δικαστῶν ἀπὸ πέ]μπτης ἀπιόντος τοῦ Ἰππιῶνος μ(η)-
 νὸς ἐπὶ τῶν . . . ἀρχόντων] τῶμ μετὰ Ἀρχεβίου ὡς Ἐρετριεῖς

ἄγουσιν, ὡς δὲ Νάξιοι ἐπὶ ἱερ]έως τοῦ Διονύσου Φιλοκρίτου τοῦ
 δεῖνος τῆς δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος μην]ός, ὡς δὲ Πάριοι ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Θου.
 25 . . . τοῦ δεῖνος τῆς δεῖνος μην]ός Πλυντηριῶνος.

§ 10. *The Eretrians to keep an official copy of this settlement, and to forward sealed copies to the cities concerned* (lines 25-29):—

τοὺς δὲ προ-
 στάτας (?) καὶ τοὺς στρατη]γούς τοὺς Ἐρετρίων εἰς τε τὰ δη-
 μόσια γράμματα παρ' ἑαυτ]οῖς ἀναγράψαι τήνδε τὴν σύλλυσ-
 ιν, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὴν ἀπο]στεῖλ[α]ι σφραγισμένους τῇ δη-
 μοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.]

§ 11. *The representatives from Paros and Naxos are to convey to their respective cities the copy of this settlement* (lines 29-fin.):—

κομίσ]αι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπηκόους ἑκατέ-
 30 ρων τῶν πόλεων τήνδε τ] (ῆ)ν σύλλυσιν.

What remains of the marble is in good condition, and I have made out much that was previously misread or omitted. The letters given in the uncial text are certain. My restorations are true to the sense, if not always to the wording of the original; only the restoration of § 1 is merely conjectural.

A few details call for remark. Line 9: ἰδιώτει, like Ἀφροδίτει in No. 1, is a spelling common enough between 400 and 50 B.C. Line 14: Dionysos was the patron-god of Naxos; his symbols (the cantharos, ivy-leaves, etc.) appear upon the Naxian coins (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 416), and the eponymus of the city was the priest of Dionysos (line 23: [ἐπὶ ἱερ]έως τοῦ Διονύσου, and similarly in a later dedication published *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* ii. 1878, p. 587: ἐπὶ εἰερέως τοῦ Διονύσου κ.τ.λ.). Line 15: ΓΕΡΑΣ is quite certain: τὸ γέρας is the priest's portion (see vol. ix. of this *Journal*, 1888, p. 329), which was specified in the last commencement of line 16. Line 18: I attach little weight to the restoration I have suggested. Line 20: I borrow ἐπα[κτῶν δικαστῶν] from Böckh. Line 21: hardly anything is known of the Eretrian calendar (Bischoff, *Leipz. Studien*, vii. p. 402). Line 22: Böckh suggests ἐπὶ πρυτάνεων *verbi gratia*; but in a list of names from Eretria published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολ.*, περ. 3, 1887, pp. 79 foll. we find [Ἐπὶ] Ἀρέτωνος ἄρχοντ[ο]ς. I therefore restore ἀρχόντων, but still doubtfully, as it hardly fills the space. Line 24: the remains of Υ can be traced at the end of the line, and the name is perhaps the same which is written ΘΟΥΡΙ . . . on a coin of Paros quoted by Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 418. Line 25: the recovery of the name Πλυντηριῶνος, misread by Böckh's transcriber, adds one more to our scanty list of Parian months (Bischoff, *l.c.* p. 394). Line 28: it was usual for a public award or agreement to be communicated to the cities concerned by means of a sealed copy. Thus the Milesian award between the Lacedaemonians and Messenians (my *Manual*, No. 200, line 36: τῇ γ

κρίσιν . . . ἐδώκαμεν τοῖς πρεσβευ[τ]αῖς, ὅπως διακομίσωσιν αὐτὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐσφραγισμέ[νην] τῇ [δημ]οσίᾳ σφραγίδι). So in the directions given by King Antigonus respecting the amalgamation of Lebedos and Teos (*Manual*, No. 149 § 8), a sealed copy of the laws of Cos is to be procured: τοὺς δὲ ἀποσταλέντας ἐ[π]α[ναφέρειν τοὺς νό]μους ἐσφραγισμένους τῇ Κόων σφραγίδι. Compare also *C.I.G.* 2152 *b*, *Add.* line 15; 2332 *fin.*; 2347 *c*, *fin.*; 2557 *A*, line 5; 3053 *B*; 3137 *ii. fin.*

The reader who wishes to study the interesting class of documents to which our inscription belongs—those relating to the settlement of disputes between cities by the intervention of an ἑκκλητος πόλις and the employment of alien dikasts—is referred to the careful essay of E. Sonne, *De arbitris externis; quos Græci adhibuerunt ad lites et intestinas et peregrinas componendas quaestiones epigraphicae* (Gottingen, 1888); see especially pp. 12, 49. It is useless to conjecture what was the occasion of the quarrel between Naxos and Paros: I have fancied it may have been a dispute about the rights of fishing in the neighbouring seas. We have to confess ourselves deplorably ignorant of the history of most of the Greek cities and islands. Whatever the cause, the misunderstanding appears to have been temporary only: the heavy fines threatened in case of any breach of the settlement, and the care taken to shut the door against all further litigation, indicate a fixed resolve to put an end to the strife. Indeed two islands so near as these could not afford to disagree. I cannot forbear quoting the picturesque words of E. Curtius in *Naxos, ein Vortray*, pp. 6—7 (Berlin, 1846) concerning ‘die schönste Gruppe’ of the Cyclades, ‘those twin isles of Naxos and Paros, so nearly united in one, that they have been grouped together under a single name as Paronaxia. As the stately, slender outlines of Paros appear in view, they seem to betoken from afar the precious treasures of her hills. A world of temples and of sculptures have issued forth from her bosom, and to this day her subterranean quarries glisten in the torch-light like the halls and corridors of a fairy palace. Paros is also provided with springs and spacious harbours. But in size and in strength she yields to her neighbour Naxos. Rounded off on all sides, with no deep inlets or bays, Naxos rises in massive bulk from the sea, and lifts her broad summit proudly above the other Cyclades.’ After a glowing sketch of the fertility of Naxos, its cornfields, orchards, gardens and vineyards, he adds: ‘An island so prominent in size, in strength and fertility, could not fail to achieve a position of historical precedence among the neighbouring islands; in fact, we find that whenever the Cyclades were free to develop their own destinies, uncontrolled by alien influence, Naxos takes her place as the leader and queen of the group.’

5.

SEPULCHRAL STELÈ.

Sepulchral stelè of white marble: height, 0, 78 m. or 2 ft. 5 in.; width below, above the plinth, 0, 40 m. or 1 ft. 2½ in.; above, below the pediment, 0, 34 m. or 1 ft. 1 in. In good preservation on the whole, but in many

parts much worn, especially the inscription, which some modern hand has endeavoured to trace with red colour, thereby making it the less legible.

The stelè was let into a base by means of a plug. It is surmounted by a plain pediment with an *akroterion*. The main surface of the stelè is bordered on either side by a column, and the two columns support a circular arch. Within the space thus enclosed is a group worked in rather high relief, comprising three figures. On the left a male figure is seated on a rock facing to right: he extends his right hand to another male figure in full face, who stands in front of him. Both are wearing chiton and himation. Behind the standing figure stands a female figure, also wearing an upper and under garment, facing to left. Underneath the relief a portion of the field is left intact, to receive the inscription [C.].

Published by Böckh. *C.I.G.* Addenda, 864; Kumanudes, No. 1942; *C.I.A.* iii. 2550 (both after Böckh).

ΑΓΡΩΝ	ΑΓΡΩΝ
ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΥ	ΑΓΡΩΝΟΣ
ΧΡΗΣΤΕ	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕ	ΧΡΗΣΤΕ
	ΧΑΙΡΕ
Ἀγρων	Ἀγρων
Λαοδικεῦ	Ἀγρωνος
χρηστὲ	Λαοδικεῦ
χαίρε.	χρηστὲ
	χαίρε.

All the letters can be clearly made out, except perhaps the last two of line 2. ΑΓΡΩΝ is quite certain. Böckh's copy read ΑΤΡΩΝ, which Kumanudes questions, and Dittenberger (*C.I.A.* l.c.) alters to [Π]άτρων, wrongly. The lettering points to about B.C. 100.

The 'friend' who sent a copy of this stelè from England to Böckh informed him that it came from Athens, and so the editors have described it. There is however little or no doubt that it is from Delos, or rather Rheneia. Among all the hundreds of tombstones of Athenian metoeks in Kumanudes' *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι* and in the *C.I.A.* there is hardly a single one of good date which exhibits the salutation *χρηστὲ* (*χρηστή*) *χαίρε*.¹ Even *χαίρε* alone is comparatively rare at Athens. On the other hand the vocative of the name, followed by *χρηστὲ χαίρε*, is the usual formula of epitaphs from Rheneia; see Le Bas, *Voyage Arch.* pt. iv. 1926 foll., and especially 1952, 1953 (*Λαοδικεῦ*, *Λαοδικίσσα*). Professor Conze reminds me that the style of the relief and the general shape and character of the monument point likewise to Rheneia.

¹ See the remarks of E. Loch on this point, *De titulis Graecis sepulcralibus*, p. 35 (Königsberg, 1890); and my paper 'On the Characters

of Theophrastus' in the *Hellenic Journal*, iii. (1882) p. 143.

6.

MARBLE ALTAR.

Circular marble altar, 2 ft. 11 in. high ; diameter, 2 ft. 2½ in. Its upper surface is hollowed out to a depth of 8 in., and the circumference is adorned with ox-heads, fillets and festoons of fruit and corn, on which birds are alighting and pecking. *C.I.G.* 2312 ('Ara Deli effossa').

ΕΥΜΕ ΝΥΝ ΤΟΥ
ΘΕΟ ΓΕΝΟΥ

Εὐμέ[ν]ους τοῦ
Θεογένου.

Similar altars, evidently of a monumental kind, are given by Büchli, *C.I.G.* 2310, 2311. In the *lemma* of 2310 he cites the remark of Tournefort, that altars of this character are of common occurrence in Delos. He adds : 'Aras has esse sepulcrales clare docet n. 2311. Sed quum in Delo neminem sepeliri fas fuerit, patet memoriae causa defunctis has aras dicatas esse non in loco, ubi corpus humatum erat. Noli vero arbitrari aram in monumentum sepulcrum versam esse ; hoc enim nefas fuit, nec titulus est tam recens, ut antiquiori arae possit posthac insculptus videri.' This altar probably comes from Rheneia. The lettering points to the first century B.C. Sepulchral altars, of exactly the same style, are found elsewhere, *e.g.* in Cos (*C.I.G.* 2516), and frequently in Rhodes (*C.I.G.* 2531—2551), where one is described as being hollowed out at the top like the one before us (*ibid.* 2543, 'ara superne mortarii in formam excavata').

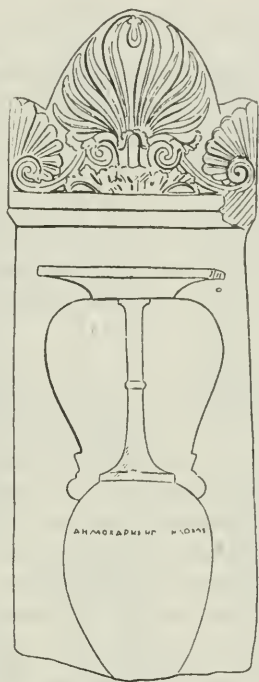
Theoxenos is a Delian name : *C.I.G.* 2266 A, line 30 ; Homolle, *Comptes des Hiéropes*, pp. 33, 36 ; *Les Archives de l'intendance sacrée*, p. 121.

7.

SEPULCHRAL STELÈ.

Stelè of white marble. Present height, 1, 08 m. or 3 ft. 7 in. ; width below, 0, 40 m. or 1 ft. 4 in. ; width above, under the *akroterion*, 0, 38 m. or 1 ft. 3 in. Broken at the foot, but otherwise in excellent preservation ; the painting however, which once adorned it, has vanished without leaving a trace behind. The marble stands in a very bad light. The accompanying sketch is from a photograph kindly forwarded by the Curator of the Leeds Museum, Mr. Edgar R. Waite. The stelè is surmounted by an elaborate *akroterion* of three palmettes. The fascia and cymatium immediately beneath it are plain ; clearly they were meant to be painted. On the front of the

stelè, which is without any raised margin at the sides, is seen an amphora in low relief, and of very flat and plain appearance. But it is evident that the details of the amphora were originally filled in by painting—in particular the handles, and a group of at least two figures on the body of the vase. This group, of which not a trace survives, is sufficiently attested by the names which were engraved in a single line above it. The group evidently consisted of a male figure, seated, facing to right (Demochares), and another male figure standing before him to the right, facing to left (Hegelochus), and perhaps taking Demochares by the hand. The head of the standing figure



interrupted the letters of his name Heg—elochus). The painting must therefore have been completed, or at least sketched in, before the inscription was engraved. For the disposition of writing and representation compare *e.g.* the stelè of Xeno-timos and Xenophilos (Sybel, 238) figured in Le Bas-Reinach, *Voyage Arch. Mon. Fig.* Pl. 85, i, or that of Kydrokles and his son (Sybel 227) figured *l.c.* Pl. 80. The stelè and its decoration are distinctively Attic and belong to the fourth century B.C. The inscription has been published by Böckh, *C.I.G.* 937 *b*; Kumanudes (after Böckh), 2760; Marshall, No. IV. [C.].

ΔΗΜΟΧΑΡΞΗΓ ΗΛΟΧΟΞ

Δημοχάρης· Ἡγήλοχος.

The mistaken orthography Ἡγήλοχος is not without parallel, though at a somewhat earlier date (see Köhler, *Mittheilungen des arch. Inst. in Athen*, x. 1885, pp. 363 foll.). This marble is interesting both as a fine example of this class of Attic sepulchral reliefs (it rather resembles the stelè published *ibid.* xii. 1887, Taf. ix.), and also as having been originally painted. For painted stelæ see *ibid.* x. 1885, Taf. xiii.; iv. 1879, Taf. i.—ii.; v. 1880, Taf. vi.; and *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* viii. 1884, p. 459, Pl. xiv.

8.

SEPULCHRAL STELÈ (Plate XIII.).

Stelè of white marble: existing height 0, 87 m. or 2 ft. 11 in.; greatest width 0, 31 or 1 ft., narrowing upwards about 0, 01. The upper part of the akroterion is broken, and the whole of the surface has undergone defacement by the weather, until the details of the ornamentation can no longer be recovered. The original marble is let into the wall in a dark corner of the Museum. By permission of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society a cast of the stelè was made and forwarded to Berlin, through the kind help of Mr. Waite, the Curator. From this cast was taken the accompanying plate.

The stelè was let into a base by means of a plug, which yet remains: the name of the deceased may possibly have been inscribed upon the base, now lost. Of the ornamentation of the *akroterion* all that can now be recognised are the general outlines of a volute and some faint traces of its detail. The whole surface of the stelè is occupied by a sculptured relief. On either side is a narrow border, and a somewhat broader band below. In relief upon a slightly-sunk background appears a female figure, standing to right, the left foot being advanced. She is draped in a long chiton with a diploidon; on the back of her head some kind of veil or other garment seems visible. Whether the right hand grasped this garment, or was merely raised by way of gesture, it is difficult to decide. With her left hand she gathers up the diploidon into a fold upon her bosom.

So far as the forms of the sculpture can be traced, they point to a work not perhaps of Attic origin, but of the fifth century B.C., somewhat after the style of the Bologna stelè (*Antike Denkmäler des Institutes*, i. Taf. 33, i.). [C.]

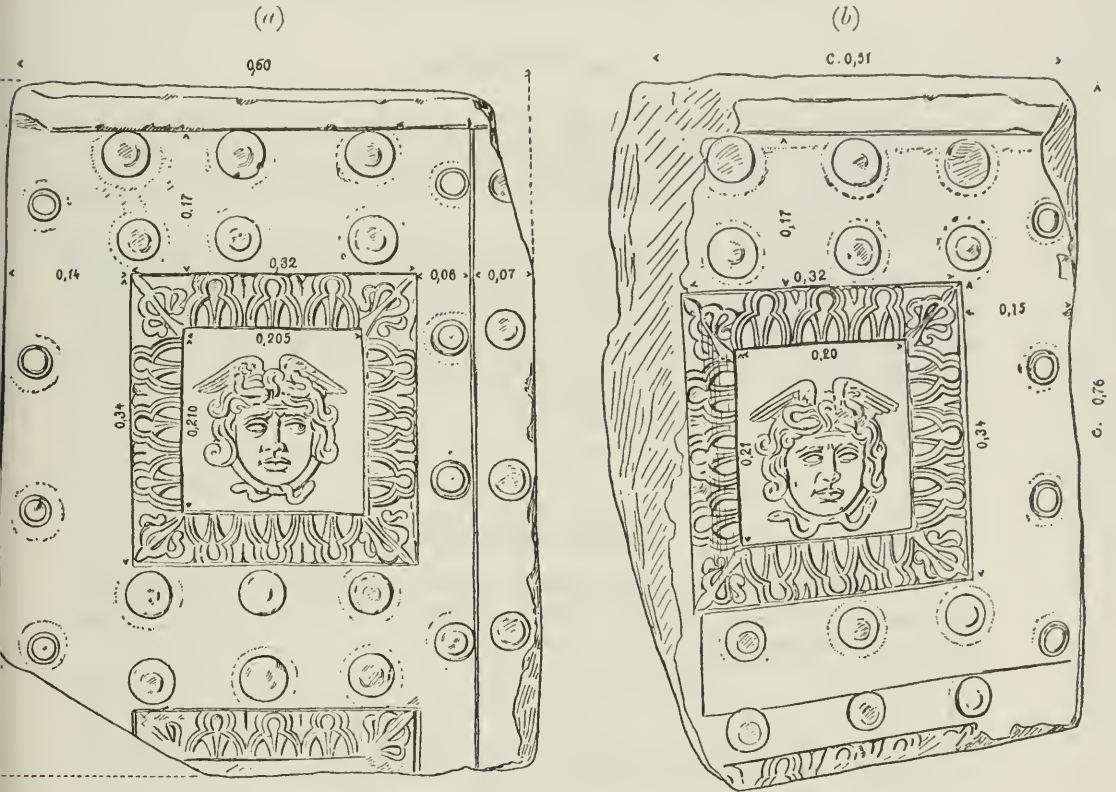
9.

TWO MARBLE DOORS.

Two sculptured blocks of white marble: one (*a*) about 0, 80 m. or 2 ft. 8 in. high in its present condition, the other (*b*) 0, 76 or 2 ft. 5 in. high and 0, 51 or 1 ft. 8 in. wide in its present condition; thickness from 0, 21 to 0, 15 or 5 in. to 7 in. The surface of the back, so far as could be observed, is

undressed. Both marbles are apparently injured somewhat at their upper edge, and certainly so below: *b* has also its left edge injured. The accompanying illustration is from photographs forwarded to Berlin through the kindness of Mr. Edgar R. Waite. It will be noticed that *b* had to be photographed in a somewhat foreshortened view.

We recognize here representations in marble of the upper portion of two leaves of a folding entrance door, including all details—the bronze nails, and the gorgoneion as the emblema on the panel. *a* belongs to the left door, for



10.

IONIC CAPITAL.

An Ionic capital of white marble; measuring in width, from the outer circumference of volute to volute, about 0, 77 or 2 ft. 6 in.; from front to back, about 0, 50 or 2 ft. 1 in.

Coarse in execution, of Hellenistic time [C.]

11.

HEAD OF MEDUSA.

A head of white marble: height of the face, about 0, 13. By supplying a modern neck, this head has been converted into a bust; the nose, the mouth and right cheek are also restorations. The head shows further marks of injury on the left side.

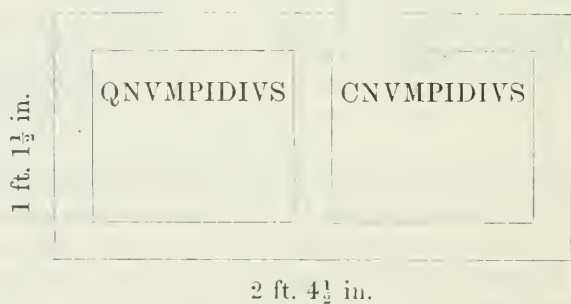
There can be no doubt as to the identification. The eyes are fast closed and the hair, though it has neither snakes nor wings, falls snake-like over the face. A hand clutches the head by the hair. In this head and hand we may recognise the remains of a statue of Perseus holding the head of Medusa; compare the group in the *Friedrichs-Wolters Berliner Gipsabgüsse*, No. 1559.

It is a work of the Roman period [C.]

12.

LATIN INSCRIPTION.

Two plain panels cut on one slab of marble, evidently from a tomb; in excellent preservation. *C.I.L.* vi, 23160a ('originis fortasse urbanae'), from a not quite accurate copy.



E. L. HICKS.

THE EGYPTIAN BASES OF GREEK HISTORY.

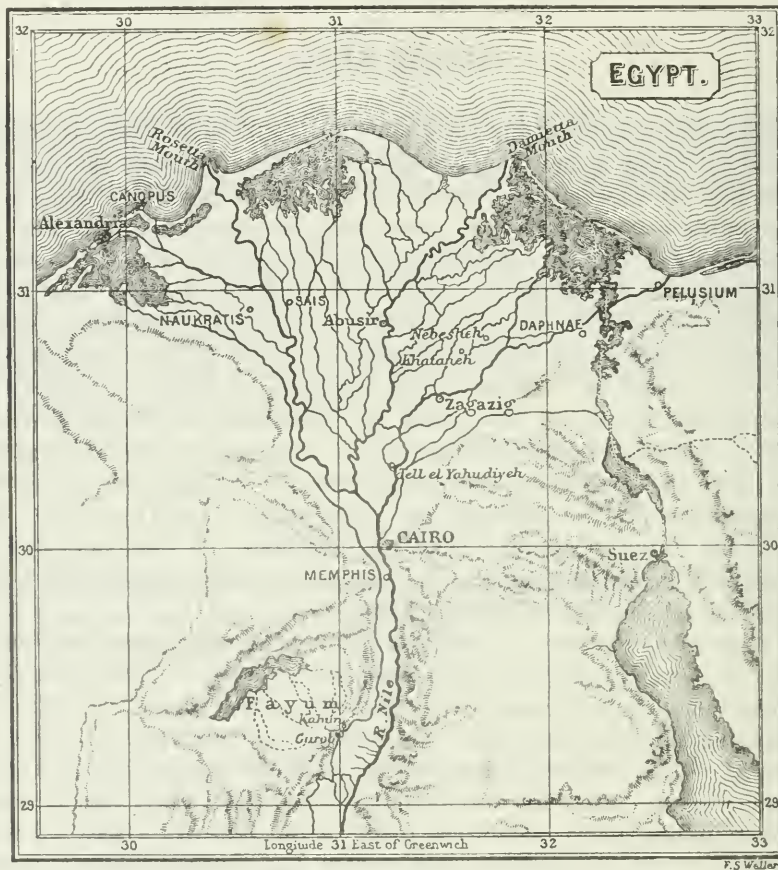
[PLATE XIV.]

SEVEN years ago nothing was known in Egypt which could be attributed to a Greek origin before the Alexandrine times; the early notices on the monuments, which seemed to refer to the peoples of the Mediterranean, stood alone, and their relation to what was known on Greek soil appeared vague and unreal. But now the main light on the chronology of the civilizations of the Aegean comes from Egypt; and it is Egyptian sources that must be thanked by classical scholars for revealing the real standing of the antiquities of Greece. Without the foreign colonies on the Nile, they would still be groping in speechless remains, which might cover either a century or a thousand years, for aught that could be determined in Greek excavations. Egypt has done for the pre-historic ages the same great office of conservator which she has performed for the historic period. To Egypt we are indebted for the manuscripts, the paintings, and the textiles of the Greek and Roman times; from Egypt have just come the fragments of Plato and Euripides which show the original text, and the letters and private papers which tell of the daily life of the Greeks dwelling there.

I propose here to sketch briefly the main results which have been attained by the recent excavations, in their bearing on the history of the Aegean peoples. The first step was the discovery of Naukratis, a site which I found teeming with fragments of Greek vases of the archaic and later periods. The main prosperity of the town was about 550 B.C.; and the temple sites of Aphrodite yielded a great variety of vases as early as that, while the temenos of Apollo contained many which were made before 600 B.C. Here we learned the source of the Naukratite style, which was already known elsewhere, but not yet identified with any place. The source of the numerous mock-Egyptian scarabs and amulets so commonly found at Rhodes was also found here—even the very factory was discovered with the moulds with similar scarabs lying about: and the kings' names used here show that this class of products was made about 580 B.C. The inscriptions on the pottery have yielded what Mr. Ernest Gardner considers—apparently on firm grounds—to be the oldest Ionic inscriptions, as well as some in the Korinthian, Melian, and Lesbian alphabets. The great number of these dedications—about 500 before the Persian age—gives them the more importance, since

mere accidental variations can be rejected. The details of this work were so thoroughly published in the two volumes on 'Naukratis,'¹ that we need only allude to it here.

The next step was the clearing of the Greek camp at Daphnae. Here a great fort had been built by Psammetikhos about 665 B.C. for his Greek mercenaries to guard the Syrian frontier—probably the twin to the great fort at Naukratis guarding the Libyan frontier. This settlement was ruined in 565 B.C. by Amasis, when he granted sole privileges of trade to Naukratis.



Thus its remains are limited to just a century, and the greater part of the painted pottery is still more closely limited to 595—565 B.C. by other details. This thirty years exactly covers the dates for five similar varieties of pottery, which I found and dated quite independently at Naukratis. So that we may

¹ *Naukratis*, Part I. 1884-5, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by C. Smith, E. A. Gardner, and B. V. Head; *Third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1886. *Nau-*

kratis, Part II., by E. A. Gardner and F. Ll. Griffith; *Sixth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1888.

confidently fix the stages of the various kinds of pottery found at Daphnae as close as a single generation. We often found, both at Naukratis and Daphnae, that iron tools of different forms to those of the Egyptians were commonly used; these show the types of implements invented by the Greeks. The gold work and abundance of small weights at Daphnae point to this place as the source of much of the Greek jewellery influenced by Egyptian designs: just as Naukratis was the home of the Graeco-Egyptian scarabs. The various points of local interest in these sites I do not refer to, as my object now is to note the remains illustrating the history of antiquities in Greece. The full details of Daphnae appeared in *Tanis*, ii.¹

Another discovery not far from here is connected with the Karian mercenaries. On a stela copied by Texier at Konieh a warrior is represented holding a double-pointed—or forked—spear. This very peculiar weapon seems therefore to have belonged to the south of Asia Minor. At the cemetery of Nebesheh I found a class of graves belonging to foreign mercenaries. They dated apparently from about 650 to 500 B.C., by their relation to neighbouring Egyptian burials. In these graves were foreign pottery, the globular form of pilgrim bottles with concentric circles; and spear-heads both with edges and of the forked form. The bodies also lay nearly all with the heads east, and without any sepulchral figures, whereas the Egyptian bodies lay nearly all with the heads west, and usually had an abundance of figures. We can hardly doubt that we have here the graves of the Karian mercenaries of Psammetikhos.

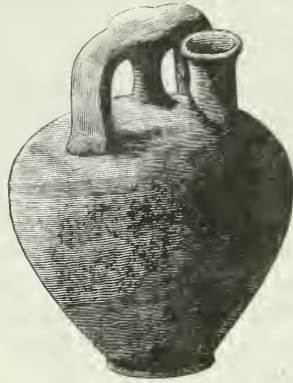
We see then that back to 650 B.C. we have secured a firm footing for Greek pottery at Naukratis and Daphnae. In what follows I should first state that I give the Egyptian chronology as indicated by the Sirius festival, which is far the most certain result, but is the lowest yet adopted; any other sources would lead to dates a century or two more remote.

The next step we obtain is from the pottery in a tomb at Kahun near the mouth of the Fayum. This tomb belongs to about 1100 B.C., or within fifty years of that, either way. It contained some dozens of bodies, and a great quantity of pottery, Egyptian, Phoenician, Cypriote, and Aegean. This latter term I use to avoid the historical question of the race which produced this early pottery, and the local question as to whether it belongs to the Peloponnessos, the islands, or the Asiatic coast. The principal vase of importance is here figured (Pl. XIV. fig. 1). It is of a fine light-brown paste, with red iron-glaze pattern. The form and the design are evidently from the same factory as the two octopus vases, which also came from Egypt—one in the Abbott collection at New York, the other found at Erment and now in the British Museum. This style of vase, with the beginning of natural designs, may then be assigned to about 1100 B.C. The whole contents of this tomb are together in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and will be published in '*Illahun*.'

¹ *Tanis*, Part II. Nebesheh (Am) and Delfench (Tahpanhes). By W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by A. S. Murray and F.

Ll. Griffith. *Fourth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1888.

The next style to consider is that of the false-necked vases, otherwise called *bügelkannen*, or 'pseud-amphorae.' I will not attempt to limit what their range may be in Cyprus or elsewhere; here we can only notice what is the Egyptian evidence. The most degraded of all were those found by Mr. Griffith at Tell el Yahudiyeh, of about 1050 B.C. (Ramessu VI.). These have no ornament, are roughly formed in a debased and clumsy way, of the plain red pottery of the country. The next stage is a neatly made example of native pottery, unornamented but much modified from the original shape. I found this at Gurob, dated to about 1150 B.C. (Seti II.). This is now in the



Ashmolean. The next form is an extra large size of fine paste, but not of the Aegean quality, with traces of red painting: fairly well formed, but not normal. This I found at Gurob dated to about 1200 B.C. (Ramessu II.). Now in the Ashmolean. Before that, about 1350 B.C. (Tutankhamen), I found perfectly formed examples of the true pale-brown paste, and iron-glaze lines with discs surrounded by a circle of dots as the only ornament. These are of the wide shallow type, elegantly shaped, and mark the highest stage of this form (Pl. XIV. fig. 2, in my possession). The earliest of all are of a deep, globular form, of which several were found dated to about 1400 B.C. (Amenhotep III.), with broad iron-glaze bands, and no other ornament, painted on a base of Aegean paste (Pl. XIV. fig. 3, in the British Museum). These are in the Ashmolean and British Museum. The details of these remains will be stated in '*Illahun*.'

We have then carried back a chain of examples in sequence, showing that the earliest geometrical pottery of Mykenae begins about 1400 B.C. and is succeeded by the beginning of natural designs about 1100 B.C. It may be asked how we come to find such a series in Egypt. These are part of the products of that great wave of Graeco-Libyan conquest which swept almost over Egypt time after time. Under Shishak the Libyans finally entered into power in Egypt, the outcome of their invasions which had been previously repelled by Ramessu III. (1100 B.C.), by Merenptah (1190 B.C.), and by Amenhotep (about 1600 B.C.). At the mouth of the Fayum they were firmly

established, and Aegean pottery is found there, along with customs of funeral sacrifice of property by fire. Another historical clue is found in that settlement by the supposed cloak pins, which are found in one class of Cypriote tombs. These are ribbed metal pins with an eye in the middle of the length; and the best explanation of their use is that they served as a fastening to a garment, passed through the hole like a swivel at the end of a watch-guard (Pl. XIV. fig. 4). These I have found in both gold and bronze; the brief history of the town dates them to about 1400—1200 B.C., and hence we reach a date for the tombs in Cyprus where they are found. Another interesting relic of these same Graeco-Libyan invasions was found at Abusir, in the middle of the Delta, and is in my possession. So far as the lower part of the figure is concerned it is exactly copied from the Greek island figures in marble, the treatment being quite unlikely in pottery, but imitating the rounded mass



and shallow grooving of the stone. The head shows however the Libyan lock of hair, the sign of that race. To the xiith century B.C. we must then approximately date this figure, and with it the marble figures found in the Greek islands.

So far we have dealt with facts which are now hardly controvertible, as to the well-fixed age of these vases. But we have pushed the dim period back, and must reckon with it in much earlier times. The civilization of Mykenae was no sudden apparition; it must have had centuries of preparation; and we now turn to what came before its time. In the ruins of a town of the XIIth dynasty, about 2500 B.C., at the mouth of the Fayum, there are many varieties of foreign pottery, altogether different to any known in the times through which we have previously gone back to—1400 B.C. The fact that these styles are almost all unknown hitherto; that they are mostly ruder than the pottery after 1400 B.C., that they are constantly associated with Egyptian pottery older than 2000 B.C., and that they are found in rubbish-

heaps which have never been disturbed since probably 2500 B.C., are all strong evidences of their great age.

At first the fine, hard, thin, light-brown paste, of Aegean origin, with iron-glaze bands, might seem to point to a much later time; any one who knows Greek pottery at once recognizes it as familiar. But the form of the most complete pieces of this show a type hitherto quite unknown. It has no lip, and no ornament about the mouth; simply a round hole is cut in the pottery, without any further design (Pl. XIV. fig. 5, in the British Museum). The only parallels to this which I know are a vase with similar mouth, found in rubbish-heaps of 2500 B.C. (Pl. XIV. fig. 6, in the British Museum), of the same form as a vase found inside the pyramid of that age; and also the earliest Amorite pottery in Palestine, some before 1500 B.C. The form therefore shows that we must not claim a late origin for this vase, but rather take back the date of the fine Aegean paste and iron glaze to the time indicated by the circumstances of the finding. Another piece which at first sight might look much later is a black spiral on a white ground (Pl. XIV. fig. 7, in the British Museum). But the mass of the pottery below the black iron glazing is of a curiously coarse kind, unlike any Greek pottery known, and it has a line of soft, powdery, bright-red colour on it, also unlike the known colours. This same soft red, and also soft yellow and white, is seen on a strange piece of black pottery with lines, and the Aegean pattern of discs surrounded by dots (Pl. XIV. fig. 8, in the British Museum). Nothing like this is known within the range of Greek pottery, yet it is wholly un-Egyptian, and the pattern shows its Aegean connection. Other pieces indicate rather an Italian origin. The impressed pattern is like some early Italian, rather than anything else (Pl. XIV. fig. 10, in the British Museum). And the incised black ware is exactly paralleled by some of the Italian *bucchero* in its colour, its form, its vandykes, and its spot-pricking (Pl. XIV. fig. 9, in the British Museum). Yet this pottery is only known in Egypt before 2000 B.C. M. Naville found it at Khatanah in very deep burials with scarabs of that age; and now it is found often in a town of the same period.

To what does this evidence tend? So far as we can venture to form a working hypothesis, we are led to carry back the Graeco-Libyan league to account for it. The whole of the early civilization of the Peloponnessos, commonly now known as the 'Mykenae period,' is a branch of the civilization of the bronze age in Europe, with but little contact with the East. Gaul, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and Libya all enjoyed a simultaneous civilization which brought these countries far more into contact with one another than with the Asiatic lands which played so great a part in the later-Greek culture. The fruit of this civilization, and its power, is seen in the vigorous wars which it made on Egypt, attacking and at last subduing the strongest and most homogeneous monarchy of ancient times. If this were the case in the second millennium B.C. as the Egyptian inscriptions show us, and if at that time the luxurious and beautiful objects found at Mykenae and Tiryns were being made, what wonder is it if this culture were already rising a thousand years earlier? The Egyptians were in contact with the northern people of the

Mediterranean as early as 2800 B.C., and the evidence of the weights and measures found in the town of 2500 B.C. shows that the inhabitants were mainly foreigners. This points to another possibility (suggested to me by Prof. Poole) that as in Manetho the XVth dynasty is named as of 'Hellenic Shepherd kings' (on which editors in their wisdom have made conjectural emendations) there may be some truth in this strange passage. Why may not a similar Mediterranean invasion have poured into Egypt in 2000 B.C. as it did in 1200, 1100 and 1000? The Libyo-Greek league may have been already strong enough to pour in a horde on the country already beaten down by the Hyksos invasion. And the co-operation (accidental or planned) of the Hittite and the western invasions under the Ramessides, may have had an earlier parallel with the Syrian Hyksos, and the Westerns before that. Whatever our conjectures in this dim period may be, we have to deal with the rise of the Libyo-Greek civilization, and the league to which it led.

The general results of my excavations from the Greek point of view then are: (1) That we have dated the Greek pottery to within a generation as far as 600 B.C. (2) That we have dated it to within a century as far back as 1400 B.C. (3) That we have tangible remains of the Greek or Libyo-Akhaian invasions of Egypt as far as this period. And (4) that we have pushed back the hazy and speculative region to before 2000 B.C., and shown some reasons for looking to a rise of European civilization before 2500 B.C. Egypt may yet have surprises in store for us.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

THE MAKING OF PANDORA.

[PLATES XI., XII.]

THE sculptured drum of the later Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, excavated by Mr. Wood, and now in the British Museum, is a familiar piece of sculpture.¹ Its interpretation however is still doubtful.

The best known view is that of Robert,² who connects the sculpture with the story of Alcestis, though not exactly with the story as told by Euripides. According to Robert's view Alcestis stands in Hades, about to depart. Hades and Persephone have given their sanction, Hermes Psychopompos escorts her, Death beckons to her to go, and Heracles stands on the left of the group, as a spectator. Robert's interpretation is attractive and poetical, but there are considerable difficulties, some of which are pressed against him by Benndorf in presenting his own view. The story does not correspond with the literary versions; the representation of Death as a beardless youth seems improbable, though not without parallel on the vases; the action of Persephone, holding up a necklace, which can hardly be neglected, is left unexplained.

Benndorf,³ having shown the difficulties in Robert's theory, proposes one of his own, and calls the scene the Judgment of Paris. The suggestion is striking, but hardly convincing. According to Benndorf, the groups are Hera decking herself with a necklace, in the presence of Zeus; Aphrodite draping herself, accompanied by Eros; Hermes bringing the goddesses to Paris, and Paris standing on the left. The difficulties here are that the subject seems an unlikely one; that its treatment departs widely from the established scheme; that the dark and gloomy look of the Eros, and the upthrown head and opened mouth of Hermes are unexplained. To this extent only I am in agreement with Benndorf, that in the seated figure I see Zeus, and in the winged figure I see Eros.

As no convincing interpretation has been brought forward, it appears that on any fresh suggestion the case must be heard *de novo*. The view I wish to advance in this paper is that the subject of the column may be the making and sending forth of Pandora, as told by Hesiod.

Pandora's story is told twice by Hesiod—once in the *Theogony*, and once

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, pls. 65, 66; Wood, *Ephesus*, frontispiece; published also by Robert and Benndorf in works cited below.

² Robert, *Thanatos*. 39th *Wienk-Annuar Programm*, 1879. The winged and sword-girt

figure had been previously identified with the Thanatos of the *Alcestis* by a writer in the *Saturday Review*, 1873, No. 898, p. 51.

³ *Bull. della Comm. Arch. Comunale di Roma*, 1886, p. 54.

more fully in the *Works and Days*. Zeus had hidden the fire from mankind, and Prometheus stole it, hidden in his reed. Zeus in his wrath devised a scheme of vengeance. He bade Hephaestus make a fair maiden, and bade Athene to teach her weaving and the other gods to give each a gift. When the gods had endowed Pandora, then Zeus bade Hermes take her to Epimetheus, and Epimetheus received her, contrary to the counsel of Prometheus.

In sculpture, the Birth of Pandora is known to have been represented by Pheidias on the base of the Parthenon.¹ Of the suggestions of this composition preserved to us I will speak later.

In extant works of art the story of Pandora appears but seldom. I believe that only three vases are known which certainly contain this subject.² It happens curiously that all three are in the British Museum. The three vases are:—

(1) The Bale cup.³ This is a kylix with the interior scene polychrome on a white ground. A doll-like Pandora, named by the inscription [A]nesidora, stands between Athene and Hephaestus. Athene appears to be draping the figure, and Hephaestus is adjusting the diadem on her head.

(2) A fragment of a rhyton, excavated at Paphos by the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and already published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.⁴ In that fragment parts of five figures are preserved from the knees downwards. Apparently Pandora stood stiffly to the front, between Hephaestus and Athene, who, I believe, was not leaning on her spear, as stated in the text, but probably had her spear resting against her shoulder, while her hands held out a wreath.

(3) A red-figured crater from Altamura, which is hitherto unpublished, and which I take this opportunity of publishing.⁵ On each side of the vase are two tiers of figures. On the upper row of the obverse of the vase (Pl. XI.) is the story of Pandora. Pandora stands stiffly, holding branches in her hands. Athene stretches out her wreath. Zeus, who is attended by Iris, is seated on the left with thunderbolt and sceptre. The remaining gods the vase-painter has drawn in typical attitudes, but without any special reference to their gifts. Poseidon and Hera stand, Hermes is represented as the running messenger, Ares as the warrior on the march.

In the lower tier we have a comic dance of four actors, in part Panes, in part Satyrs, accompanied by a citharist.

On the reverse of the vase (Pl. XII.), the upper tier of figures represents a graceful pantomimic dance of six girls, to the accompaniment of a citharist, and in the presence of a choregus.

Below we have a game of real Satyrs, if the expression is admissible to distinguish them from the actors. Four Satyrs are playing, two riding on the shoulders of two others. A Maenad and a boy Satyr, who has been driving

¹ Paus. I. 23. 7; Ptoxy H.N. XXXV. v. 19.

² For doubtful vases, cf. Lennep and De Witte, *Ess.* I. p. 166, and plate I.

³ Br. Mus. No. D. 62 from the Bale collection;

Gerhard, *Feigedelen und Hekelmann*, pl. 1; Miss Harrison, *Melancholy and Mementos of Ancient Athens*, p. 170.

⁴ Vol. ix. p. 221.

⁵ No. F. 113. Height 1 ft. 7½ in.

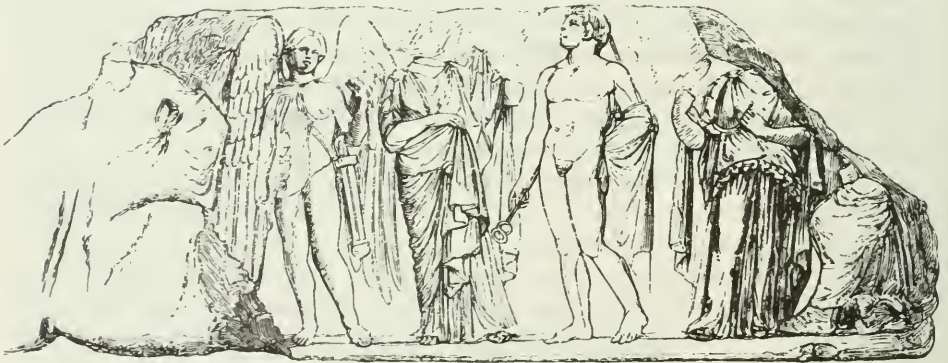
his hoop, are watching. An older Satyr, who seems to be taking a less active part in the game, holds out a ball, while the mounted Satyrs appear to be holding out their hands in order to catch it. I have not found any game that



exactly corresponds to the scene represented, but the game of *ephedrimos*, as described by Pollux (ix. 119), combines the riding and the play with a ball :

‘ In ephedrimos they set up a stone at a distance and aim at it with balls or stones. He who fails to knock it over carries him who has succeeded until, with his eyes covered, he reaches the stone, which is called *δίωπος*.’

Having ascertained the typical scheme in which the story of Pandora is depicted so far as our scanty materials allow, we may return once more to the



Ephesian drum, and examine how far it agrees with the scheme and with Hesiod. In discussing the different figures I follow the order of Hesiod's tale.

Zeus as is fitting, is seated, probably at the end of the group. His body

is lost from the middle upwards. That we have here one of the principal gods can hardly be doubted, whatever may be the subject of the relief; and the position of this figure closely corresponds to the Zeus of the Pandora vase (Pl. XI.). Hephaestos, to whom Zeus entrusted the making of Pandora, has finished his work, and he stands on the extreme left of the extant portion of the relief. In previous publications of the column only the left arm and drapery of a male figure are shown. But I believe that there is a portion of the original surface further to the left, showing a part of a stick. The whole figure, so far as it can be recovered, appears to be that of a man, nude except for a mantle, standing with a stick as a support under the right arm, and with the left hand resting on the thigh. In his way of leaning on a stick he may be compared with the supposed Hephaestos of the East Frieze of the Parthenon.

In the middle of the scene stands Pandora. Naturally the sculptor has not copied the strange doll-like figures of the vase-painters. His Pandora stands stiffly turned to the front, and in the lower part of the drapery there is a formality which suggests the typical figure of the vases. But in the upper part of the figure there is life, and she is seen putting her mantle about her with both hands, as for a journey. It has been objected that Pandora is going away without her gifts, but this would have been less marked if the head was preserved, turning towards Hermes, and it may fairly be argued that the sculptor has combined two moments in his endeavour to tell the whole story.

The remaining figures are gods, bestowing their gifts and preparing to lead Pandora to Epimetheus. Athene is not seen here, as on the three vases. We must suppose that she stood next to Hephaestos where the marble is broken away. A goddess stands near Zeus, holding out a necklace or, it may be, a diadem in her two hands. We are told by Hesiod

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ χάριτες τε θεὰ καὶ ποτνία Πειθὼ
ῥρμους χρυεῖους ἔθεσαν χροῖ.

(*Works and Days*, l. 73.)

If we follow Hesiod, we should call this figure Peitho. But the way in which she stands close beside the knees of Zeus suggests that the gift of Peitho has been transferred to Hera, who in the vase merely stands watching. The necklace thus gains the significance which in Robert's theory it lacks. It must be noted that the decking of Pandora with a necklace, a wreath or a diadem is prominent in all forms of the myth, for a reason which I discuss below. In the *Theogony* (l. 578) Hephaestos gives a marvellous diadem wrought by himself, and in the Bale cup he puts his hand to the diadem of Pandora. In the *Theogony* also (in a suspected passage, l. 576) Athene puts wreaths of fresh grass on the head of Pandora. On the crater and, I conjecture, on the rhyton Athene holds out a wreath. In the *Works and Days* (l. 65), while the Graces and Peitho gave necklaces, the Seasons crowned the woman with spring flowers.

The two figures that remain are Eros and Hermes, standing one on each

side of Pandora. Aphrodite is not present. The sculptor has chosen to put the gift in place of the giver. Zeus had ordered

χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσέην Ἀφροδίτην
καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδῶνας

(*Works and Days*, l. 65),

and Pandora is therefore accompanied by Love viewed in his dark and grievous aspects. His look is gloomy, he is girt with a sword,¹ and makes a beckoning gesture to Pandora.

The beautiful figure of Hermes, as I would interpret it, is meant to suggest both his special gifts to Pandora, and his office as messenger. Hermes, by command of Zeus, gave lying and deceit, but also he gave speech and called the woman Pandora—

ἐν δ' ἄρα φωνήν
θῆκε θεῶν κῆρυξ, ὀνόμηνε δὲ τήνδε γυναῖκα
Πανδώραν.

(*Works and Days*, l. 79.)

The most curious detail in the Hermes is the way in which his mouth is opened. It is so marked that the draughtsmen who have drawn the figure seem afraid to do it justice.² While the teeth are not much opened, the lips are forced apart like the lips of a person talking in dumb show. Is it going too far to suppose that the sculptor meant to convey that Hermes, with head thrown back and lips parted, is breathing forth the gift of speech to Pandora? Meanwhile the caduceus and petasus and action of stepping forward remind us of the messenger who brought the fated woman to Epimetheus—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δόλον αἰπὺν ἀμήχανον ἐξετέλεσεν,
εἰς Ἐπιμηθέα πέμπει πατὴρ κλυτὸν Ἀργειφόντην
δῶρον ἄγοντα, θεῶν ταχὺν ἄγγελον.

(*Works and Days*, l. 83.)

Such is the interpretation that I wish to put forward for the Ephesian column. It is subject to the uncertainty that attends an explanation based on a small number of instances. I may mention however that the idea first suggested itself to me on seeing a drawing of the base of the Parthenos, so far as it is preserved in the copy found at Pergamon.³ That relief, which is unfortunately much mutilated, is probably copied, as Puchstein argues, from the Birth of Pandora by Pheidias. Several figures were sufficiently alike to suggest the connection, but it must be added that the resemblance appears greater at the first glance than subsequently. Another copy of the composition of Pheidias is preserved in the Lenormant

¹ Cf. Benndorf, *loc. cit.* p. 60.

Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpt.*, p. 535.

² I fear that in the cut given here the open mouth is exaggerated. It is shown correctly in

³ *Jahrb. des Inst. Arch.* v. p. 114.

statuette. We gather from it that Helios and Selene bounded the scene, but the remaining figures are too rudely sketched to be of any service.

The question will be asked, what claim the myth of Pandora can have to appear in a temple of Artemis. But perhaps the connection is not so remote as at the first sight it may appear.

It must be remembered that at Ephesos we have not to deal with the chaste huntress goddess. The Artemis of Ephesos is a monstrous creature. Her idol is covered with breasts, and covered head to foot with figures of countless animals, as lions, bulls, bees and others. In short, there can be no doubt that the Artemis of Ephesos is an Asiatic goddess, in the most direct manner emblematic of the fruitfulness of the earth.

The significance of Pandora is no less certain. On the Bale cup she is called Anesidora, she who sends up gifts from the soil. For her Hephaestus made a diadem wrought with figures of animals—

τῇ δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχато, θαῦμα ιδέσθαι
κνώδαλ', ὅσ' ἡπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδὲ θάλασσα.

(*Theogony*, l. 581.)

For her, as we have seen, Athene and the Seasons brought wreaths of grass and spring flowers, statements which indicate that Hesiod was conscious of Pandora's true significance. To her in the latest days of paganism Apollonius of Tyana¹ addressed his prayers, and from her apparently obtained that a piece of ground should be fertile both of olives and treasure.

It is no part of my argument that the sculptor has confused the personalities of the two beings; but a reason may be found for his choice of a subject in the absolute identity of functions of the Asiatic Artemis and the Hellenic Pandora.

A. H. SMITH.

¹ Philostr. *Vita Apoll. Tyana*. vi. 39.

TWO GREEK RELIEFS.

IN the bas-relief room of the Naples Museum is a well-known relief of Hellenic workmanship from Herculaneum, the importance of which has often been pointed out in connection with the art-type of three female figures, variously taken to represent the Charites, the Nymphs, the three goddesses or the daughters of Kekrops, according to the company in which they are found. Inside a plain shrine represented by two antae supporting an architrave, above which are seven knobs indicating the anthemia of the roof-ridges, are seven female figures hand in hand, six of them of the same size and the last smaller. The first three, two of whom are looking to the left, wear over a long chiton a himation wrapped over the left shoulder in the usual manner, and remind one somewhat of the Pyrrichist base in the Acropolis Museum; the second trio are simply clad in Doric girdled chiton, two of these also looking to the left: the seventh is a small similarly clad female figure seen full face. It is noticeable that the central figure is absolutely full face and that those at the two ends have their faces slightly turned towards the centre, a device for securing the symmetry of the group. The connection of this work with the archaic coloured relief, lately discovered on the Acropolis and published by M. Lechat in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for 1889, in which Hermes piping precedes the three Graces who follow hand in hand to the left, their faces seen full, and lead after them a small similarly dressed figure, has been pointed out most recently by Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*; but the interesting names inscribed below the Naples relief (*C.I.G.* iv. 6854*e*) seem to have been disregarded. Either they are a forgery, in which case the fact should certainly be established; or, if genuine, they seem to confirm the identification of the Acropolis group with the Charites and to supply an interesting clue to this mysterious small figure. Under the first trio are the names given to the Graces in later times, ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΑΓΛΑΙΗ ΘΑΛΙΗ. The next three bear the apparent fancy names of ΙΣΜΗΝΗ ΚΥΚΑΙΣ ΕΠΑΝΝΩ.

The diminutive figure, which ends the row and is certainly female, is inscribed ΤΕΛΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ. It can hardly be said that this is a purely fancy name; for why should so curious a title have been devised for a female figure? Pape and Benseler give it as a proper name, but again why so strange a one? If the figure were male, the smallness of its stature would easily be understood as the natural representation of a mortal in the presence of immortals,

and it might be taken for the dedicator, though even so the name would be surprising. But Telonnesos suggests irresistibly a place, and a female impersonation of a city is quite natural. The sex of the Acropolis figure may be doubted, but it is dressed in a precisely similar way to the three Charites and only distinguished from them by the absence of the polos: while no one could deny the possibility of its being female, everything points in that direction. It appears that the actual form Telonnesos does not occur as a place name; but the island Telos suggests itself at once, and for the form such names as Halonnesos and Prokonnesos are sufficient justification. If it be allowed then that Telonnesos is here the name of a place, it will be a strong argument for a similar explanation of the small figure in the Acropolis relief, which will no longer be either the dedicator or some subordinate hero associated with the worship of Hermes and the Charites (as M. Lechat suggests), but the representative of the community which set up this votive offering on the Acropolis. This theory may be at any rate said to have a strong probability in its favour, unless it can be shown that the Naples inscription is forged.

G. C. RICHARDS.

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TACHYGRAPHY.

[PLATES IX., X.]

THE Vatican MS. numbered Regina 181, written in 1364 and containing the medical works of Actuarius, has at various parts of it several more or less continuous pieces of tachygraphy that, considering the late date of the MS. and the character of the tachygraphical system itself, are very remarkable. I was made aware of the existence of these specimens of tachygraphy from Signor Enrico Stevenson's recent catalogue of the Queen of Sweden and Pio II. collection (Rome 1888), and on a recent visit to Rome I had photographs taken of two of the principal passages where tachygraphy is employed: these are reproduced here.

The MS. itself is a paper book, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5, written according to the subscription in 1364: for a fuller description and a list of the contents I may refer to Signor Stevenson. The tachygraphical matter in the book falls into three divisions: first, certain passages in the text, where, departing from his ordinary usage, the scribe suddenly as it were drops into shorthand; secondly, a formal table of tachygraphical and other signs, with their interpretations at the end of the book; and lastly, two notes of considerable length, and of somewhat uncertain meaning, which are written on either side of an empty page between the table of contents and the text.

I. To deal first with the passages in the text. The text is written in a regular, small, rather poor fourteenth-century hand, without many abbreviations of any sort: the sign for *ἀπό* however is frequent, and I find isolated instances of signs for *καί*, *ὁμοῦ*, *τὸν*, and *-τοῖς* in *τούτοις*. There appear to be five passages in which the scribe, for whatever reason, has departed from the usual practice of writing out in full and adopted a more or less tachygraphical system. It may be convenient to give these passages here, as far as they can be reproduced in print, and to transcribe them.

I. F. 219v. $\sigma\hat{\iota}\zeta$ ὑπο ῥυγονος θ^{ss} δειχθεῖσι παρὰ χρ^α ἐν περιώδυνίαι
ἀρχονται συμβαίνειν σπασμοί τε συνεχεῖς ῥόνος ῥ διανοίας παρὰφόρα ετα
δὲ ταῦτα ἀφωνία τὰ σκείμους $\sigma\sigma$ αὐτὸς ἐ ὁ ἐπληγὼς ὑπος $\lambda\lambda$ ἡ κύκλω ῥ

ἀ /λήσιον αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφὴν ἀναίσθητα ἐπ' ἂν δέ τις αὐτῷ ἀπόψη ἰχώρ
ἀπ' αὐ / τοῦ μέλας τραχὺς δυσώδης ἐκκρίνεται· ἀρμόζει δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ὅσα — .

τοῖς ὑπο τρύγοις? δειχθεῖσι παραχρήμα μὲν περιωδυνίαι ἄρχονται
συμβαίνειν σπασμοὶ τε συνεχεῖς καὶ πόνος καὶ διαανοίας [sic] πυραφύρα μετα
δὲ ταῦτα ἀφωνία καὶ σκοτισμὸς ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτὸς τε ὁ πεπληγὸς τόπος μέλας
γίνεται κύκλω καὶ τὰ πλησίον αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφὴν ἀναίσθητα ἐπ' ἂν ὁ
τις αὐτὸν ἀπόψη ἰχώρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέλας τραχὺς δυσώδης ἐκκρίνεται ἀρμόζει
δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὅσα — .

II. F. 220r. ἡ ἐπὶ ὧν ἐχεοδῆκτων ἐροῦεν ἔτι δὲ ρ ἴς ὧι ἡ ψινθίων
ἐλελίσφάκου ἡ θείου ξυνόζει· καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἀναπτύχθησ' καὶ ἐσθίεισ' (ἡ ἰδίας ἡ
πληγῆς ἱάμα : + εὖ δὲ ὑπὸ γαλῆς δειχθεῖσι κύκλω ἐν ρ ὅπου ἡ δηγμα
φλεγμονή· φλυκτὶς δὲ ἐπανίσταται μελαινα ἐστὴ ἰχώρος ὑδατώδους ἡ τλήσι
ἐπειὰ γελοιῶται· ῥ γάσης τε τῆς φλυκτὶς τὸ νομὴ ὑλαμβάνει / ψ τλήσιον
ἀπο ὧν ἐρπύτρων συνοῦ οἷς δὲ ἀρέσεται ἡ σρόφος περὶ ἡ ἐνέρα ἡ δυσουρία ἡ
ψυχρας νοτίδος περίχυσις.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχεοδῆκτων ἐροῦμεν ἔτι δὲ ἡρτισμοὶ [?] ἀρτισμοὶ] ἀψινθίων.
ἐλελίσφάκου ἡ θείου ξυνόζει· καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἀναπτύχθησ' [?] κατεσθίεισ' [?]
τῆς ἰδίας γίνεται πληγῆς ἱάμα : τοῖς δὲ ὑπο τ[ο]ν γαλῆς δεχθεῖσι· κύκλω
μὲν πρὸς τὸν τόπον τοῦ δῆγματος φλεγμονή· φλυκτὶς δὲ ἐπανίσταται
μέλαινα μεστὴ ἰχώρος ὑδατώδους καὶ τὰ πλησίον ἔπειτα πελιοῦται· ῥω-
γάσης τε τῆς φλυκταίδος νομὴ ἀναλαμβάνει παρα πλησίον τῶν ἀπο τῶν
ἐρπύτρων σὺν τούτοις δὲ παρέπεται καὶ στρόφος περὶ τὰ ἐντερα καὶ
δυσουρία καὶ ψυχρας νοτίδος περίχυσις.

III. F. 240 v. ἡ περὶ ἡ θηριακῆς ἀντιδύτου λόγον — ἡ συν ἡ θενται
ἡ ἰδίοσις / ἐφεξῆς περὶ ὧν λοιπῶν ἐροῦν ἀντιδότ' — οὐ πᾶσας δὲ ἐκ
θήσομαι· εὖ μῆκος γὰρ οὐ ἐπὶ ἂν ἐπιταθείη τὸ βιβλίον.

καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς θηριακῆς ἀντιδότου λόγον — καὶ συντίθενται ἀντί-
δοσις ἐφεξῆς περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐροῦμεν ἀντιδότων — οὐ πᾶσας δὲ ἐκ-
θήσομαι· εἰς μῆκος γὰρ οὐ μέτριον ἂν ἐπιταθείη τὸ βιβλίον.

IV. F. 265 v. ἐπίβαλε μέλιτος ὃ σύ εἰς ῥον ἡ βραχὺ ἐψήσεις ἡ διηθήσας
δίδου πίνειν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ κόψαντες λείαν ἢν χαμελαίαν καὶ ἡ ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὴν μὲν ἡ
ἡ ἀψινθίων δὲ κόμησ' ὃ διπλάσιον· ἀντὶλα : οὐ εἰς ἡ εἰς ἐφθῶ κατα ποτὶ
διδόασιν.

ἐπίβαλε μέλιτος τὸ σύμμετρον· καὶ βραχὺ ἐψήσεις καὶ διηθήσας δίδου
πίνειν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ κόψαντες λείαν τὴν χαμελαίαν καὶ ἐμβαλόντες αὐτ[ή]ς μὲν
ἡ ἡ ἀψινθίων δὲ κόμης τὸ διπλάσιον ἀναλαμβάνοντες [ς] μελιτι ἐφθῶ κατὰ
πότον διδόασιν.

I may observe by way of explanation that in setting these passages into

print I have omitted any peculiarities unimportant to the actual tachygraphical signs, and have expanded the ligatures and ordinary abbreviations; where a shorthand symbol occurs however, I have represented its immediate surroundings as accurately as possible. Next I may offer some observations upon details, remarking generally that as these passages come without exception from Book V. of Actuarii, which is unedited, it has been impossible to compare a printed text for the elucidation of the context. In No. I. the fourth word, θ^{ss} , has no very apparent meaning, at least I have not been able to hit on one to suit it. The rest of the paragraph runs smoothly. Some of the signs in the original are distorted, but as it is impossible to give more than an approximation to them in print, comment on them would lose its point. The word $\sigma\sigma$ in line 4 is an instance of a plural abbreviation formed by doubling the single sign, a practice common though little noticed. In line 7 the sign before $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ must be a development of that for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, which in the tenth century appears as β . The sign immediately in front of $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ is apparently the ordinary form for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ plus the stroke for π . In No. III. the double dots, above and below iota, in $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ are singular: obviously the τ dots are placed beneath to avoid confusion with the natural dots of the iota itself. Nos. III. and IV. call for no remark, except that in the last word but one in IV., $\pi\acute{o}\tau\omicron\nu$, I do not know if the dots are due to a mistake in my copy: they seem superfluous.

It is convenient, before I pass to the two facsimiles, to consider the shorthand system that is used in these portions of the text of the MS. It is to be found commonly stated that two systems of Greek shorthand are known to have existed—one, the earlier, of which no specimen now remains, but separate signs from which have passed into, and form the greater part of, the usual system of abbreviation that is found in Greek MSS.; the second and later system, of which we have considerable examples in books of the tenth and eleventh centuries, agreeing to some extent with the older, but also differing largely from it, and that has contributed to Greek book-contraction a certain number of signs, which seem, where they occur, to bear a more specifically tachygraphical nature than the others. In the manuscript with which I am dealing, the bulk of the book contains the ordinary signs for contraction; the more abbreviated passages that I have collected above offer a modification of the later tachygraphy, that consists in two points; first the use of several new signs; second, a difference in usage due to the general influence of the century in which the book was written. The new signs used are / for π , .. beneath the following letter for μ , and apparently : for β ; of these the signs for π and μ are in very frequent employment (cf. $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ in facs. 1, fifth line from the top), that for β occurs only twice ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma$, No. IV. line 3, facs. 1 $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron$). None of them occur in tenth century tachygraphy; the reader, consulting the tables in Rüss' *Zur griechische Tachygraphie* (Neuburg 1882), will find that all three letters are represented by other signs in that storehouse of later tachygraphy, Vat. 1809. Beside these, there are some differences that, though not novelties in themselves, mark the natural development of writing during three centuries. The distortion or alteration

of the actual symbols can, as I have already said, not be represented in print, but the two facsimiles, to be hereafter considered, will, if compared with Gitlbauer's facsimile of Vat. 1809, or with (to mention only English reproductions) the Palaeographical Society's facsimiles of Add. MSS. 18231, Angelica B. 3.11, and two or three MSS. from Grotta Ferrata, make it plain what a new aspect the fourteenth-century scribe gave to the signs that we find in their normal form in the tenth. More particularly however, there is to be noticed the change in the manner of application of the dot-abbreviations, that is to say τ and μ .¹ In tenth century MSS. the dots that indicate τ (μ of course does not come into question) are joined invariably with other symbols, and superadd τ to those symbols, that is to say the dots to be applied need a sign, a form, to receive them. But in Reg. 181, the scribe applies them with freedom, equally to symbols and to words written out in full; the first word in No. I., $\tau\omicron\varsigma$, in tenth century tachygraphy must, if the τ was included in the contraction, be $\tau\omicron$; here it is $\omicron\varsigma$; in line 4, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is $\alpha\upsilon\delta\varsigma$, but earlier it would have been $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$, or rather $\tau\omicron$, omitting the former syllable; again $\tau\alpha$ in Reg. 181 is α , earlier it must have been \div or at least $\tau\div$: in No. II. line 1 $\omicron\nu$ in the tenth century was α or $\alpha\alpha$, and ϵ (I. line 4) was \cdot/\cdot . We see in Reg. 181 the same free use of the $\cdot\cdot$ for μ , though, as the sign does not exist in the earlier tachygraphy, there is no opportunity of comparing the respective usage. The reason for this difference of usage is plain. The employment of abbreviations, while on the whole it probably became greater in the later centuries, was certainly limited to fewer and fewer cases, that is, a smaller selection of words were abbreviated, but these were abbreviated more frequently. This is a universal and easily-observed phenomenon. Now, applying this to Reg. 181, one sees that there were a smaller number of words likely to be rendered by compendiums; and consequently that, when the scribe applied his dots for τ and μ , he would be likely to apply them in a greater number of cases to full words than to symbols. Thus this usage, that strikes strangely on any one who is acquainted with earlier tachygraphy, finds its explanation in the natural development of writing. Other usages that betray the late character of the MS. are in No. III. line 3, $\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, when the word was already fully rendered by ϵ ; and in facsimile I. $\text{L.}\alpha$ for $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$, where L. is by itself $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$. The forgetting the full force of a compendium, and its unnecessary supplement by other elements, are signs characteristic either of an inexperienced scribe or of a late age; I may refer for examples of such abusive uses of the signs for $\alpha\pi\omicron$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ to my *Notes on Greek Abbreviations*, p. 7, 18.

The specimens that I have commented upon require to be compared with the only others of the sort that I know; a passage produced from the fifteenth century MS. of Lucian, Vat. Pal. 73, by M. Desrousseaux, in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, École française de Rome*, 1886, p. 544 sq.

The same system evidently is employed in this passage: M. Desrousseaux notices the $/$ for π , the $\cdot\cdot$ for μ , and the joining of the dots for τ with uncon-

¹ Compare the similar remarks of Desrousseaux, *l.c.* p. 544.

tracted syllables. There appear to be two peculiarities of the fifteenth century MS. that do not occur in the Reg. 181: the *single* point for *ν*, and a very remarkable inverted Tau, in the sense of the ordinary letter.

It is a natural and interesting question to enquire from what quarter and under what circumstances these changes in the later tachygraphical system were made. At present however, and till a clue is found earlier than the fourteenth century, it is a question that need not be compromised by hypotheses.

One may also ask the question how it comes about that this MS. in particular is abbreviated in this manner. It is true it is a medical work, and there is a certain connection in practice between mathematical and scientific MSS. and unusual abbreviations. This however is hardly enough; there are many scientific MSS. that exhibit the ordinary technical signs for number, quantity, etc., and yet are no more influenced by tachygraphy than any other book: and in Reg. 181 these medical signs occur freely, without bringing with them in most places any tachygraphical following. Possibly the occurrence of the tachygraphical notes before the text may suggest that the scribe was practically acquainted with the shorthand system of his century, and used it habitually for his own private memoranda; and accordingly was able, according to his fancy and the requirements of space, to introduce it here and there in a book that he might be writing.

II. On page 284r., at the end of the text, there occurs a table of signs, with their meanings. This is given in the second facsimile, Pl. X. The title runs, ἀρχὴ συν θῶ † ἐρμηνεία τῶν στερεῶν γραμμάτων τῶν σημαδακῶν: this word may be meant for *σηματικῶν*. And at the end there are these verses:

εἴπερ θέλεις με μανθάνειν ὦ παιδίον
πληγῶν δὲ πολλῶν μηδ' ὅλως πείραν λαβεῖν
παίδεβε τὸν νοῦν μηδαμῶς ἔξω τρέχειν
ἀλλ' ἔνδον εἶναι καὶ σχολάζειν ὡς δέον
μή πως μεταγνῶς εἰ ῥαθυμεῖς εἰς τέλος.

(A few errors in the transcript in the Vatican catalogue are here silently corrected.)

Tables of abbreviations with explanations are not very infrequent in MSS. Those that I have myself met with are in Vat. 2200 of the ninth or tenth century (where the heading is simply *σημεῖα*), Modena, Bibl. Estense ii. D. 14 (s. xv.)¹ and Angelica C. 2, 6, s. xvi. (*τινα ἴδια χαρακτηρίσματα, συντομίας χάριν τῆς ἐν τῷ γραφεῖν*). They are usually added on account of the peculiar character of the MS. itself, which has made necessary an unusual number of tachygraphic symbols, a key to which it is thought may be useful to the reader. We see however here, that several of the signs mentioned in the

¹ Acts and Epistles. The syllables given are εἶναι, τοῦτον, γάρ. Most of these do not occur ἔστω, πρὸς, διὰ (mistake for ἔσται), ὅτι, ἔρα, in the text.

table occur nowhere in the MS.; such are *μου, σου, άλλα, αὐ, ταῦ, αὐτοῦ, καρ, δερ* [but *δος* No. II. *φλυκταῖδος*], *ερ, την, ἐπὶ, το, φυ, μα, κα, ἐκ, της, εὔ, ὑπερ, τοῦ, ταν, σας*. If then so large a number of the signs explained in the table do not occur in the book, what was the intention of the table? This question cannot be answered with any certainty. Possibly the archetype, or the ultimate archetype, was far more abbreviated, and this table was originally appended to it and then copied by successive scribes; or, possibly, the writer of Reg. 181 was a tachygraph of experience, who out of his knowledge composed a list of symbols for general utility without particular reference to his own manuscript. Some other solution may be advanced with equal probability. It may be said that the separate and independent character of the table seems marked by the title, and by the verses at the end: they give it the character of a manual for a pupil, and remind one of the list of ligatures and contractions that found its place till lately in Greek Grammars from that of Aldus (Ven. 1507, *abbreviationes perpulcræ scitu, quibus frequentissimo graeci utuntur indifferenter et in principio et in medio et in fine dictionis*) onwards.

One may remark that the list appears to have been made for practical purposes, and is not either exclusive or consistent. So there appear the quite common forms *ἀν, ὅτι, ἐρ, ἐστιν, δε, εἰσίν, τα, τας, τες, οὖν, ὡς, εἶναι, διὰ, ἐν, α, γαρ, ναι, τους*; and some that merely disguise their identity with these—*μεν, τᾶν*, with one of two words, *ὑπερ τὰς*. To notice the forms in detail, *νοῦ* and *μοῦ* appear to be lineal descendants of the *Υ* and *Ϛ* of Vat. 1809; at least, no new system seems to be involved. *Ἄλλα* occurs, to my knowledge, in Laur. 5, 22, see Vitelli, *Musco Italiano*, i. p. 13, tav. VI. 3 (Prof. Vitelli has corrected his former interpretation of this sign). *Κατὰ* is normal, so are *αὐ* and *ταῦ*:¹ *ἀν* is the older *Λ*, in its usual shape of the fourteenth century; *αὐτοῦ* is the *Ɑ* of the Grotta Ferrata tachygraphs;² *ὅτι, καρ, δερ*, call for no remark; *ἦρ*, a form less rare than once supposed,³ is provided with an enigmatical dot, *ερ* has a pair. As neither of these forms occur in the text of the MS., and *ηρ* is unfound, and *ερ* rare in MSS. of this age, we cannot test the exactness of what we are given here in the table; but it is not difficult to believe that at so late a period, the diacritic dot, inorganic and supplied more or less at will to distinguish nearly identical forms, played a larger part than in earlier centuries when writing was more careful and forms more clearly differentiated. The next signs call for no remark: in *δε* the scribe has omitted the dots that are usual at this period, *εἰς* is the old new-tachygraphical form; in the text, No. III. line 3, as I have noticed above, the writer misuses the symbol, supplying the already represented sigma. *Εἰσίν, τὰ, τὰς, τέσ* are familiar; the former of these and other common syllables, though they do not need any discussion here, are instructive examples of graphical evolution, when compared with the same forms three or four hundred years before. *Ἐπὶ*

¹ *ταῦτι* originally, but the *τι* has been erased. This is not shown clearly in the plate.

² As this mode of contracting *αὐτός* is rare, I may mention that it occurs (*αὐτοῦ* and *αὐτόν*)

frequently in the Paris MS. Coislin 387 (s. xi.).

³ *E.g.* it may be found in Coislin 387, Laur. S. Marco 304 (s. xi.), and Laur. 34, 28 (s. xi.).

is of course $\overline{\gamma}$ of the new-tachygraphy: $\tau\omicron$ has suffered, possibly from a confusion: the early form is \mathfrak{S} ; $\phi\nu$ is blunted down from \mathfrak{T} ; I do not know if $\lambda\alpha\iota$ is a simple error, the Grotta Ferrata form is \mathfrak{V} ; $\mu\alpha$ has an extra angle added to it, it should be merely $>$. $\epsilon\kappa$ appears twice in the list; the first form is clearly a softening down of the \wedge of the tenth century; of the second form perhaps no certain account can be given. But for the dot beneath one would be inclined to think that in some confusion of mind the scribe had written the sign of $\epsilon\upsilon$ twice over; but the dot suggests that it was intended to differentiate it from that sign. Possibly in the source from which the list was made up the forms for $\epsilon\kappa$ may have assumed such different aspects that the compiler thought he recognised two separate symbols. In $\epsilon\upsilon$ he has apparently run the circumflex and the symbol together: the proper sign is \wedge^1 . $\tau\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\alpha\varsigma$ is of course two words, and in thinking them worthy of quotation as a single symbol the compiler was not less inconsistent than the authors of modern handbooks, where one finds two words like $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{o}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ exhibited as a single and monstrous compendium; $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is new-tachygraphic: the sign for $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is singularly corrupted, and we can hardly conjecture by what process the scribe evolved it from the \mathfrak{H} of new-tachygraphy. Possibly the incorporation of the circumflex assisted. $\tau\omicron\varsigma, \sigma\alpha\nu$ and $\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ are regular, the last two distorted. $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is singular, and so much resembles the form for $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ that M. Martin quotes from the Ravenna Aristophanes that I am inclined to think the scribe mistook its real meaning; $\alpha\varsigma$ of course is merely \mathfrak{J} . The remaining signs are ordinary and little altered. At the bottom another hand has added $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$, having taken it possibly from the text, where it is frequent.

III. There remains a passage that is perhaps the most tachygraphically interesting of all, but which unfortunately I am only partly able to explain. It is a note, out of connection with the text of the book, that occurs on a blank space on f. 13r., after the index; it is represented in plate No. IX. So far as I can transcribe it, it is as follows:

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ δε τὸν $\overline{\nu\zeta}$ $\overline{\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\nu\varsigma}$ ἕως τὸν $\overline{\xi\delta}$ $\overline{\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\nu\varsigma}$ σὺν τόνδε (?) $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{o}\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu$ · $\delta\iota\alpha\nu\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\theta\beta\epsilon$ $\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\nu\alpha$ (?) $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\nu$, $\nu\alpha$ $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\pi\eta\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\theta\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ ὥσπερ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ · $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\acute{\eta}$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$.

$\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\iota$ τοὺς $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\nu\varsigma$ · $\eta\mu\epsilon[\rho\alpha]$ $\overline{\beta}^a$ εἰς $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\phi\iota\nu\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\alpha\tau\alpha$ · $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\acute{\eta}\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omicron$ $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ · $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ τοῦ $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\eta}$? δε $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha$ / $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ · $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\eta\nu\sigma\omicron\nu$ [?] $\tau\omicron$ $\chi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\nu$ $\xi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}$ · $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu$ $\pi\alpha\nu$ / $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\xi\acute{\epsilon}$ (?) $\tau\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\xi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ · (*silk*) $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$ $\tau\omicron$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ / $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\nu\alpha$ $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$: $\tau\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon$ [?] $\tau\acute{\omega}$ \mathfrak{H} [?] $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\omega$.

There is a similar but shorter note upon the verso of the same page, but it presents even greater difficulties than the other, and would be quite impossible to represent in print. The two notes appear to be in the hand of the writer of the manuscript, and the frequent occurrence of words for paper,

¹ This rare sign occurs in the scholia to Ven. 201 (a. 951), Ar. Organon.

character, skins, suggests that they may be memoranda or instructions relative to the writing of a certain portion of the Psalter. They appear also to be in vulgar Greek. Perhaps a longer-continued acquaintance with the two documents may enable me to put forth an interpretation of them. In the meantime I leave them to the judgment of the tachygraphical reader

T. W. ALLEN.

THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.

IN view of the great interest which has been expressed in the Theatre at Megalopolis, now in course of excavation by members of the British School at Athens, and of its real importance in connection with the question of the Greek Stage, it has been determined to publish, provisionally, a plan and section of it, without waiting for the completion of the work. The excavation will, it is hoped, be finished in the spring: and a full account of our results, with the necessary plans and illustrations, will be published in a future number of this *Journal*. For the present, therefore, a very few words of explanation must suffice.

The following is an explanation of the woodcuts, made from Mr. Loring's drawings:—

I.—PLAN (Fig. 1).

AA, BB.—Supporting walls of the auditorium; which, while partly cut in the hill, is partly also an artificial embankment.

C, C, C represents approximately the summit of the auditorium.

FFF.—Tiers of ordinary seats.

GGG.—Staircases (*κλίμακες*), dividing the seats of the auditorium into blocks (*κερκίδες*).

HH.—Passage, or gangway.

JJJ.—Better seats (*θρόνοι*), nine in number; distinguished from the rest by high backs and arms at either end.

KK.—Gutter (*ὄχετός*).

LL.—Stone kerb, bounding the unpaved orchestra. The exact points at which this kerb terminates at E. and W. are not yet ascertained.

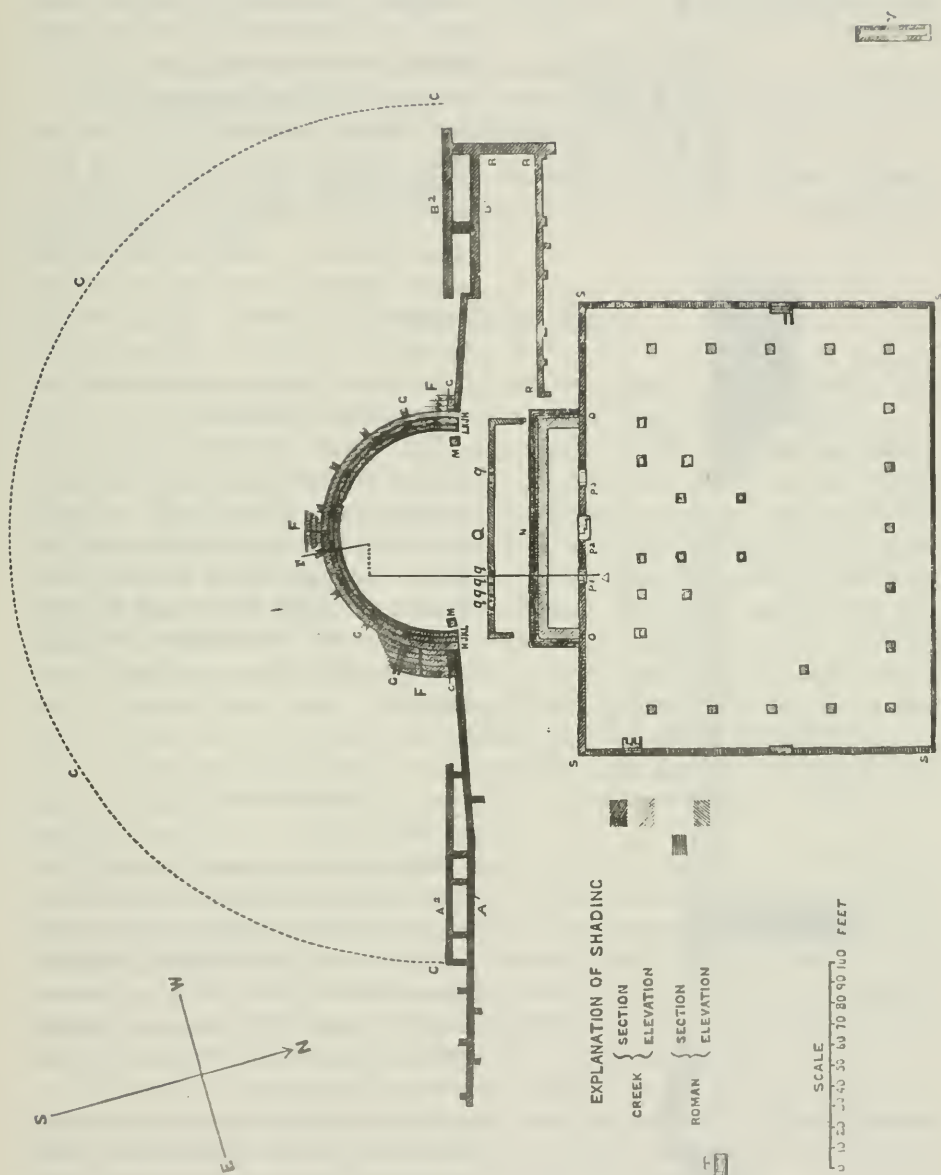
MM.—Bases of statues, of Hellenistic or Roman period.

N.—Front wall of the Greek stage, faced with steps, continuous from end to end of the stage, and connecting it with the orchestra. The original height of the Greek stage above the orchestra was probably 5' 10", its original breadth 18' 2".

O.—Back wall of ditto, with three entrances *PPP.*

Q.—Low wall or stylobate which supported the columned front of the Roman stage. Five of the columns (*qqq*), or parts of them, are still *in situ*.

RRR.—Conglomerate wall, stuccoed on the inside, and enclosing a space of doubtful purpose. Perhaps it was formerly covered over and used either



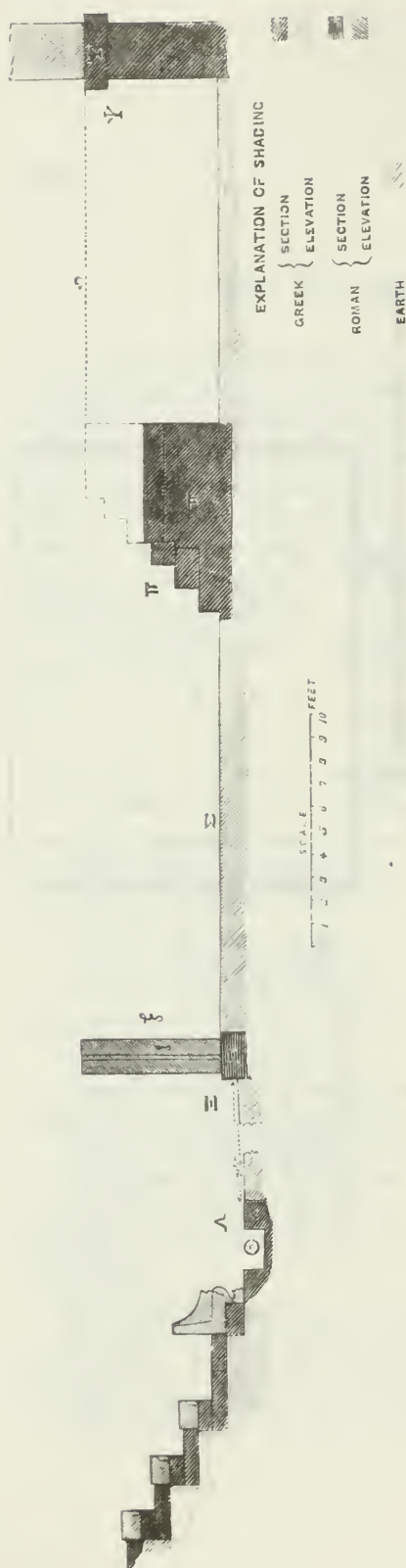


FIG. 2.

as a store-chamber or as a room for the chorus to retire to when their presence was not required in the orchestra.

SSSS. — A large four-sided stoa, such as Vitruvius (V. ix.) requires behind the stage-buildings, to serve, he says, both for the preparations of the chorus and as a shelter during rain. In its present form it is certainly of later date than the theatre, and probably Roman. The various sets of bases in this stoa, which are at four different levels, are not wholly explained at present. Those nearest to the W., N., and E. walls are at the highest level of all, and supported the pillars of the colonnade.

T, V — we suppose to be altars. *V*, the larger of the two, is built of conglomerate, stuccoed, and adorned with metopes and triglyphs. In the plan, *V* is shaded as Greek, *T* as Roman: but this assignment of date, together with some other details in the present plan, is subject to revision.

II.—SECTION (Fig. 2).

This section is taken through the line $\Gamma\Delta$, in the plan; but it should be noted that the figures 71' 4", which are given as indicating the depth of the orchestra from kerb to Roman stage, represent its *extreme* depth, from the *centre* of the one to the *centre* of the other.

Note also that the section is through the *steps* of the auditorium. Thus the steps appear in section, the ends of the seats in elevation, while the *sections* of the seats appear in outline only.

Θ .—Gutter (*KK* in plan).

Λ .—Kerb of orchestra (*LL* in plan). Then comes the orchestra itself, where the line, owing to its great length (71' 4"), is necessarily broken off.

Ξ.—Stylobate of Roman stage (*Q* in plan), with a column ξ in elevation.

Π.—Front wall of Greek stage (*N* in plan), with steps. The darker shading indicates what is still *in situ*; the lighter indicates a restoration which, in its main features, is made certain by the height of the threshold Ψ (*P'* in plan) behind. Only such joints are given as can be determined with certainty.

Σ.—Probable earth level of the orchestra in Greek times.

Ω.—Probable surface of the Greek stage, which extended from Π to Ψ , and was either a wooden platform or merely a floor of beaten earth.

Note.—In the above paragraphs the words 'Greek' and 'Roman' indicate *period* only. The later of our two stages does not conform in every respect to the Roman *type*.

III.—THE GREEK STAGE.

The portion of this theatre to which the chief interest attaches is of course the Greek stage, which is of an altogether exceptional character.

A new theory has recently been promulgated by Dr. Dörpfeld and others, with reference to the relative positions of actors and chorus in the Greek Theatre. We are told that there was in theatres of Greek type *no raised stage*, the actors performing on the same level with the chorus, in the orchestra. According to this theory the various 'Greek' *proscenia* which have been hitherto discovered (Epidaurus, Oropus, Piraeus, Assos), as well as the *proscenium* described by Vitruvius (V. vii.) as an essential part of 'Greek' theatres and expressly declared by him to be a stage, are not stages at all, but ornamental back-walls (*Dekorationswände*) in front of which the actors acted. This theory, sufficiently repugnant both to artistic probability and to the direct evidence of Vitruvius, was tenable, as a paradox, so long as, and only so long as, no 'Greek' *proscenium* was discovered which could not be explained away as a 'Dekorationswand.'

Now our *proscenium* at Megalopolis cannot be so explained. It is proved to be a stage both by the *presence* of the three entrances behind it, on a level with its upper surface, and by the *absence* of any entrance *through* it to the orchestra; and we may add that the steps which form the front of our *proscenium*, while they provide a communication between stage and orchestra—the absence of which is one of Dr. Dörpfeld's main arguments for his novel theory—altogether preclude the notion of a 'Dekorationswand.'

It is clear, then, that this discovery is fatal to the new theory taken as a whole—the theory, that is, that no raised stage existed in the 'Greek' theatre of any period. For our stage is proved to be 'Greek' at once by its structure, by its position, and by the existence of a separate Roman stage.

But it is of some importance to ascertain at what *period* the stage was erected; for if it could be proved to be of, say, the 2nd or 3rd century B.C., the new theory might still be held in a modified form, *i.e.* with reference not to the later 'Greek' theatre, but to that of the 4th and 5th centuries B.C.

The question of date will therefore be considered at more length in a future number of this *Journal*, when a full publication of our results will be given. For the present we must confine ourselves to the statement that we have so far seen no reason for assigning the stage to a later period than the auditorium, which is proved, by an inscription which we have discovered, to be of 4th century construction.

E. A. GARDNER.

WILLIAM LORING.

G. C. RICHARDS.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

A NEW PORTION OF THE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN FROM MEGALOPOLIS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE inscription which follows came to light during the excavation undertaken this year, at Megalopolis, by the British School at Athens. It stood outside the house of a peasant, *Βασίλειος Πετράκης*, whose father had found it, many years previously, in a field upon the ancient site. The existence of the stone was reported first to the Ephor, Mr. Castroménos, who represented the Greek Government at our excavation. Mr. Castroménos courteously announced it to me, and both of us copied it. At that time we had no idea that it formed part of the 'Edict of Diocletian'; this was first suggested to me by Mr. Gardner, Director of the School, on my return to Cambridge. Mr. Castroménos' copy is to appear, as I understand, in the '*Δελτίον*.' The text and edition which follow are from my own copy and squeeze.

The Edict of Diocletian and his colleagues, commonly spoken of either by Mommsen's title '*De Pretiis Rerum Venalium*' or more briefly as the 'Edict of Diocletian,' is known to us already from a large number of fragments, Greek and Latin, found all (with one exception) in different parts of Greece or Asia Minor, and amounting together to many hundred lines. It is still however far from being complete.

Apart from earlier and necessarily less complete editions (for which v. *Corpus. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 801), all the fragments known up to date were collected, pieced together, and published

(1) by Mommsen in the *Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. iii. 1851.

(2) by Waddington—first in the section '*Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*' of Le Bas and Waddington's *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*—and secondly in separate form, under the title *Édit de Dioclétien, établissant le Maximum dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1864). The latter publication is a verbatim reprint of the former.

(3) by Mommsen again, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii. pt. 2 (Berlin 1873).

Each of these editions is more complete than the one which preceded it, that in the *Corpus (C.I.L.)* being the most complete of all. Since its publi-

eration, however, a considerable number of fragments have appeared— for a complete list of which I must refer to an article by Mommsen in the first part of the *Hermes* for the current year (1890), p. 17 *sqq.* None of these fragments coincide with ours, with the exception of that numbered '7' in Mommsen's list,—an inscription from Megara, hitherto unpublished, but promised as No. 23 in Dittenberger's forthcoming *Inscriptiones Græciæ septentrionalis*. This fragment coincides, according to Mommsen, with a considerable part of Chap. XVI. in the arrangement adopted by himself and Waddington, but is in so imperfect a condition that it has been found impossible to equate it, line by line, with the version previously known (that from Carystus in Euboea). A portion of this fragment must correspond with our Col. III.; and, imperfect as it is said to be, we shall look forward to its publication with interest. Another fragment, not mentioned by Mommsen, some parts of which may possibly be found to coincide with that from Megalopolis, is one which was discovered this year (1890) by the American School in their excavations at Plataea. This fragment, like that from Megara, is at present unpublished.

Our own fragment is by far the most considerable which has appeared since the publication of the Edict by Mommsen in 1851, both from its extent (255 lines) and from the large proportion of it which is entirely new—how large a proportion, may be seen at a glance by a reference to my cursive edition, in which the parts known already are given in light, the new parts in heavy, type.

The inscription is engraved on a slab of white limestone, $5\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, and (originally) 2' 11" square, exclusive of a small moulding which runs along the top. The top left-hand corner and the bottom right-hand corner of the slab are broken away.

The inscription is arranged in four columns, and the original number of lines was 85 to a column. In the present state of the stone no column is quite complete; of the second, which is the most nearly complete, 80 lines only are extant, and the first 10 and last 9 of them are very fragmentary. Were the slab complete, however, the inscription would still not be continuous: for both the moulding, which runs along the top of the slab and not along the bottom, and a comparison with other versions of the Edict prove that a lower slab (or slabs, but there is no need for more than one) is missing. Thus, for example, our Col. III. contains a portion of the Edict which is preserved, though very imperfectly, on a slab from Carystus, in Euboea, which it accompanies as far as Col. II. l. 46 (*C.I.L.*) of the Carystian stone. The remainder of the Carystian fragment appears neither on our Col. III. nor on our Col. IV. Unless therefore we suppose a sudden and unaccountable divergence of the two inscriptions at this point, we are led to the conclusion that this portion was engraved on a missing slab of the Megalopolitan version. Again a considerable part of the Carystian *precedes* our Col. III., and yet does not appear on our Col. II.; it must therefore have formed a portion of Col. II. which was engraved on a missing lower slab. In my edition of the text I

have indicated, by notes at the foot of each column, how much of the inscription is missing, and where (if anywhere) the missing portions may be found.

The letters on our slab vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{8}$ " in height. The engraving is careless, as the date of the Edict (A.D. 301) might lead us to expect,—and very shallow, but the lines are fairly horizontal and evenly distributed, the number in each column agreeing exactly. The first 25 lines of Col. I. being absent, the following equation will enable the exact position of any line of the inscription to be determined :

$$\text{Col. I. l. 1} = \text{Col. II., III., IV. l. 26.}$$

One peculiarity in the engraving deserves special notice. The stone, before it received the inscription, was extremely rough. In some places the surface was damaged, in others yellowish veins stuck up and marred its evenness; and in many cases the irregularity was so great that it was impossible to engrave at all, and gaps have been left, often occurring in the middle of a word. This added considerably to the difficulty of deciphering the inscription, as it was not always easy to determine where letters were missing and where they were not, or how many letters were to be supplied. A good example of this is Col. II. ll. 56—58, where the gaps in the inscription, added to the indistinctness of the letters themselves, made the entry for a long time unintelligible.

For an introduction to the Edict itself, I must refer to the preliminary chapter in Waddington's edition; but the following summary, which is based upon it, may be found useful:—

(1) The date of the Edict is fixed, by the number of consulships and tenures of the 'tribunicia potestas' assigned to its promulgators, to the last quarter (after Sept. 17) of the year 301 A.D.

(2) In form it is an 'Edictum ad Provinciales'—the provincials being addressed by the Emperors and Caesars *directly*, and not through the magistrates. Thus the preamble begins with the names and titles of the two Emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, and of the two 'Caesars,' Constantius Chlorus and Galerius—followed by the word 'dicunt' (the more usual form in edicts of this class is 'provincialibus salutem dicunt'). Thus also the words 'provinciales nostri' (voc.) occur in the course of the preamble.

(3) The Edict is for the *whole Empire*. The preamble says:—

' . . . maxime cum ejusmodi statuto non civitatibus singulis ac populis adque provinciis, sed *universo orbi* provisum esse videatur.'

Both Mommsen and Waddington consider that it was practically operative only in the Greek and Oriental provinces which were under the immediate rule of Diocletian; but I doubt whether there is sufficient ground for this opinion. It is true that a large number of the articles mentioned are Oriental, but a very large number also are from the West—*e.g.* nearly all the woollen garments, and the wool itself, of our Cols. III. and IV. It is true also that all the copies hitherto discovered have been discovered in the Eastern provinces; but this only proves that excavation has been busier in the East than in the West.

(4) The sums named are not fixed prices, but *maximum* prices; *v.* preamble, 'non *practia* venalium rerum, sed *modum* statuendum [es]e censuimus.'

(5) Wilful disobedience of the Edict was punishable by death or deportation—'placet, ut, siquis contra formam statuti hujus conixus fuerit audentia, capitali periculo subj[u]getur.'

(6) The *result* of the Edict is mentioned by the contemporary Lactantius, *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, chap. vii.—'Tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quidquam metu apparebat et caritas multo deterius exarsit, donec lex necessitate ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur.'

(7) The prices are reckoned in 'denarii,' represented by the symbols ✕ (*e.g.* in *Car.* and *Meg.*), ✕ (in *Ger.*), and in Latin sometimes by Ø.

The 'denarius' in question is not the silver denarius with which we are familiar, but a copper coin of the later empire. Its value has, until quite recently, been matter of the greatest doubt. Both Mommsen and Waddington agreed in *provisionally* equating it, so far as its value relatively to the gold coin ('aureus' or 'solidus') is concerned, with the 'follis' of Constantine; but the value of the 'follis' itself was uncertain, Mommsen placing it at $\frac{1}{144}$, Waddington at $\frac{1}{88}$ of the 'solidus.' With regard to the latter point it now appears that Waddington was right; but both he and Mommsen were wrong in their equation of the 'denarius' with the 'follis.' The 'denarius' of Diocletian was a very much smaller coin than either of them supposed.

The document which has finally settled this question is a fragment of the Edict discovered at Elatea (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1885, p. 222 *sqq.*). Under the heading, Περὶ χρυσοῦ it contains the entry—

Χρυσοῦ βρούζης ἐν ῥη[γ]λίσις ἢ ἐν ὀλοκοττίνοις λ.α' ✕εμ<ύρια>

i.e. '1 lb. of fine gold, in bar or in specie, 50,000 denarii': which, as Mommsen points out in the article above referred to (*Hermes*, 1890, p. 17 *sqq.*), implies that the value of the denarius was $\frac{1}{80000}$ of the value of a Roman pound of gold. Then, reckoning the pound of gold at its present value—viz. 913·59 Marks—Mommsen obtains, as the equivalent of the 'denarius,' $1\frac{4}{5}$ Pf.—more exactly 1·827 Pf.—or about $\frac{1}{5}$ of an English penny. This determination of Mommsen's must, I suppose, be taken as final. Only it must be remembered, that to translate the 'denarius' into modern *copper* is somewhat misleading; for it obscures the point on which alone the prices quoted in the Edict can instruct us—viz. not the relative value of *copper* and of commodities (copper money being then, as now, mere token money), but the relative value of *gold* and of commodities. This relative value was, it now appears, extremely high,—*i.e.* either gold was dear or commodities were cheap. The prices for coats and cloaks indeed (Col. III.) are high enough; but 2 denarii a mile for portage (II. 17, 18), 4 denarii for a spade (I. 41) or fork (I. 43), and the prices assigned to fodder of various kinds (II. 29-31), are such ridiculously small sums that one feels inclined to decide for the former rather than the latter alternative, *i.e.* if commodities were cheap, it is at least equally

certain that gold was dear. The *absolute* value of (*i.e.* the difficulty of obtaining) commodities remains uncertain.

In these circumstances the interest of the inscription centres

(a) In the commodities themselves—their names, the materials of which they were made, and the knowledge to be obtained of them by a comparison with evidence from other sources.

(b) In the local epithets, which tell us of the countries from which these commodities were exported; and, in this connexion, the Βίρος Βρεταννικός of III. 2 has a special interest for English readers.

(c) In the *relative* prices of the objects specified.

(8) The only weights and measures which occur in our portion of the inscription are the *pound* [λείτρα (more commonly spelt λίτρα), = Lat. 'libra' symbol π ,]—the *ounce* [ὀγκία or οὐγκία, = Lat. 'uncia': symbol $\Gamma\Theta$ (*v.* note on III. 38)]—the '*modius*' [μόδιος]—and the *mile* [μείλιον].

The Roman pound = *c.* 0.72 of the English pound Avoirdupois; the ounce is $\frac{1}{12}$ of the Roman pound, and is therefore almost exactly an English ounce; the '*modius*' is approximately an English peck; and the mile 1618 English yards.¹

(9) Evidently there was no authorized Greek version of the Edict. This is proved by variations in the wording of different copies, by the insertion of headings in some which are absent in others, and by some curious mistranslations. Waddington's remarks on this subject are amply borne out by the Megalopolitan fragment. With regard to headings, note especially our heading Περί Λαναρίων (III. 55), which occurs neither in the Carystian nor in the Theban version. An example of mistranslation occurs in I. 11 ἀπὸ βίτου (where see note): but the mistake is not peculiar to our stone. On the whole the author of the Megalopolitan version has avoided mistranslation by a free use of transcription. *Mistranscription* is very frequent: *e.g.* πωμέντου (II. 42) is a transcription of 'tomentī,' γλεύδια (I. 39) probably of 'glūbia,' δηλάβρα (I. 40) of 'dolabra.'

In editing the text of the new fragment, I have been careful to equate it with other versions (those from Geronthrae, Carystus, and Thebes) wherever these coincide with ours; giving them credit, by the adoption of a different kind of type, for every letter which they have correctly, and adding a complete collation in the notes. This was no easy matter where—as in the first 33 lines of Col. III.—a few letters only of the earlier versions were extant, and the number of lines (but not necessarily the number of entries) differed from the number on our stone; and where Lenormant's copy differed, even in number of lines, from Köhler's later and far better copy of the same stone. The collation possesses, however, very great interest, first because it proves the general agreement between the different versions of the Edict, and secondly because it brings out clearly the points in which our fragment supplements or corrects those previously known, or *vice versa*. I am bound to add that in

¹ Gow: *Companion to School Classics*.

almost every case the Megalopolitan version has proved both completer and more correct than the rest.

In order to fit each column of our inscription into its proper place among the other fragments, I have placed in the margin of my *copy* indications of the stone or stones with which each portion coincides, and in the margin of my *edition* indications of those parts of Waddington's (Wadd.) and of Mommsen's (*C.I.L.*) editions of the entire Edict with which they are to be equated, or between which they are to be inserted. Lastly, in order to knit all together, I give here in tabular form a list of the different parts of Wadd., *C.I.L.* and *Meg.* (= Megalopolitan fragment), in the order in which they must be read so as to make this portion of the Edict as nearly continuous as possible:—

- (1) Wadd. or *C.I.L.* XV. 1—22 and *Meg.* I. 1—8.¹
- (2) Wadd. or *C.I.L.* XV. 23—42 = *Meg.* I. 9—48.
- (3) *Meg.* I. 49—60.
- (4) Portion missing—lower slab of *Meg.*
- (5) *Meg.* II.
- (6) 5 lines and the lower slab missing. But the bottom part of this lower slab corresponded to
- (7) Wadd. XVI. 1—18 or *C.I.L.* XVI. 1—20.
- (8) Wadd. XVI. 19—66 or 67 } = *Meg.* III.
or *C.I.L.* XVI. 21—56 }
- (9) Wadd. XVI. 67 or 68—101 or *C.I.L.* XVI. 57—100.
- (10) Portion missing.²
- (11) *Meg.* IV.
- (12) Small portion missing.
- (13) Wadd. or *C.I.L.* XVII.—end.³

In Chap. XV. (our Col. I.) the readings of Wadd. and of *C.I.L.* are practically identical; but for Chap. XVI. (our Col. III.) *C.I.L.*, rather than Wadd., should be used, Lenormant's copy, which Waddington followed, being wholly untrustworthy (cf. introductory note on Col. III.). Waddington's *notes*, however, should be consulted throughout.

In my commentary, the following are the works to which I am most indebted:—

¹ These must be added together; they cannot be equated; for the few letters which remain in *Meg.* do not correspond to the readings of the Geronthraean stone (Wadd. and *C.I.L.*), while they evidently form part of the same, or a similar, section. This implies either an omission on one of the two stones, or a slight difference of arrangement between them.

² The missing portion of Col. III. on the slab at Megalopolis is 21 lines; and the lower slab (entirely absent) perhaps contained, like the

upper, 85 lines. $21 + 85 = 106$. From this total subtract 60 lines of the Carystian stone [our portion (9)]. This leaves 46 lines as the probable amount missing both from the Carystian stone and from our own.

³ This portion is far from being continuous. *C.I.L.* has more than Wadd.; and *C.I.L.* may be supplemented by various fragments more recently discovered, by far the most important of which is that from Elatea (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1885, p. 222 sqq.).

(1) Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien* (Paris, 1864). I have borrowed from, or referred to, his notes continually; in some cases I venture to hope that I have added something to them, where the new fragment throws light on words previously obscure. For my comment on the many new words which occur in our portion of the Edict I of course am solely responsible.

(2) Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*; and the corresponding Greek glossary. (Forcellinus has also proved useful, besides the ordinary books of reference which it is needless to enumerate.)

(3) Of ancient authors, Pliny the elder has been of the greatest assistance; our inscription is continually illustrated by passages in the *Historia Naturalis*; and I owe a special debt to the invaluable Index which fills the last two volumes of Sillig's edition of that work.

It remains only to add an explanation of the abbreviations, and other signs, which I have employed.

I. In the *copy*, shading // represents breaks or irregularities in the stone—wherever either letters are lost or, owing to the irregularity, a gap was intentionally left.

Dotted letters (e.g. ⚭, ⚭) represent doubtful letters on the stone.

II. In the *edition* :—

Square brackets [] shew corrections or restorations.

Round brackets () shew doubtful letters.

Angle brackets < > shew the completion of words abbreviated either intentionally or otherwise.

Heavy type indicates portions which are new (*i.e.* not already known from other sources).

Thin type, portions which are old.

In the case of words of which the component letters are partly old and partly new—where the *word* is new (*i.e.* neither an old word newly spelt, nor the completion of a word previously conjectured)—I have appended to it an asterisk (*) in heavy type.

The marks §§, §, and the numbers (1), (2), (3), are introduced mainly to clear up the classification at the end of Col. IV.

At the end of each entry I have added the number of 'denarii' in Arabic numerals.

III. In the *commentary* :—

Ger. = stone from Geronthrae in Laconia ('Tabula Geronthraea Secunda,' *C.I.L.* Vol. III. Pt. 2, p. 817, or Le Bas and Waddington, '*Voyage Archéologique*, etc., section 'Inscriptions Grecques et Latines,' vol. II. p. 43).

Car. = stone from Carystus in Euboea ('Fragmentum Carystium Prius,' *C.I.L.* vol. III. pt. 2, p. 821, or Wadd. *Édit de Dioclétien*, pp. 43, 44).

Theb. = stone from Thebes ('Exemplum Thebanum,' *C.I.L.* vol. III. pt. 2, p. 823).

Meg. = our own stone at Megalopolis.

Wadd. = Waddington, *Édit de Dioclétien*, Paris, 1864.

C.I.L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. III. pt. 2, Berlin, 1873

COL. I.

(The first 25 lines are missing. Thus l. 1 of Column I. corresponds, in position, to l. 26 of Columns II., III., and IV.)

New. (Cf.
Ger. Col. I.
37-61.)

-48 = Ger.
Col. I. 62-II. 61.

5
 10
 15
 20
 25
 30
 35
 Ν
 Μ
 *Κ
 *Ο
 *ΥΝ
 *Ο
 ///ΖΟΥΔΟΧΗΜ*Λ
 ///ΤΡΟΧΟΥΚΑΡΡΑΡΙΚΟΥ *ΛΣ
 ///ΙΩΝ
 ///Ν///ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝΤΟΥΣΤΡΟ
 ///ΑΠΟΒΙΤΟΥΧΩΡΙΣΣΙΔΗ
 ///ΟΥ *Σ
 ΣΑΡΑΓΑΡΟΝΑΨΕΙΔΩΤΟΥΣΕΧΟΝΤΟΥΣ
 ΤΡΟΧΟΥΣΧΩΡΙΣΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ *ΓΦ
 ΡΑΙΔΑΑΨΕΙΔΩΤΟΥΣΕΧΟΥΣΑΤΟΥΣ
 ΤΡΟΧΟΥΣΧΩΡΙΣΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ *Γ
 ΔΟΡΜΕΙΤΩΡΙΟΝΕΧΟΝΤΟΥΣΤΡΟ
 ///ΟΥΣΒΙΤΩΤΟΥΣΧΩΡΙΣΣΙΔΗΡ *ΖΦ
 Δ////////ΟΡΜΕΙΤΩΡΙΟΝΕΧΟΝΤΟΥΣ
 ΤΡΟΧΟΥΣΑΨ///ΕΙΔΩΤΟΥΣΧΩΡΙΣ
 ΣΙΔΗ///ΡΟΥ * Δ
 ΣΑΡΑΓΑΡΑΒΙΤ///ΩΤΑΚΑΙΟΧΗΜΑΤΑ
 ΤΑΛΟΙΠΑΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΚΑΝΘΩΝΚΑΙ
 ΤΟΥΣΙΔΗΡΟΥΛΟΓΟΥΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΤΟΥΣΙΔΗΡΟΥΠΙΠΡΑΣΚΕΘΑΙΟΦΕΙ
 ΛΟΥΣΙΝ
 ΚΑΡΟΥΧΟΝΒΙΤΩΤΟΝΧΩΡΙΣΣΙΔΗΡ *Ζ
 ΠΕΡΙΚΑΡΡΩΝ
 ΚΑΡΡΟΝΤΕΤΡΑΤΡΟΧΟΝΜΕΤΑΖΥΓΟΥ
 ΧΩΡΙΣΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ *ΑΦ
 ΚΑΡΡΟΣΕΣΙΔΗΡΩΜΕΝΟΣΥΠΕΡΤΟΥ
 ΖΥΛΙΚΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΙΔΗΡΟΥΛΟΓΟΥ
 ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΟΥΤΩΣΟΦΕΙΛΕΙΠΙ
 ΠΡΑΣΚΕΘΑΙ
 ΑΜΑΞΑΔΙΤΡΟΧΟΣΜΕΤΑΖΥΓΟΥΧΩΡΙΣ
 ΣΙΔΗΡΟΥ *Ω

	COL. I.	Denarii.	
	. . . . . [✱](ν')	50	1-8 New. (Cf.
	. . . . . [✱](μ')	40	Wadd. and
	. . . . . ✱κ'	20	C.I.L. XV. 1-22.)
	. . . . . ✱ο	70	
5	. . . . . ✱ψν'	750	
	. . . . . ✱ό'	70	
	. . . . . ξου δ' ὀχήμ<ατος> ? ✱λ	30	
	. . . . . (ν) τροχοῦ καββαρικοῦ ✱λς'	36	
§§. Περὶ ὀχημάτων(τ)ων			9-48 = Wadd.
10	Σαράγαρον ν κάλλιστον τοὺς τρο- [χοὺς ἔχον] ἀπὸ* βίτου* χωρὶς σιδή- [ρου] ✱,ς'	6,000	and C.I.L. XV 23-42.
	Σαράγαρον ἀψευδωτοὺς ἔχον τοὺς τροχοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱(,γ)φ'	3,500	
15	Ῥαῖδα ἀψευδωτοὺς ἔχουσα τοὺς τροχοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱,γ'	3,000	
	Δορμειώριον ἔχον τοὺς τρο- [χοὺς βι(τ)ωτοὺς* χωρὶς σιδήρ<ου> ✱ξφ'	7,500	
	Δορμειώριον ἔχον τοὺς τροχοὺς ἀψευδωτοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱,δ	4,000	
20	Σαράγαρα βιτωτὰ* καὶ ὀχήματα τὰ λοιπὰ μετὰ τῶν κανθῶν καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου, λόγου* γενομένου		
25	τοῦ σιδήρου πιπράσκεσθαι ὀφεί- λουσιν Καροῦχον βιτωτῶν χωρὶς σιδήρ<ου> ✱,ς'	7,000	
§§. Περὶ κάρρων			
30	Κάρρον τετράτροχον μετὰ ζυγοῦ χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱,αφ'	1,500	
	Κάρρος σεσιδηρωμένος ὑπὲρ τοῦ* ξύλικου* καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου λόγου* γενομένου οὕτως ὀφείλει πι- πράσκεσθαι		
35	Ἄμαξα δίτροχος μετὰ ζυγοῦ χωρὶς σιδήρου ✱ω	800	

	ΤΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ ΖΥΛΙΝΟΣ	*C
	ΑΡΟΤΡΟΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΖΥΓΟΥ	*P
	ΠΑΥΓΛΑΗΤΟΙ ΓΛΕΥΔΙΑ	*P
40	ΔΗΛΑΒΡΑΗΤΟΙ ΠΤΟΙΟΝ	*IB
	ΠΑΛΑ	*Δ
	ΘΡΕΙΝΑ Ζ	*H
	ΤΥΡΧΗΔΙΟ ΔΟΥΣ ΖΥΛΙΝΗ	*Δ
	ΣΚΑΦΗ ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΔΙΑΙΑ	*PN
45	ΜΟΔΙΟΣ ΖΥΛΙΝΟΣ	*N
	ΜΟΔΙΟΣ ΣΙΔΗΡΕΝ ΔΕΤΟΣ	*OE
	ΚΑΒΑΘΑΗΤΟΙ ΚΑΜΗΛΑΣΧΜΟΔΙΑΙΑ	
	ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗ ΤΕΤΟΡΝΕΥΜΕΝΗ	*Λ
49-60 <i>now.</i>	ΜΥΛΟΣ ΚΑΒΑΛΛΑΡΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣ	*ΑΦ
50	ΜΥΛΟΣ ΟΝΙΚΟΣ	*ACN
	ΜΥΛΟΣ ΥΔΡΑΛΕΤΙΚΟΣ	*B
	ΧΕΙΡΟΜΥΛΟΣ	*CN
	ΠΕΡΙΚΟΣ ΚΙΝΩΝ	
	ΚΟΣΚΙΝΟΝ ΑΛΩΝΙΚΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΒΥΡΧΗΣ	*CN
55	ΟΣΚΙΝΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΔΕΡΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΙΜΙΔΑΙΑ	
		*Υ
	ΙΝΟΝ ΠΛΕΚΤΟΝ // // // // ΜΕΓΑ	*C
	ΟΝ ΠΛΕΚΤΟΝ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΝ	
	ΩΨΙΑΝ	
60	N // // // ΠΛΕΚΤΟΝ	

(The lower slab—perhaps 85 lines, like the upper—is missing.)

COL. I.

Lines 1-8.—These lines, which are new, are too fragmentary for restoration. Apparently they belonged to a section dealing with the *parts* of carriages and carts. Such a section, in the Geronthraean fragment (*v.* Introduction), which contains our lines 9-48, occurs in precisely this position, viz. immediately before the section *Περὶ ὀχημάτων*. It is headed *Περὶ ξύλων τῶν ἐς τὰ ὀχήματα*, but no part of it agrees with ours. There must therefore have been either a difference of arrangement between the Geronthraean version and our own, or an omission in one or the other of them.

Lines 9-48.—This portion of our inscription coincides with part of the fragment referred to in the preceding note, from Geronthrae in Laconia. The fragment in question was copied by Le Bas, and edited (from Le Bas' copy, supplemented by squeezes) (*a*) by Waddington (*Édit de Dioclétien*, 1864); (*b*) by Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. III. part 2, 1873). The two editions of the stone from Geronthrae agree perfectly (at any rate in the portions which concern us), except that in some places one editor deciphered a letter or two *more* than the other on his squeeze; in these cases I have given.

			Denarii.	
	Τρίβολος ξύλινος	✕σ'	200	
	Αροτρον μετὰ ζυγοῦ*	✕ρ'	100	
	Παῦγλα ἦτοι γλεῦδια	✕ρ'	100	
40	Δηλάβρα ἦτοι πτοῖον	✕ιβ'	12	
	Πᾶλα	✕δ'	4	
	Θρεῖναξ	✕η'	8	
	Τύρχη διώδους* ξυλίνη*	✕δ*	4	
	Σκάφη πενταμοδιαία*	✕ρν'*	150	
45	Μόδιος ξύλινος	✕ν'	50	
	Μόδιος σιδηρενδετός	✕οε'	75	
	Καίβαθα ἦτοι κάμηλα* σημοδιαία			
	γεγεννημένη τετορνευμένη	✕λ'	30	
	Μύλος καβαλλαρικὸς ἐν λίθοις	✕αφ'	1,500	
50	Μύλος ὀνικὸς	✕,ασν'	1,250	49-60 New. Comes between XV. and XVI. of Wadd. and C.I.L.
	Μύλος ὕδραλεκτικός	✕,β'	2,000	
	Χειρόμυλος	✕σν'	250	
§§. Περὶ κοσκίνων				
	Κόσκινον ἁλωνικὸν ἀπὸ βύρσης	✕σν'	250	
55	Κ]όσκινον ἀπὸ δέρματος σιμιδα(λι)α			
	. . . .	✕ν'	400	
	Κόσκ]ινον πλεκτὸν μέγα	✕σ'	200	
	Κόσκιν]ον πλεκτὸν ἰδιωτικὸν			
	. . . . ω(ρι)αν			
60	Κόσκينو]ν πλεκτὸν			

(The missing portion is supplied by no other fragment.)

in my collation, the *fuller* reading; occasionally I have given both, distinguishing them by the abbreviations (Wadd.) and (C.I.L.) respectively. From the proportion of heavy type to light in my transcript of lines 9-48, and from the notes, it will be seen that the Megalopolitan version (*Meg.*) is both completer and more correct than the Geronthraean (*Ger.*).

Line 9.—*Ger.* Περὶ [δ] χ[ημά]των,—thus supplementing ours. Under the heading ὀχήματα are included travelling and pleasure carriages, &c.; under the heading κάρρα, carts and waggons for agricultural purposes (Wadd.). This meaning of the word κάρρον corresponds roughly to that of κάδοο in modern Greek; but the modern κάρρο is a cart rather than a waggon.

Lines 10-12.—*Ger.* [Σαρ]ά[γ]α[ρ]ο[ν] τ]ο[ύς] τροχοὺς ἔχον ἀορβιτοὺς χωρὶς σιδήρου ✕,γ—but the final *s* in the extraordinary word ΔΟΡΒΙΤΟΥC appears, from the diminutive size given to it in the *copies*, to have been doubtful. Thus, though the *reading* is completely altered, only two letters in *Ger.* (OP for ΠΟ) are different from those of *Meg.*

Σαράγαρον.—Wadd. says this word probably = Lat. 'sarracum'; but 'sarracum' is a heavy waggon of some sort (v., e.g., Juv. III. 254, 5 'Modo longa coruscat Sarraco veniente

abies' etc.), while *σαράγαρον*, from its position, must be some kind of pleasure conveyance. I suggest therefore that *σαράγαρον* is a corruption, not of 'sarracum,' a waggon, but of 'sarraclum,' a waggonette. This would at once account for the *ρ*, otherwise inexplicable, and give us the sort of meaning we require. The word 'sarraclum' occurs once (Ammianus xxi. 2, 18, quoted in Forcellinus), but has been corrected to 'sarracum' for want of the confirmatory evidence which our inscription supplies. Wadd. says 'Il γ' avait des *σαράγαρα* à deux et à quatre roues'; but this remark is based on l. 22 *σαράγαρα βίρωτα* (bi-*rota*), where however we dispute the reading *βίρωτα*, so that the evidence for the two-wheeled *σαράγαρον* falls through.

ἀορβιτὸς is explained by Wadd. (after Mommsen) as a hybrid word, formed from the Latin 'orbis' with the Greek negative prefix, and meaning 'non in orbem flexus,' so that the *τροχὸς ἀορβιτὸς* would be the mere pieces of wood *destined* to form a wheel. He restores the word also in l. 18, and is followed by Mommsen in the *Corpus* (C.I.L.), though from their *copies* it appears that the reading of the stone (if they read it correctly) was *βιρωτὸς*.

Now, even if the reading *ἀορβιτὸς* in ll. 11 and 18 were correct, the explanation given of the word would be open to two objections: (1) no instance of a *hybrid* word occurs in the inscription; Latin words are either translated into Greek, or transcribed in Greek characters and provided with Greek terminations; (2) the *δορμετώριον* with the *τροχὸς ἀορβιτὸς* costs *more* than that with the *τροχὸς ἀψειδωτὸς*—a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that the former is incomplete, the latter complete. But as a matter of fact *ἀορβιτὸς*(s) in l. 11 must be an engraver's error for *ἀπὸ βίτρου*, which he did not understand, and in l. 18 it is a mere conjecture of the editors for *βιρωτὸς*, which *they* did not understand (the epithet 'bi-rotus' being obviously inapplicable to a wheel); the real reading in l. 18 was probably *βιρωτὸς*, as in *Meg.*

Now let us turn to our own readings, *ἀπὸ βίτρου* in l. 11, and *βιρωτὸς* in l. 18. In the first place they are equivalent, for both alike are opposed to *ἀψειδωτὸς* in the entries which follow them (ll. 13 and 20 respectively). Now *βίτρος* must be the Latin 'vitus,' an obscure word, for which however there is sufficient evidence (*v.* Forcellinus, s.v.). (1) It occurs in Probus, *Instituta Artium* (p. 116, 22, Keil), where it appears as a feminine word making abl. sing. 'vitu,' dat. and abl. plur. 'vitibus,' not 'vitubus,' but distinguished from abl. plur. of 'vitis' by a difference of accentuation. (2) It occurs in Marius Victorinus, *Ars Grammatica* (p. 56, 17, Keil), where 'vitus' ('viti in rotis') is given as a derivative from 'viere' (to bend, plait), whence 'vimen' &c. Here Keil suspects 'viti in rotis' and substitutes 'viores'; but the MS. reading is borne out by our inscription, which makes 'vitus' a part of a wheel. (3) In the *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* (ed. Goetz), Vol. II. p. 334, are the entries 'ἵτρος, vitus' (al. virus) and 'καυθὸς τροχοῦ, urus'—the latter of which, or else some similar gloss, was corrected by Scaliger (*Ep.* 333) to 'vitus' on the authority of Victorinus. Thus, apart from our inscription, the evidence for 'vitus,' *as part of a wheel*, rests only (1) on Victorinus, and (2) on the former of the above glosses; and in each case the reading has, for want of confirmatory evidence, been hitherto disputed. Scaliger follows Victorinus in deriving 'vitus' from 'viere'; but it is more probably identical with the Greek ἵτρος, the *v* representing a lost digamma.

The conclusion, then, is that 'vitus' (*βίτρος* in our inscription) = ἵτρος, the fellow, or periphery, of a wheel. But *ἄψις* also commonly = the fellow of a wheel. How 'vitus' differed from 'apsis' (*ἄψις*), and the *τροχὸς βιρωτὸς* from the *τροχὸς ἀψειδωτὸς*, is not clear. Possibly the *τροχὸς ἀψειδωτὸς* was a solid (spokeless) wheel; for such wheels were certainly used in ancient times, and *ἄψις* (from *ἄπτω*) may, and often does, mean a *disc* as well as a circle or arc. ἵτρος, on the other hand, means nothing but a *rim*, and implies a periphery, with spokes, as in modern wheels. This suggestion, which is little more than conjecture, at least accounts for the difference in price between the two.

Lastly, the question occurs, How did the reading *ἀπὸ βίτρου* in l. 11, as equivalent to *βιρωτὸς*, arise? Possibly some engraver with the Latin 'vitutus,' or some such word, before him, supposed the epithet to be one expressing *material*; and the mistake which thus arose has been perpetuated. By the time he reached l. 18 he had seen the word *ἀψειδωτὸς*, which opened his eyes, and prevented him from repeating the mistake.

Our price X,ς is an improvement on Ger.'s X,γ , which made the *σπαράγαρον* less expensive than the *τροχὸς ἀψιδωτός*, while in the case of the *δορμειῶριον* it is *more* expensive.

Lines 13, 14.—*ἀψιδωτούς*.—Ger. *ἀψιδωτούς*. T in *Meg.* is probably a mere slip of the chisel for Γ , which is the reading of Ger.

Lines 15, 16.—*ἀψιδωτούς, τροχούς*.—Ger. *ἀψιδωτούς, τροχο[ύς]*. *Ῥαῖδα* = Lat. *‘raeda’* or *‘reda,’* a four-wheeled travelling-carriage. It must have been extremely light, if one may believe Suetonius' statement about Caesar—that he travelled, in a hired *‘reda,’* at the rate of a hundred (Roman) miles a day (Suet. *Caesar*, 57).

Lines 17, 18.—*δορμειῶριον, τροχ[ο]ύς, σιδήρ<ου>, Xβφ.*—Ger. *δορμειῶριον, τροχούς, σιδήρου, Xβφ. βιτωτούς*.—Ger. *[δορ]β[ε]ταούς*; but this is a conjectural restoration of the editors, very much farther from the truth than the reading of their stone, which, if they copied it correctly, was *ΒΙΡΩΤΟΥΣ*. The epithet *βίρωτος* (*‘bi-rotus’*) is of course inapplicable to a wheel; and *βιτωτούς*, which is probably the true reading of Ger., as of *Meg.*, was an unknown word and naturally did not occur to them.

Δορμειῶριον (*‘dormitorium’*) is of course a sleeping-carriage—not a litter, however, for it had wheels. The following passage, which is quoted both by Forcellinus and Du Cange, includes several of the *ὀχήματα* (*‘vehicula’*) of our list. It is part of St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah lxvi. 20; he enumerates the different vehicles, &c., in which it is said the people shall be brought to Jerusalem as an offering to the Lord, *‘Equos et quadrigas, et rhdas et lecticas, sive basternas, et dormitoria, mulosque et mulas, et carrucas, et diversi generis vehicula.’* The distinction here made between *‘dormitoria’* and *‘lecticae sive basternae’* seems at first sight to bear out the meaning (*‘carriage’* not *‘litter’*) in our inscription; but it must be admitted that later on St. Jerome appears to use *‘basternae’* and *‘dormitoria’* indifferently.

Lines 19–21.—Ger. *Δορμειῶριον ἔχον τ[οὺς] τροχούς ἀψιδω[τοὺς] χω[ρὶς] σιδήρου Xβ.*

Lines 22–26.—*βιτωτά*.—Ger. *βίρωτα*.

καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου, λόγου γενομένου τοῦ σιδήρου.—Ger. *καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου δὲ τοῦ γενομένου*. But Ger.'s *τοῦ σιδήρου τοῦ γενομένου* is meaningless, and the *καὶ . . . δὲ* is rather absurd. Our reading *λόγου* for *δὲ τοῦ*, and the repetition of *τοῦ σιδήρου*, makes all clear. As to our reading *βιτωτά*, the third letter is not absolutely clear; but it can hardly be anything but a T , and is certainly not a P . Moreover the reading T brings this line into accord with ll. 10–12, with which it corresponds. Five kinds of vehicles (*σπαράγα* and *δορμειῶρια*, with wheels *βιτωτοὶ* and *ἀψιδωτοὶ*, and *ῥαῖδαι* of the latter kind) have been mentioned, and their prices, *without the iron*, have been given. The present entry provides for the case in which the *same* vehicles are sold *with* the iron. Instead of a repetition of the whole list, the *first* of the five (*σπαράγα βιτωτά*, a shortened form of *σπαράγα βιτωτούς ἔχοντα τοὺς τροχούς*) is repeated, with the addition *καὶ ὀχήματα τὰ λοιπά*, which exactly = *‘κ.τ.λ.’* or *‘&c.’* The reading *βίρωτα*, given by Wadd. and *C.I.L.* as that of Ger. alters the whole drift of the passage, by introducing a *new kind* of vehicle, which is supposed to be sold *always with the iron*. Probably Ger., like *Meg.*, really reads *βιτωτά*, but the word, being unknown, was not recognized, and T is easily mistaken for P .

Note that the reading *βιτωτά* destroys the evidence for the two-wheeled *σπαράγαρον*; cf. note on *σπαράγαρον*, l. 10.

κανθῶν, here *‘tiers’*—not the wooden periphery, which we have had already.

Line 27.—*Καροῦχον βιτωτόν*.—Ger. *καροῦχα βιγάτα*. The numeral *‘ξ’* is absent from Ger.

Καροῦχα (= *carruca*) is of course more correct than *καροῦχον*; but in this inscription genders are treated with great contempt. Thus, *κάρρος* and *κόρρον* are used indifferently (I. 29, 31), *πλούμος* (II. 32) = Lat. *pluma*, *τρίβολος* (I. 37) = Lat. *tribulum*. The last however is not peculiar to our inscription.

‘Carruca’ in Latin appears to have been a high and pompous carriage of some kind; this at least is the impression given by some of the passages quoted by Du Cange: *‘Senatores prosequabantur carrucis nutantibus’* (Paulinus, *Epist.* 10 *ad Severum*), and

'alii summum decus in carrucis solito altioribus ponentes' (*Cod. Theodor. et Justin.*). Note that the 'carruca' always has its wheels βιτωροί, and is, with one exception (the δορμειτώριον βιτωρόν), the most expensive vehicle in the list.

βιτωρόν.—Though our reading βιτωρόν is quite clear, it is *conceivable* that it is an error for βιγᾶτον, the engraver not understanding βιγᾶτον, and therefore substituting βιτωρόν, a word which he had had already. On the other hand 'bigatus' is an improbable word as an epithet of a carriage. No instance of such a use occurs. The proper epithet would be 'bijugus'; 'bigatus' having a totally different meaning, viz. 'with a *biga* on it,' e.g. 'bigatus nummus.' Note also that in Le Bas' copy all we have is ΠΙΙΤΤΑ, which is meaningless; and Wadd. can only say that ΒΙΓΑΤΑ on his squeeze is 'assez claire,' and that he is quite sure it is not ΒΙΡΩΤΑ. ΒΙΤΩΤΑ did not occur to him as a possible alternative. The conclusion of all this is that *Meg.*'s reading βιτωρόν is the right one, and that βιτωρά should take the place of βιγᾶτα in *Ger.*

Line 28.—Περὶ κάρρων.

κάρρων.—*Ger.* κάρων; but Le Bas' copy has ΚΑΡΙ////, which, combined with ΚΑΡΙΝ in l. 29, and ΚΑΡΙΟΝ in l. 31, looks as if the real reading of the stone were ΚΑΡΡΟΝ, double ρ, as in *Meg.*

κάρρων in this heading appears to be a generic term for agricultural carts, including the specific κάρρον and ἄμαξα, which are four-wheeled and two-wheeled respectively. There must have been some vagueness as to the specific meaning of these words since it was thought necessary to define them by the epithets τετράτροχον and δίτροχος. The word 'carrum' or 'carrus' occurs both in Caesar and Livy, but always designates a *barbaric* waggon of some kind. It was common in late Latin, apparently equivalent to the classical 'plaustrum' ('Plaustrum, quod vulgo carrum'; v. Du Cange), which was both four- and two-wheeled. In modern Greek while κάρρο is the common word for an agricultural cart (cf. note on l. 9), ἄμαξα is a four-wheeled pleasure or travelling conveyance, most commonly a 'fly.'

As Waddington has remarked, the use of headings in this edict is very uncertain and inconsistent. Thus, in the present case, no fresh heading occurs until l. 53, Περὶ Κοσκίνων, while the heading Περὶ Κάρρων is properly applicable to three entries only at most.

Lines 29, 30.—Κάρρον; ✕,αφ.—*Ger.* Kâron; ✕,σν. For κάρων Le Bas' copy has ΚΑΡΙΝ; v. note on last line.

Lines 31-34.—Κ. σεσιδ.—*Ger.* Kâron σεσιδηρωμένον (neuter, as in preceding line). Le Bas has ΚΑΡΙΟΝ, and I suspect the real reading is ΚΑΡΡΟΝ, double ρ, as in our version; v. note on l. 28.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξυλικοῦ.—*Ger.* (C.I.L.) [μ]ετ[ὰ] ζυγοῦ ξυλίνου, (Wadd.) [μ]ετ[ὰ] ζυγοῦ ξυλίνου. I greatly prefer our own reading; for *Ger.*'s reading, when λόγου is restored for δὲ τοῦ in l. 32, becomes untranslatable except by taking the words in a very unnatural order; and the restoration λόγου is certain. At the same time, τὸ ξυλικόν, absolutely, for 'woodwork, is peculiar.

λόγον.—*Ger.* δὲ τοῦ; v. note on ll. 22-26.

οὕτως.—Absent from *Ger.*

ὀφείλει πιπράσκεσθαι.—*Ger.* πιπράσκεσθαι ὀφείδει.

Lines 35, 36.—μετὰ ζυγοῦ.—*Ger.* μετ[ὰ] ζυγοῦ.

ἄμαξα, here two-wheeled. In one of the earliest places where the word occurs (*Od.* ix. 241) it is definitely stated to have four wheels, and such is the use of the word in modern Greek.

Line 37.—Τρίβολος.—Lat. 'tribulum' (from 'tero'). The short 'i' (v. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 104) arose from a confusion with τριβόλος, a 'caltrop.' 'Tribulum' is a threshing-sledge. Its use is best explained by Varro, *de R. R.* i. 52, 1—'Id fit e tabula lapidibus aut ferro asperata, quo [quae?] inposito auriga aut pondere grandi trahitur jumentis junctis, ut discutiat e spica grana.' And Pliny (xviii. 30, 72) enumerates the different modes of

threshing, 'Messis ipsa alibi tribulis in area [the sledge], alibi equarum gressibus exteritur [treading], alibi perticis flagellatur [the flail], *v.* also Verg. *Georgics* 1. 164.

Line 38.—*μετὰ ξύλου*.—*Ger.* [μετὰ ξύλων; but our ξύλου is quite clear; and, the plough being almost (often quite) entirely of wood, *Ger.*'s ξύλων is meaningless. The cheapness of the plough (*ls.* 8*d.*; but *v.* Introduction) is interesting. Both the Hesiodic and the Vergilian plough were extremely simple structures; and the plough used in Arcadia at the present day is almost identical with the Hesiodic and hardly more elaborate; the only difference which one can discover being the addition of the Vergilian 'aures' or 'earth-boards.' I have seen such a plough in course of construction by a countryman, and he assured me he could complete it in a day.

Line 39.—*Παῦλα ἤτοι γλεύδια ἄρ.*—*Ger.* δέκελλαν τορονευτήν ἤβ. I can bring these two readings into no relation to each other; both must have been in the original, unless indeed 'pavicaula,' which he did not understand, suggested δέκελλα to an imaginative engraver.

Παῦλα.—No doubt the Latin 'pavicaula,' a 'rammer' or 'beetle,' for beating down earth in making a floor or the like. Its use is explained by Cato, *de R. R.* 91 (to make an 'area' or threshing-floor), 'Comminuito glebas bene, deinde coacquato, et paviculis verberato.' The word is derived from 'pavio' (cf. *παίω*), to 'beat,' 'pound,' whence 'pavimentum.'

Γλεύδια.—A clue to the meaning of γλεύδια may probably be obtained from the entry 'gulbium' in Du Cange. 'Gulbium' is there explained in the following terms: 'Instrumentum ad hortum excolendum, apud Adalardum in Statutis antiquis Monasterii Corbeiensis cap. 1, Scalprum, Gulbium, et falcilia, &c.' 'Instrumentum ad hortum excolendum' seems to me hardly a satisfactory explanation. From the position of the word, between 'scalprum' and 'falcilia' [? falcula], I should rather suppose it to be a cutting-instrument of some kind. In this connection, Mr. Hyslop, of King's, has called my attention to the word 'glubo' (*v.* Lewis and Short). 'Glubo' = γλύφω, and occurs in Cato (*de R. R.* 33, 5) and Varro (*de R. R.* i. 55, 2) in the sense of 'to bark' or 'to peel.' I am inclined to think that this verb is the origin both of 'gulbium' and γλεύδια. The derivative noun was probably 'glūbia' or 'glūbium.' This word has been corrupted, on the one hand, in the Statutes to 'gulbium' (transposition of u and l)—possibly this was even the form in use at that time—on the other, by the engraver of our inscription, who did not understand the Latin word, to 'glūdīa,' γλεύδια (substitution of D for B). Both transitions are of the easiest; and for the discrepancy in gender, *v.* note on l. 27. γλεύδια, then, —properly γλεύβια, Lat. glūbia or glūbium—is an instrument for barking trees.

Line 40.—*Δηλάβρα; πτοῖον*.—*Ger.* Σμ[ι]ύην; πτύον. Δηλάβρα should no doubt be δολάβρα = Lat. 'dolabra,' a 'pick.' Possibly it was wooden, like the τύρχη of l. 43, and (probably) the θρεῖναξ of l. 42; σμινύη is the Greek translation of the same word.¹ Here, as in the succeeding line, the Geronthraean engraver translated, the Megalopolitan transcribed.

πτοῖον, πτύον.—The interchange of *αι* and *υ* shews how early the degeneration of Greek vowel-sounds set in. Probably by the end of the 3rd century A.D. *αι* and *υ* were pronounced alike, as they are at the present day. Similarly, *ι* and *υ* (*e.g.* *ἰσγίνη* = *ύσγίνη*); *ε*, *ει*, and *η* (*e.g.* *ἰς* = *εἰς*; *δλοσειρικόν* (*Meg.*) = *δλοσηρικόν* (*Car.*), &c.).

The position of *πτοῖον*—among spades, forks, and picks—is noticeable. It is not a winnowing-fan, but a winnowing-shovel, with which the threshed corn was thrown up against the wind. Possibly even the notion of winnowing had disappeared, as in modern Greek the diminutive *φτυάρι* is the ordinary word for a shovel.

Line 41.—*Πάλα*.—*Ger.* μά[ε]λλαν. Πάλα = Lat. 'pala,' a spade; Rich adds 'with an iron blade,' apparently on the authority of Columella; but the price given here (less than 1*l.*; but *v.* Introduction) implies a wooden instrument of the simplest kind. *Ger.*'s

¹ *σμινύη* is not = 'bidens,' 'hoe,' as L. and S., but = 'dolabra,' 'pickaxe.' This is proved by Ar. *Nub.* 1486, as well as by our inscription.

translation *μάκελλα* suggests that the *μάκελλα* also was a spade; and there is nothing either in the word itself, or in the passages cited by the lexicæ, to conflict with this. The explanation of L. and S., 'pickaxe,' is disproved by one of the passages cited by themselves, *Luc. dial. cum Hes.* 7, a passage which decidedly favours the rendering 'spade.' Lastly, if *μάκελλα* in *Ger.* was not a spade, then the spade was altogether absent from the list.

Line 42.—*Θρεῖναξ*.—Absent from *Ger.* The price alone remains. *Θρεῖναξ*, *θρεῖναξ* = a three-pronged fork; cf. *Arist. Pax*, 567. It is so cheap, that it must, like the two-pronged fork which follows, have been wooden.

Lines 43, 44.—(*Ger.* (Wadd.) *μο . ουγ . . . ν . . .*
. λ αμου
. ✕ ρνδ.

C.I.L. ditto. with slightly different intervals. Evidently in *Ger.* the numeral 3 has got out of place, so that what were really two entries have, in the transcript, been combined into one. This gave *ρνδ* = 154, a ridiculous figure.

As to the letters, which evidently were not very clear, I suppose that what the transcribers have got as *MO . ΟΥΓ . . . Ν* was really *ΔΙΟ . ΟΥΣ . . . Ν*. (= *διόδους ξυλίνη*), and that . . . *ΑΜΟΥ . . .* should be . . . *ΑΜΟΔ . . .* (= *πενταμοδιαία*).

τύρχη.—Cf. Du Cange's *Greek* glossary, 'Τύρχη, Furca, in *Gloss. Gr. Lat.*' He adds 'Puto legendum φύρκη;' but our inscription confirms *τύρχη* as the correct reading. *Τύρχη* *διόδους*, then, = a 'two-pronged fork.'

σκάφη πενταμοδιαία = a 'five-modius tub.' The 'modius' was about a peck.

Line 45.—*Μόδιος ξύλινος*, a 'wooden modius-measure;' chiefly used for measuring corn; v. illustration in *Rich.* The 'modius' there figured seems to be *σιδηρενδετός* ('strengthened with iron bands'), as in the next entry in our inscription.

Line 46.—*σιδηρενδετός*.—*Ger.* *σιδηρωτός*, with same meaning.

Line 47.—*Κάβαθα*; *κάμηλα*; *σημοδιαία*; *γεγεννημένη τετορνευμένη*.—*Ger.* *γάβαθαν*; *κόνειλαν*; *σημοδιαν*; *γενομένη*[ν] *τορνευτήν*. (Wadd. notes that the *κο* of *κόνειλαν* is doubtful.) *Κάβαθα*, or *γάβαθα* (Lat. *gabata*) appears to be a hollow dish or bowl for food. That it is a bowl, and not a flat dish is proved: (a) by its epithet here, *σημοδιαία*, shewing that it held a fixed measure; (b) by the absurd etymology given by Isidorus and others [v. Du Cange], viz. from 'cavata' 'hollowed'; (c) from Hesychius' rendering of *γάβαθον*, 'τρυβλίον,' a mistake which could not have arisen if it had been a flat dish. That it was a bowl for food, and not a drinking-bowl, appears (a) from *Martial* xi. 32, 18; where, describing the dinner given by *Caecilius*, where all the dishes are of 'cucurbita' or 'gourd,' he says of the steward, 'Sic implet gabatas paropsidasque, Et leves scutillas, cavasque lances,' all of which are dishes of various kinds—there is no reference at all to drinks; (b) from a Christian writer, *Fortunatus* (c. 600 A.D.), '*Carnea dona tumens argentea Gavata perfert*,' which shews that its meaning remained unchanged.

To the meaning of *κάμηλα* (*Ger.* *κόνειλα*) I have found no clue. It must have been a vessel of some kind, and probably received its name *κάμηλα* from its shape.

Lines 49-end.—The remainder of this column is new; I have nothing to collate with it. It is a continuation of Wadd.'s chap. xv., which breaks off abruptly at this point, the *Geronthrean* fragment here coming to an end.

Line 49.—*μύλος καβαλλαρικός*, 'horse-mill'; *ἐν λίθοις* apparently = *λιθινος*.

Line 50.—*μύλος όνικός*, 'ass-mill.' Cf. *Mark* ix. 42, where *μύλος όνικός* is translated 'a great mill-stone' in the R.V., the horse, for such purposes, being unknown in Palestine. Here it is by no means the greatest. The order in price (as in size) is (1) water-mill (*μύλος ύδραλτικός*); (2) horse-mill; (3) ass-mill; (4) hand-mill (*χειρόμύλος*). The prices must be for the stones only, the price for the water-mill especially being too small on any other supposition.

Line 53.—A new heading, 'Sieves.'

Line 54.—*Κόσκινον άλωνικόν*.—This was, I suppose, a *winnowing-sieve*. Two processes

had to be gone through, viz. (1) casting up the corn against the wind, so as to separate husk from grain ; (2) sifting the grain itself, so as to separate large from small. The modern 'winnowing' combines both functions.

Lines 55, 56.—Κ]όσκινον ἀπὸ δέρματος κ.τ.λ.—The difference between this and Κόσκινον ἀπὸ βύρσης of l. 54 must be in the epithet, which I cannot wholly decipher.

Line 57.—Κόσκινον πλεκτόν.—The sieves of ll. 54—56 were drums of hide, panned. Those of ll. 57 *sqq.* are πλεκτά, i.e. a net-work like that of modern sieves. For the κέκλιον ἀπὸ βύρσης *v.* illustration in Rich *s.v.* 'Cribrum.'

Line 58.—ἰδιωτικόν, 'common,' 'ordinary.'—ιδιώτης came from meaning a 'lay' (as opposed to official), to meaning a 'common' (as opposed to superior) person. For ἰδιωτικόν = 'common,' *v.* Steph. *Thesaurus*, *s.v.* ; and for ιδιώτης, = a 'common person,' *v.* Col. 1 of ll. 26, 27 of our inscription, 'λίνου τραχυτέρου ἰς χρῆσιν ἰδιωτῶ[ν] τε καὶ φαρμακείων'—coarser material for the use of common people and slaves.

COL. II.

1-80 New

A *H
M *5

5 ΟΥ 7A *M
 ΧΡΩΜΑΤ 7A *Λ
 ΧΡΩΜ 7A *K
 ΗΚΑΙΧΕΛΩΝΙΝΩ
 7A *ΡΝ
 ΙΝΔΙΚΟΥΝΩΤΙΑΙΟΥ 7A *Ρ
 10 Ω////
 ΡΑΦΙΚΗΙΣΧΝΟΤΑΤΗ *Δ
 ΑΣΦΩΡΜΒΕΛΟΝΗ Α *Β
 ΝΗΣΑΡΚΟΡΑΦΗΗΤΟΙΣΑΓΜΑ
 ΙΚΗ *Β
 15 ΤΩΝΜΙΣΘΩΝΤΗΣΒΕΚΤΟΥ
 ///HC
 ΑΕΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΛΙΟΝ
 *Β
 ΗΣΜΙΣΘΟΣΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΛΙΝΑ *ΙΒ
 20 ///ΚΤΟΥΡΑΚΑΡΡΟΥΓΕΓΟΜΩΝΟΥ
 ΙΣΛΕΙΤΡΑΣ ,ΑΣ ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ
 ΜΕΙΛΙΟΝ *Κ
 ΒΕΚΤΟΥΡΑΓΟΜΟΥΚΑΜΗΛΟΥΕΚ
 ΛΕΙΤΡΩΝ Χ ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΜΕΙ
 25 ΛΙΟΝ *Η
 ΒΕΚΤΟΥΡΑΘΝΟΥΓΕΓΟΜΩΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΜΕΙΛΙΟΝ *Δ
 ΠΕΡΙΧΟΡΤΟΥ
 ΧΟΡΤΟΥΒΙΚΙΑΣ 7B *Β
 30 ΧΟΡΤΟΥΗΤΟΙΑΧΥΡΟΥ 7Δ *Β
 ΠΑΒΟΥΛΟΥ 75 *Α
 ΠΕΡΙΠΛΟΥΜΟΥ
 ΠΛΟΥΜΟΥΧΗΝΕΙΟΥ 7A *Ρ
 ΠΛΟΥΜΟΥΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝΟΡΝΕΩΝ 7A *Ν
 35 ΠΤΕΡΑΛΕΠΤΑΠΟΙΚΙΛΩΝΟΡΝΕΩΝ
 ΛΕΙΤΡΑ Α *Β
 ΕΠΕΑΣΗΤΟΙΠΛΟΥΜΟΥΑΠΟΕΛΙΚΗΣ
 ΛΕΙΤΡΑΙ Ρ *Α

COL. II.

Denarii.

	. . . . . α	✕η'	8	1-80 New. Comes between XV. and XVI. of Wadd. and C.I.L.
	. . . . . μ	✕ς'	6	
	. . . . . ου πα'	✕μ'	40	
5	. . . . . χρώματ<ος>	πα' ✕λ'	30	
	. . . . . χρώμ<ατος>	πα' ✕κ	20	
	. . . . . (ν) καὶ χελωνίν[ου]			
	. . . . . πα	✕ρν'	150	
	. . . . . 'Ινδικοῦ νωτιαίου πα	✕ρ	100	
10	§§. ? Περὶ βελον](ῶ)[ν ?			
	? Βελόνη . . .]ραφικὴ ἰσχυνοτάτη	✕δ'	4	
	Δευτέρ]ας φώρμ<ης> βελόνη α	✕β	2	
	Βελό]νη σα[κ]κοράφη ἤτοι σαγμα-			
	[τ]ικὴ	✕β'	2	
15	§§. Περὶ τῶν μισθῶν τῆς βεκτού-			
	[ρ]ης			
	. . . αεν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ μέλιον			
		✕β'	2	
	? 'Αμάξ]ης μισθὸς κατὰ μέλιν α'	✕ιβ'	12	
20	Βεκτοῦρα κάρβου γεγομω<μέ>νον			
	ἰς λείτρας ,ας' καθ' ἕκαστον			
	μέλιον	✕κ'	20	
	Βεκτοῦρα γόμου καμήλου ἐκ			
	λειτρῶν χ' καθ' ἕκαστον μέ-			
25	λιον	✕η	8	
	Βεκτοῦρα ὄνου γεγομωμένου			
	καθ' ἕκαστον μέλιον	✕δ'	4	
	§§. Περὶ χόρτου			
	Χόρτου βικίας	πβ' ✕β'	2	
30	Χόρτου ἤτοι ἀχύρου	πδ' ✕β'	2	
	Παβούλου	π, ' ✕α'	1	
	§§. Περὶ πλούμου			
	Πλούμου χηνείου	πα' ✕ρ'	100	
	Πλούμου διαφόρων ὀρνέων	πα' ✕ν'	50	
35	Πτερὰ λεπτὰ ποικίλων ὀρνέων			
	λείτρα	α' ✕β'	2	
	Ε[ρ]ίας ἤτοι πλούμου ἀπὸ ἐλίκης			
	λείτραι	ρ' ✕, α'	1,000	

	ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΟΣΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΝ	*A
40	ΚΑΝΘΗΛΗΣΤΟΙΚΑΛΑΜΑΝΘΗΛΗΣ ΚΕΝΤΗΝΑΡΙΝ	*P
	ΠΩΜΕΝΤΟΥΗΤΟΙΓΝΑΦΑΛΛΟΥ 7A	*H
	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ 7A	*Δ
	ΠΤΕΡΟΝΠΑΘΝΙΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝΑ	*B
45	ΠΤΕΡΑΓΥΠΙΝΑΚΕ	*5
	ΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΑΜΩΝΚΑΙΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΥ ΜΕΛΑΝΙΟΥ 7A	*IB
	ΚΑΛΑΜΟΙΠΑΦΙΚΟΙΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΟΙ ΜΟΝΟΓΟΝΑΤΟΙ	*Δ
50	ΚΑΛΑΜΟΙΔΕΥΤΦΩΡ Κ	*Δ
	ΠΕΡΙΕΣΘΗΤΟΣ ΧΛΑΜΥΣΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΗΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΑ ΛΙΑΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗ	*Δ
	ΣΤΙΧ////ΗΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΑΛΙΑ	*B
55	ΑΣΗΜΟΣ	*ACN
	//ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΙΣΠΑΠΥΛΙΩΝΑΜΙΑ ΕΧΟΥΣΑ////ΜΗΚΟΥΣΚ////////ΑΙΠΛΑ ΤΟΥΣΠΟ////ΔΑΣ Ι5 ΒΑΠΤΗ	*BΦ
	ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΚΡΕΒΕΤΤΑΡΙΑ	
60	ΛΕΥΚΗΛΕΙΤΡΩΝ IB	*AX
	ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΑΡΑΒΙΚΗΗΤΟΙΔΑΜΑΣΚΗ ΝΗΗΕ////ΤΕΡΑΣΟΠΟΙΑΣΔΗΠΟΤΟΥΝ ΒΑΠΤΗΛΟΓΟΥΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΛΕΙ ΤΡΙΣΜΟΥΤΗΣΕΡΕΑΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΛΟΥΜΑ	
65	ΡΙΣΕΩΣΠΙΠΡΑΣΚΕΣΘΑΙΟΦΕΙΛΕΙ ΕΝΔΡΟΜΙΣΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΗ 7!	*Φ
	ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΟΜΑΦΕΡΤΙΟΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙ ΟΝΕΞΕΡΙΩΝΤΡΑΧΥΤΕΡΩΝΣΕΣΗΜΙ ΜΕΝΟΝΠΟΡΦΥΡΑΣΙΣΓΙΝΗΣ	
70	ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΗΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ//// ΚΟΣΕΧΟΥΣΑΥΠΟΒΛΑΤΤΗΣ//////// ΣΤΙΧΣΥΝΨΕΙ////ΡΙΚ//////// ΥΠΟΒΛΑΤΤΗΣ Γ////////	

Denarii.

40	Λυχνείδος κεντήναριν	✕,α	1,000
	Κανθήλης ἥτοι καλαμανθήλης		
	κεντήναριν	✕,ρ'	100
	[Τ]ωμέντου ἥτοι γναφάλλου πα'	✕,η'	8
15	Δευτέρου πα'	✕,δ'	4
	Πτερὸν παόνιον κάλλιστον α'	✕,β'	2
	Πτερὰ γύπινα κέ	✕,γ	6
	§§. Περὶ καλάμων καὶ μελανίου		
50	Μελανίου πα'	✕,ιβ'	12
	Κάλαμοι Παφικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖνοι		
	μονογονατοὶ	✕,δ'	4
	Κάλαμοι δευτ<έρας> φώρ<μης> κ'	✕,δ	4
	§§. Περὶ ἐσθῆτος		
55	Χλαμὺς στρατιωτικὴ ἰνδικτιωνά- λια καλλίστη	✕,δ'	4,000
	Στίχη ἰνδικτιωνάλια	✕,β'	2,000
	Ἄσημος	✕,ασν	1,250
	Ἐνδρομὺς ἰς παπυλιῶνα μία, ἔχουσα μήκους καὶ πλά- τους πόδας ιγ', βαπτὴ	✕,βφ'	2,500
65	Ἐνδρομὺς καλλίστη κρεβετάρια λευκὴ λειτρῶν ιβ'	✕,αχ'	1,600
	Ἐνδρομὺς Ἀραβικὴ ἥτοι Δαμασκή- νη ἢ ἐτέρας ὁποιασδηποτοῦν, βαπτὴ, λόγου γενομένου τοῦ λει- τρισμοῦ τῆς ἐρέας καὶ τῆς πλουμα- ρίσεως πιπράσκεσθαι ὀφείλει		
	Ἐνδρομὺς ἰδιωτικὴ π'	✕,φ'	500
	Δελματικομαφέρτιον γυναικεῖ- ον ἐξ ἐρίων τραχυτέρων, σεσημι- μένον, πορφύρας ἰσγίνης		
70	Δελματικὴ ἀνδρεία [μῆ-] κος ἔχουσα ὑποβλάττης [. . . πόδας ?] . . . Στίχη συνψειρικ[ῆ μήκος ἔχουσα] ὑποβλάττης γ' [πόδας ?]. . .		

CTIXHACH////MOCEΥ/////////
 75 ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΟΜ
 CYNΨΕΙΡΙΚΟ
 ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΟΜ
 ΤΟΥΝΗ////
 ΕΧ////
 80 ΔΕΛΜ

(5 lines, and the entire lower slab, are missing.)

COL. II.

The second column is entirely new. It must come between Chaps. XV. and XVI. in the arrangements of Wadd. and of the *Corpus*, since our Col. I. tacks on to the end of their Chap. XV., and our Col. III. coincides with a part of their Chap. XVI. Col. II. did not immediately follow Col. I. (in its present form), the lower part of all four columns having been inscribed on a separate slab, which has not been discovered (*v.* Introduction). There is therefore a gap at this point, corresponding to all (perhaps eighty-five lines) which was engraved in this column on the lower slab.

Lines 1-10.—Of these ten lines we have fragments only. They refer to some article which was sold by weight (the pound), and which appears from l. 5 *χρώμα(τ)* . . . to have been of different colours.

Line 7.—*χελωνίν[ου]*,—‘of tortoise-shell’? or is it a colour?

Line 8.—*νωτιαίου*.—*v.* note on IV. 11.

Line 10.—[*Περὶ βέλων*] (*ῶ*)[*v*].—The restoration is conjectural; but fairly probable, as headings are pretty abundant in this part of the inser.

Line 12.—*δευτέρ[ας φώρμ<ης>]*,—‘second quality.’ In other parts of the edict, *e.g.* in our Col. IV., *πρώτ. φώρ.*, *δευτ. φώρ.*, etc.—or *φώρ. α’*, *φώρ. β’*, *φώρ. γ’*—are regular formulae. In other cases we have the full word *φώρμης*, or the same thing with a short -ο-. And in places where the original is extant, we have the Latin ‘forma,’ of which *φώρμη*, or *φόρμη*, is a transcript.

The transition to this sense of the word ‘forma’ (‘class’ or ‘quality’) appears in Cicero’s use of it for the *sub-divisions of a genus*, noted by Quintilian (V. 10, 62). Waddington remarks (introductory note on Chap. VIII.) that under the Empire ‘forma’ was a ‘grade’ in the imperial service, officials rising regularly from one ‘forma’ to another. Our word ‘form,’ equivalent to ‘class,’ in a school, is an extension of this.

Line 13.—*σα[κ]κοράφη*.—The stone reads clearly *σαρκοράφη*. That this is a mistake for *σακκοράφη* is clear from the following entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum*: ‘*Ακίστρα—ή βελόνη ή μείζων, ήν νῦν σακκοράφιον καλοῦσιν.*’ Since it was a large needle, and used for sacking, it was probably what we should call a ‘packing-needle.’

Line 14.—*σαγμα[τ]ική*.—Another large needle, perhaps a saddler’s needle, *σάγμα* being a ‘pack-saddle.’

Lines 15, 16.—A new section,—rates for carriage and portage. *βεκτοῦρα* = ‘vectura.

Lines 17, 18.—. . . *αεν ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ μέλιον*.—The reading is certain. *σάγμ]α ἐν* is a possible restoration, but I do not consider it satisfactory. In any case the wages are for portage by hand. The price is very low. Possibly the missing word was some measure of weight—that of a small-sized package; so that the porter could earn twice or three times the amount in a single journey.

	Στήχη ἄσημος (εὐ)
75	Δελματικὸ(μ) [αφέρτιον . . ?] συνψειρικὸ[ν . . . ?] Δελματικομ [αφέρτιον Μου-] τουνη[σιον θαλάσσιον μήκος ?] ἐχ[ον ὑποβλάττης . . . πόδας ?]
80	Δελμ

(The lower portion of the missing slab corresponds to Wadd. XVI. 1—18, C.I.L. XVI. 1—20.)

Line 19.—ἀμάξης.—The restoration is purely conjectural ; but may well, I think, be correct. The word is of the right length to fit the line ; it comes naturally alongside of *κάρρου* (l. 20) ; and the price is suitable—viz. rather more than half the hire of the *κάρρον*, which had four wheels, while the *ἄμαξα* had two.

μείλιν, for μέιλιον. The termination -ιν for -ιον is common in late inscriptions. We may compare *κεντήναριν* for *κεντηνάριον* in ll. 39 and 41.

Lines 20–22.—Rate for carriage by waggon, 20 denarii a mile. For this rate the employer is entitled to a load *not exceeding* 1,200 Roman lbs. (is *λείτρας*, *ασ*).

λείτρας.—Λείτρα (or λίτρα)=Lat. 'libra,' 'a pound.' The Roman pound was equivalent to about 0·72 (=nearly $\frac{3}{4}$) of an English pound. The symbol for it in the inscription is π , which perhaps=*λί<τρα>*. Other symbols employed, in different versions of the Edict, are Λ (*Ger.*) \uparrow (*Car.*), and \uparrow (*Megara*). In Latin fragments of the Edict the usual abbreviation is 'Ital. Po' (=Italicum Pondo).

γεγομω<μέ>νου,—two letters accidentally omitted. The verb *γομώω*, from *γόμος*, is not absolutely unknown ; one instance is quoted from Babrius.

Lines 23–25.—Rate of carriage by camel.—Why is *λείτρας*, *ασ* in the preceding entry, *ἐκ λειτρῶν* χ' here ? It is hardly likely that in one case the *maximum* load, in the other the *minimum*, for which the charge was made, is given ; so we must suppose that the difference is merely in the point of view—one is 'up to,' the other 'down from,' the fixed amount.

Line 28.—A new heading,—'Fodder.'

Line 29.—βικίας.—Lat. *vicia*, 'vetch.' The meaning of 'vicia' is sufficiently established : (a) by the identity of name with our 'vetch,' (b) by its use as fodder, (c) by Pliny XVIII. 15, 37, where it is classed among leguminous plants, (d) by Varro, *de R. R.* I. 31, 5, where the word is derived from 'vincio' because of its *clinging tendrils*.

Why the price should be fixed for 2 lbs. is not clear. In the next entry the amount fixed is 4 lbs., and in the succeeding entry 6 lbs. Presumably these were ordinary 'feeds.' If the sale of larger quantities were contemplated, the rate would be either per lb. or (more probably) per cwt. (*κεντήναρις* ; cf. l. 39).

Line 30.—χόρτου.—Here a *specific* kind of fodder, as opposed to the *generic* sense of the word in l. 28. Presumably 'hay,' the fodder *par excellence*. The word is frequently used as = Lat. *faenum* ; e.g. in the proverb 'χόρτον ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος' (*v. L. & S.*) ; and the modern *χόρτον* = 'grass' (plur. 'green vegetables'), 'hay.'

ἀχύρον.—*ἄχυρον* = Lat. *palea*, 'chaff.' The combination with *χόρτος*, 'hay,' is a natural one ;—'*palea plures gentes pro facno utuntur*' (Plin. XVIII. 30, 72).

Line 31.—παβούλου.—*πάβουλον* = Lat. *pabulum*.—Here a special kind of fodder, for whose nature there is no sufficient evidence. In any case the name 'pabulum' proves it to have been in very common use, and the price (1 denarius for 6 lbs.) is extremely low. In the absence of more certain information, I propose the following. There was a kind of fodder called 'ocinum,' much commended by Cato, Varro, Pliny, which grew quickly, was

cut (or better, *plucked*) green, and grew again. It is said to have been a kind of trefoil. Forcellinus gives this 'ocinum' as a special meaning of the word 'pabulum.' His authority for this specific use of the word absolutely (*i.e.* without further explanation) is insufficient; but undeniably that meaning would suit the present passage. There is a kind of trefoil in use at the present day—the 'sainfoin'—which corresponds very nearly with the ancient 'ocinum.' It is a good fodder, grows so quickly as to yield three crops a year, and is in consequence extremely cheap.

Line 32.—Περὶ Πλούμων.—Properly 'down,' as appears from the first two entries, in which πλούμος is markedly distinguished from the περὰ λεπτὰ of l. 35. But, as a heading, it is used loosely to include (a) down, (b) down-like substances, ll. 37–43, (c) feathers of various kinds, ll. 35, 6; 44, 5. Πλούμος (or perhaps πλούμων) is a transcription of Lat. 'pluma,' with a reckless disregard of gender (cf. note on l. 27).

Lines 33, 34.—'Goose-down'; 'mixed down';—no doubt for stuffing cushions, etc., like the πλούμος of l. 37 and the γνάφαλλον of l. 42.

Line 35.—'Small feathers of all sorts of birds,'—only $\frac{1}{25}$ of the price of down. The feathers, like the down, are probably for stuffing. If for decoration, ποικίλων might be translated 'many-coloured'; but the price is, I think, too low. Besides, both the preceding and the succeeding entries refer to stuffing.

Line 37.—Ἐ[ρ]έας ἦτοι πλούμων ἀπὸ ἑλίκης.—The stone reads ἐπέας, which is meaningless. The ἑλίκη is a small variety of the willow (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* III. 12; Pliny, XVI. 37, 69). It is worth noting that Theophrastus gives ἑλίκη as specially an Arcadian name, so that *possibly* the word is peculiar to our version of the Edict;—at the same time Pliny uses it as a matter of course.

What is meant by the 'wool' or 'down' of the willow? Presumably the 'catkins' or 'palms.' The following passage, to which the Master of Trinity Hall has drawn my attention, is very much to the point. It is from Evelyn's *Silva*, Bk. I., chap. 20, § 8. The writer is speaking of the 'Hopping Sallow,' which, like the ἑλίκη of our inscription, is a small variety of the willow.—'The Hopping Sallows open and yield their palms before other Sallows; and when they are blown . . . the palms . . . are four inches long, and full of a fine lanuginous cotton. Of this sort there is a Salix near Dorking [= Dorking] in Surry, in which the Julus bears a thick cottonous substance: A poor body might in an hour's space gather a pound or two of it, which resembling the finest silk, might doubtless be converted to some profitable use by an ingenious housewife, if gathered in calm evenings, before the wind, rain, and dew impair them: I am of opinion, if it were dried with care, it might be fit for cushions, and pillows of chastity, for such of old was the reputation of the shade [?] of those trees.'

The reference at the end is no doubt to the 'lygus' or 'agnus castus,' whose *leaves*, according to Pliny (XXIV. 9, 38), were used for beds by the matrons at the Thesmophoria. If the 'agnus castus' was really a willow (Pliny only says it *resembled* a willow), it was probably not the leaves, but the 'palms,' which were used.

Line 39.—Λυχνίδος.—(For the substance of this note, and that on line 40 below, I have to thank Mr. W. R. Paton, who has corrected a former error of mine on the subject of these two lines.) The reference is, as Mr. Paton has pointed out to me, to the λυχνίς plant, mentioned by Pollux (X. 41) as used for stuffings. It was even, Pollux says, at one time known as ἀνθήλη, a word commonly employed in a more general sense for downy flowers of any kind (*v.* ἀνθήλη in the *Thes. Gr. Ling.*).

κεντήναριον,—for κεντηνάριον (cf. μείλιν for μείδιον, l. 19) = Lat. 'centenarium,' 100 lbs. It is equivalent therefore to the λείτραι ρ' of the preceding line.

Line 40.—κανθήλης ἦτοι καλαμανθήλης.—καλαμανθήλη is the downy flower (ἀνθήλη) of the reed. κανθήλη must either be a slip for ἀνθήλη—due perhaps to the κ in καλαμανθήλη which follows—or (as Mr. Paton suggests) may stand for ἀκανθανθήλη, *i.e.* 'thistle-down,' the middle syllable being dropped for the sake of euphony, the initial α- either from careless pronunciation or by an engraver's error. A former suggestion of my own, that κανθήλη was some kind of *rush* (whence 'candela,' properly a *rush*-light, and κανθήλια,

properly *rush*-baskets), must be abandoned, unless it can be shown that any part of the rush was used for stuffing.

If *κανθήλη* is a mistake for *ἀνθήλη*, *ἀνθήλη* is here used in a specific, as opposed to its general, sense, designating some special kind of downy flower; just as 'tomentum' in l. 42 designates some special kind of stuffing.

Line 42.—[Τ]ωμέντον ἦτοι γναφάλλου.—The stone reads clearly *Πωμέντον* (*πώμεντον* = pulmentum)—a word more familiar to the engraver. Evidently it should be *τωμέντον* = tomenti, 'stuffing,' 'cushioning.' The best commentary on *γναφάλλου* is Pliny XXVII. 10, 61—'Gnaphalium [*al.* gnaphallium] aliqui chamaezelon vocant; ejus foliis albis molli-busque *pro tomento utuntur*; sane et similia sunt' [*i.e.* the gnaphalium and the chamaezelon], *v.* also Pollux X. 41. The 'gnaphalium' in modern botany is the 'cudweed,' a genus which includes, among other varieties, the 'edelweiss.' The part used for stuffing would probably be the 'involucral bracts'; but the whole plant is of a somewhat woolly nature.

Line 43.—*δευτέρον*,—'second quality.'

Lines 44, 45.—Peacocks' feathers are sold singly, vultures' in bundles of twenty-five. These are of course not for stuffing but for ornament.

Line 46.—*Περὶ καλάμων καὶ μελανίου*.—'Pens (reed-pens) and ink.' The ink is sold by the pound. This tallies with what we know already of Greek and Roman ink;—it was solid, like our 'Indian ink,' and had to be mixed when required. Daremberg and Saglio (*s.v.* *Atramentum librarium*) appropriately quote Dem. *de Corona*, p. 313, where Aeschines, in his boyhood, is described as performing menial offices in his father's school,—among others 'τὸ μέλαν τρίβων.' It was made of the soot of resin compounded with gum (Vitr. VII. 10, 2). The inscription proves it to have been extremely cheap.

Lines 48, 49.—*κάλαμοι Παφικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείνοι*.—On the analogy of other passages (*e.g.* III. 40, 41, where see note), this should mean 'Paphian made in imitation of Alexandrian,' or *vice versâ*. 'Paphian or Alexandrian' would be *Παφ. ἢ τοι Ἀλεξανδρ.*

Nothing is known of Paphian pens; Alexandrian, or at least Egyptian pens are mentioned with special approval by Pliny (XVI. 36, 64) and Martial (XIV. 38, 1). Pliny also mentions the pens of Cnidus, and those from the region around the Anaitic lake (in Armenia).

μονογονατοί,—*i.e.* made of a single joint of the reed. As this is a pen of best quality, one must suppose that a pen of which the whole length was cut out of a single joint was more pliant, more convenient to hold, and at the same time harder to get, than a pen made out of several. The 'second quality' pens of the next entry cost exactly $\frac{2}{5}$ of the cost of the better kind. A reed-pen, cut ready for writing, has actually been found at Herculaneum; it is figured in Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* *Calamus*.

Line 50.—*Δευτ<έρης> φάρ<μης>*.—Cf. note on l. 12.

Line 51.—*Περὶ ἐσθήτος*.—'Clothing.'—This heading includes (1) all the rest of our Col. II., (2) probably also the entire *lost* part of this column (*i.e.* those portions which were inscribed on the lower slab, the latter part of which coincided with Wadd. Chap. XVI. 1–18, *C.I.L.* Chap. XVI. 1–20), (3) our Col. III. 1–33 (= Wadd. Chap. XVI. 19–45, *C.I.L.* Chap. XVI. 21–37).

Line 52.—*χλαμύς*,—a short cloak,—especially used for riding, and in the army. At Athens in classical times it was the characteristic dress of the 'ephebus': *v.* Dicts. *passim*.

ινδικτιωνάλια = Lat. 'indictionalis,' the adjective formed from 'indictio,' a 'tax' or 'impost.' Here the reference is to the system of the 'annona,' under which imperial officials were entitled, as part of their salary, to be provided with clothing at the expense of the provincials. Cf. *Vita Albini*, 10, 'Huic [*sc.* praefecto] salarium duplex decrevi, vestem militarem simplicem'; *Vita Claudii*, 15, 'tantum vestium quam proconsulatus Africano'; *Cod. Theod.* 7, 6, 'canonem vestium'; and, for the word 'indictio' in a similar sense, *ibid.* 6, 26, 15. I have to thank Professor Pelham for this note.

Line 54.—*Στήχη*.—A translation of Lat. 'strictoria,' as appears from Chap. VII. 56 (Wadd.) of the Edict, where both Greek and Latin are extant. 'Strictoria,' being derived

from 'stringo,'—has been explained as a tight-fitting tunic of some kind. Both the above conclusions are confirmed from another source, viz. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 189, 'Strictoria, στιχάριον'; *ibid.* II. 438, 'στιχάριον, tunica.' The form *στίχη* is peculiar to this Edict.

Line 55.—'Ἀσημος,' 'plain.' Contrast with *σεσημμένον* in l. 68. In III. 49 it is contrasted with *σκοντλατόν*, 'check.'

Line 56-58.—'Ἐνδρομῖς.—The 'locus classicus' for the 'endromis' is Mart. IV. 19,—where it is described as a thick garment of Gallic wool ('Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnā'), to be worn when taking (one would rather suppose *after* taking) exercise, and proof against wind and rain. Its warmth is further proved by Juv. III. 103,—where the 'Graeculus esuriens,' shamming cold to keep his patron company, 'accipit endromidem.' In shape and size it is supposed to have resembled a blanket. The meaning 'rug' or 'blanket' is confirmed by the inscription, but the use of the blanket is different. It is employed not as an over-garment (the original meaning of the word), but (a) as a tent or awning (*v. next note*), (b) as bed-covering.

παπυλιῶνα.—*παπυλιῶν* = late Lat. *papilio*, a 'tent' or 'canopy,' from its resemblance, on a large scale, to a butterfly; hence Fr. 'pavillon' (same word as 'papillon'), Eng. 'pavilion.' How came a blanket (*ἐνδρομῖς*) to be used *ἵς παπυλιῶνα*? I suppose that this, like the preceding entries, was *στρατιωτική*,—an army 'regulation' blanket, which could be used in various ways, among others as a sort of canopy against sun and rain. Its size, 16 feet each way, is sufficient to allow of this. *βαπτή*, 'dyed'; as opposed to *λευκή* in the next entry.

Lines 59, 60.—'Ἐνδρομῖς . . . κρεβεττάρια,—a 'bed-blanket.' As there is no regulation quality for this, and its value depended as much on thickness as on size, it is sold by weight.

Line 61-65.—'Ἐνδρομῖς Ἀραβική ἦτοι Δαμασκηνή κ.τ.λ.—If this was a bed-covering, like the last, it was a *fancy* blanket or coverlet. If, on the other hand, it was to be used as an over-garment,—we may compare the Tyrian 'endromis' of Juvenal, VI. 246. Note the use of the wools of Damascus and Arabia, and the mention of *embroidery* (*πλουμαρίσεως*). The 'endromis' was properly an athletic costume, and a *luxurious* endromis, worn by women, was regarded by Juvenal as a scandal,—almost as a contradiction in terms.

ἐτέρας ὁποιασδηποῦν,—*sc. ἐρέας*.

λειτρισμού,—'weight,' the *λείτρα* being the standard.

Line 66.—*Ἰδιωτική*.—*v. note* on I. 58.

Line 67-69.—*Δελματικομαφέρτιον*.—The word is new. Portions of it, more or less disguised, are extant on the 'Theban' and '1st Carystian' fragments. Thus we have . . . *αψέρτου*, . . . *έρτου*, and in one case (*C.I.L.* Chap. XVI. 17) *δελματικομάφερτ[ος]*, but without comment, as the word does not occur in Wadd.

Δελματικομαφέρτιον is compounded of two others, viz. (1) *Δελματική*,—for which *v. Wadd.*'s note on Chap. XVII. 11, and Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Dalmatica.' It was a tunic, for the shape of which at this period we have no evidence; but its shape in later times, when it was adopted as an ecclesiastical vestment, is pretty accurately described, for church writers attached allegorical meanings to all its details. It was cruciform, had large sleeves, was made of white wool, and was adorned with tassels ('fimbriae') at the left-hand side and with a purple stripe before and behind. Waddington is of opinion that at the time of this Edict, and for a long time after, it was identical with the *κολόβιον*, which was sleeveless; but the evidence for this theory is insufficient, while the evidence of the Edict itself is all against it, for we have several times repeated the entry *δελματικῶν* . . . *ἦτοι καλοβίων*; and *ἦτοι* in the Edict always distinguishes two different things, not two names of the same thing.

(2) *Μαφέρτιον* or *μαφόρτιον*.—The form *μαφόριον* is already known; in Lat. also 'mafors,' 'mafora,' 'mafortem,' etc. (*v. Du Cange*, both Greek and Latin). The commonest meaning seems to be a female *head-covering*; but the references to it are extremely inconsistent; it appears not only as a head-covering, but also as a *πέπλος*, *ἱμάτιον*, etc., and in the only passage in which the form 'mafortem' occurs, it is evidently some kind of tunic. It is consistent however in designating always some article of *female* dress; and in the present passage the combination with *δελματική* makes it probable that it designates a

tunic. The word (in the form *μαφόριον*) occurs in one inscription besides our own, viz. *C.I.G.* 8695, no. 4.—(On a reliquary) ‘Ἐξουσίαι.—Τὸ μαφόριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας θ<εοῦ>κου.’

What particular kind of tunic the combination of *δελματική* and *μαφέριον* was, it is obviously impossible to decide; but we cannot be wrong in describing it as a woman's *δελματική*, in opposition to the *δελματική ἀνδρεία* of the succeeding entry.

σεσημμένον,—‘with a pattern,’—presumably the stripes of purple mentioned in my description of the *δελματική* above.

προφύρας ἰσγίνης,—more properly *ἰσγίνης*.—‘Hysginum’ was a kind of purple or scarlet made from a plant called *ῥογή*, but the word was used loosely for any vegetable colour of the same hue. Thus Pliny (XXI. 26, 97) says that in Gaul the ‘hyacinthus’ was used as a dye for ‘hysginum’; and in a passage of this Edict (Wadd XVI. 94), a *ἰσγίνη* made of sea-weed is mentioned. For a further discussion of the word I must refer to Wadd's note on the passage referred to (XVI. 94). He decides that the colour was intermediate between the scarlet ‘coccus’ [the kermes insect] and the deep Tyrian purple [murex].

Lines 70, 71.—*ὑποβλάττης*.—*Βλάττη* = Lat. *blatta*, a ‘lump,’ ‘clot,’ especially of blood; thence purple, from its colour (!); not uncommon in late Latin. *ὑποβλάττη* is presumably a purple of lighter shade: *v.* Wadd's note on Chap. XVI. 87. He finds that *βλ'ττη* is the deepest (blackest) purple, and suggests that *ὑποβλάττη* is violet.

μήκος ἔχουσα ὑποβλάττης.—I suppose that a numeral followed, as in l. 73, and in both places I add *πόδας* conjecturally. The *δελματική* was white, with *stripes* of purple (*v.* note on ll. 67–69), and the price apparently varied with the length of purple stripes.

Lines 77–79.—My restoration is of course conjectural. *Μουτουνήσιον* is the only word we can regard as certainly correct.

COL. III.

1-44 = Car.
Col. I. 51-II. 25
(C.I.L.); Col. A.
45-B. 22
(Wadd.).

	ΒΙΡΟΣΡΕΙΠΗΣΙΟΣ	*,H
	ΒΙΡΟΣΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ	*,ε
	ΒΙΡΟΣΜΕΛΙΤΟΜΑΓΗΣΙΟΣ	*,ε
	ΒΙΡΟΣΚΑΝΥΣΕΙΝΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ	
5	ΧΗΜΙΩΤΟΣ	*,Δ
	ΒΙΡΟΣΝΟΥΜΕΔΙΚΟΣ	*,Γ
	ΒΙΡΟΣΑΡΓΟΛΙΚΟΣΠΡΩΤΟΣΤΕΚΑΛ ΛΙΣΤΟΣ	*,ε
	ΒΙΡΟΣΑΧΑΙΚΟΣΗΤΟΙΦΡΥΓΙΑΚΟΣ	
10	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ	*,B
	ΒΙΡΟΣΑΦΡΟΣ	*,ΑΦ
	ΒΑΝΑΤΑΝΩΡΙΚΗΔΙΠΛΗΗΤΟΙΚΑ ΤΑΒΙΩΝ	* ^B M
	ΒΕΔΟΞΝΩΡΙΚΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣΗΤΟΙ	
15	ΒΗΛΩΝ	* ^A M
	ΒΑΝΑΤΑΓΑΛΛΙΚΗ	* ^A M,ε
	ΒΕΔΟΞΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΣ	*,H
	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΝΩΡΙΚΟΣ	*,ΑΦ
	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΣ	*,ΑCΝ
20	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΝΟΥΜΕΔΙΚΟΣ	*X
	ΣΙΝΓΙΛΙΩΝΦΡΥΓΙΑΚΟΣΗΤΟΙΒΕCΣΟΣ	*X
	ΦΑΙΝΟΥΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΗΚΑΛΛΙ	*,ε
	ΠΑΙΝΟΥΛΑΒΑΛΥΣΕΙΝΗ	*,Δ
	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΡΑΙΔΙΚΑΝΟΝ	* ^A M,ΒΦ
25	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΤΡΕΒΕΡΙΚΟΝ	*,H
	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΠΕΤΟΥΒΙΩΝΙΚΟΝ	*ε
	ΦΙΒΛΑΤΩΡΙΟΝΑΦΡΟΝ	*,B
	ΧΛΑΜΥCΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΚΗΔΙΠΛΗΚΑΛ	* ^A M,ΒΦ
	ΧΛΑΜΥCΔΑΡΔΑΝΙΚΗΑΠΛΗΚΑΛ	*
30	ΜΑΝΤΟΣ	*,A
	CΑΓΟΣΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΣΤΟΥΤΕCΤΙΝΑΝΒΙΑ	
	ΝΗΣΙΟΣΗΤΟΙΒΙΤΟΥΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ	*,H
	CΑΓΟCΑΦΡΟΣ	*Φ
	ΠΕΡΙΜΙCΘΩΝΤΩΝΠΛΟΥΜΑΡΙΩΝ	
35	ΚΑΙCΕΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΝ	
	ΠΛΟΥΜΑΡΙΩΙCCTΙΧΗΝCΥΝΨΕΙΡΙ	
	ΚΟΝ	////A
	ΙCCTΙΧΗΝΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝΓΘΑ	*C
		*T

	COL. III.	Denarii.	
	Βίρος 'Ρειπήσιος	✕,η'	8,000
	Βίρος Βρεταννικός	✕,ς'	6,000
	Βίρος* Μελιτομαγήσιος*	✕ ς'	6,000
	Βίρος Κανυσεῖνος* κίλλιστος*		
5	σημιωτός	✕,δ'	4,000
	Βίρος Νουμεδικός*	✕,γ'	3,000
	Βίρος Αργολικός πρῶτός τε κάλ- λιστος	✕,ς'	6,000
10	Βίρος 'Αχαιικός ἦτοι Φρυγιάκός		
	κάλλιστος	✕,β'	2,000
	Βίρος "Αφρος	✕,αφ'	1,500
	Βάνατα* Νωρική διπλή ἦτοι κα- ταβίων	✕β'μ<ύρια>	20,000
	Βέδοξ* Νωρικός* κάλλιστος ἦτοι		
15	βήλ(ο)ν	✕α'μ<ύρια>	10,000
	Βάνατο* Γαλλική	✕α'μ<ύρια>,ε'	15,000
	Βέδοξ* Γαλλικός*	✕,η'	8,000
	Σινγιλίων* Νωρικός	✕,αφ'	1,500
	Σινγιλίων* Γαλλικός	✕,ασν'	1,250
20	Σινγιλίων Νουμεδικός	✕χ'	600
	Σινγιλίων Φρυγιάκός ἦτοι Βέσσος	✕χ'	600
	Φαίνουλα Λαδικήν καλλ<στη>	✕,ε'	5,000
	Παίνουλα Βαλυσείνη	✕,δ'	4,000
	Φιβλατώριον 'Ραιδικᾶνον	✕α'μ<ύρια>,βφ'	12,500
25	Φιβλατώριον Τρεβερικόν*	✕,η'	8,000
	Φιβλατώριον Πιτουβιονικόν*	✕,ε'	5,000
	Φιβλατώριον "Αφρον	✕,β'	2,000
	Χλαμύς Δαρδανική διπλή καλ<λίστη>	✕α'μ<ύρια>,βφ'	12,500
	Χλαμύς Δαρδανική ἀπλή καλ<λίστη>	✕[,ζ]	7,000
30	Μάντος	✕(,α')	1,000
	Σάγος Γαλλικός τουτέστιν* 'Ανβια- νήσιος* ἦτοι Βιτυρητικές*	✕,η'	8,000
	Σάγος "Αφρος*	✕φ'	500
§§. Περὶ μισθῶν* τῶν πλουμαρίων*			
35	καὶ σειρικαρίων*		
	Πλουμαρίῳ ἰς στίχην συνψειρι- κόν* [Γο]α'	✕σ'	200
	'Ις στίχην ὀλοσειρικόν Γο α'	✕τ'	300

1-65 = Wadd.
XVI 19-66 or
67; C I. L. XVI
21-66.

45-65 = Car.
Col. II. 26-
II. 46 or 47
(O.I.L.); Col. B.
23-B. 42 or 43
(Wadd.). Also
= Theb. 1-18.

	ΙΧΧΛΑΝΙΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΝΗCΙΑΝΓΟΑ	*ΚΕ
40	ΙΧΧΛΑΝΙΔΑΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΗΝΜΟΥΤΟΥ	
	ΝΗCΙΑΝ ΓΟΑ	*ΚΕ
	ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΔΙΑΧΡΥCΟΥΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕ	
	ΝΩΕΡΓΟΥΠΡΩΤΙCΤΟΥΓΟΑ	*Λ
	ΕΡΓΟΥΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	*ΥΝ
45	ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΙCΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝΓΟΑ	*Φ
	ΕΡΓΟΥΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΙΟΥ	*Υ
	CΕΙΡΙΚΑΡΙΩΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΙC CΥΝΥΕΙ	
	ΡΙΚΑΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΩΗΜΕΡ	*ΚΕ
	ΙCΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝΑCΗΜΟΝΤΡΕΦΗΜΕ	*ΚΕ
50	ΙCΟΛΟCΕΙΡΙΚΟΝCΚΟΥΤΛΑΤΟΝ	*Μ
	ΓΕΡΔΙΑΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΗΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΥΠΕΞΟΥ	
	ΤΩΝΙCΠΑΡΑΔΟCΙΝΗΜΕΡ	*ΙΒ
	ΕΝΕΙΜΑΤΙΟΙCΜΟΥΤΟΥΝΗCΙ////ΗΤΟΙC	
	ΛΟΙΠΟΙC	*ΙΓ
55	ΠΕΡΙΛΑΝΑΡΙΩΝ	
	ΛΑΝΑ////ΡΙΩΕΡΓΑΖΟΜ//////	
	ΝΗCΙΑΘΑΛΑC CΙΑΤΡΕΦ//////	
	ΙCΕΡΕΑΝΤΕΡΕΝΤΕΙΝΗ//////	
	ΗΑΛΙΕΙΝΗΝ//////	
60	ΥΠΕΡΕΡΕΑCΔΕ	
	ΥΠΕΡΕΡΕΑCΤ	
	ΛΙΝΥΦΩΤ	
	ΤΕ	
	ΙCΕ	
65	ΠΕΡΙ	

(20 lines, and the entire lower slab, are missing.)

COL. III.

Of Col. II. five lines which were engraved on our slab are broken away, and the lower slab (or slabs) is lost. Some of the contents of the latter are however preserved, though in a very imperfect condition, on the 'first Carystian' fragment, and are edited as *C.I.L.* XVI. 1—20, Wadd. XVI. 1—18. Then comes our Col. III. which corresponds to *C.I.L.* XVI. 21—56, Wadd. XVI. 19—66 (or possibly 67; the imperfect state of the stone at this point makes it impossible to fix the limit with accuracy). Though I say that our Col. III. corresponds to a portion of *C.I.L.* and Wadd., it will be observed, from the quantity of thick type employed in my edition, that our lines 1—35 (or more than half of the column) are practically new. In this part *C.I.L.* and Wadd. have only a few letters here and there, which it has often been difficult to equate with ours; I have nevertheless thought it worth

		Denarii.
	Ἴς χλανίδα* Μουτουνησίαν Γο α' Χκε'	25
40	Ἴς χλανίδα* Λαδικήνην Μουτου- νήσιαν Γο α' Χκε'	25
	Βαρβαρικαρίῳ διὰ χρυσοῦ ἐργαζομέ- νῳ ἔργου πρωτίστου Γο α' Χ,α'	1,000
	Ἔργου δευτερείου Χψν'	750
45	Βαρβαρικαρίῳ ἰς ὀλοσειρικὺν Γο α' Χφ'	500
	Ἔργου δευτερείου Χυ'	400
	Σειρικαρίῳ ἐργαζομένῳ ἰς συνψει- ρικὰ τρεφομένῳ ἡμερ<ήσια> Χκε'	25
	Ἴς ὀλοσειρικὸν ἄσημον τρεφ<ομένῳ> ἡμε<ρήσια> Χκε'	25
50	Ἴς ὀλοσειρικὸν σκουτῶτον Χμ'	40
	Γερδιά τρεφομένη εἰματίου πέξου τῶν ἰς παράδοσιν ἡμερ<ήσια> Χιβ'	12
	Ἐν εἰματίοις Μουτουνησί[οις] ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς Χ(ις')	16
55	§§. Περὶ λαναρίων Λαναρίῳ* ἐργαζομ[ένῳ* Μουτου-] νήσια θαλάσσια τρεφ[ομένῳ πα' Χμ']	40
	Ἴς ἐρέαν Τερεντεῖν[η* ἢ Λαδικήνην?] ἢ ἀλιεῖν[η*] [πα' Χλ']	30
60	Ἵπ[ερ] ἐρέας δευτερερείας* πα' Χκ']	20
	Ἵπ[ερ] ἐρέας τ[ρι]τερείας* πα' Χιε']	15
	Δινύφῳ τ[ρε]φομένῳ ἰς ἔργον πρω- τε[ί]ον ἡμερήσια Χμ']	40
	Ἴς (ε) [ργον δευτερεῖον τρεφομένῳ. Χκ']	20
65	§§. Περὶ	

(The first part of the missing portion corresponds to Wadd. XVI. 67 (or 68)—
101, C.I.L. XVI. 57—100.)

while to indicate them where they do occur, as they are sufficient to establish the general agreement which existed between the different versions of the Edict.

As to the sources of that part of chap. XVI. in Wadd. and C.I.L. which corresponds to our Col. III., they are the 'first Carystian' fragment (Wadd. and C.I.L.) and, for the last twenty lines, the 'Theban' (C.I.L. only). Wadd.'s edition of the Carystian fragment is based on a copy by Lenormant, the edition in C.I.L. on a later copy by Köhler. The two copies differ very considerably; a careful collation of both with the readings of our own stone has proved Lenormant's copy (Wadd.) to be almost worthless. I have determined therefore to omit the collation of it from my notes, except in a few cases in which it supplies a letter or two which are absent from Köhler's copy (C.I.L.). The abbreviation 'Car.' therefore, except where '(Wadd.)' is added, may be taken as representing 'Car. (C.I.L.);' i.e. the readings of the Carystian fragment as copied by Köhler and edited in the Latin *Corpus*.

Lines 7-11.—At this point the collation becomes difficult, since our two copies of the Carystian fragment (those used in *C.I.L.* and by Wadd. respectively) diverge, not agreeing even in the number of lines. *C.I.L.* has three lines, corresponding to the number of *entries* on our stone; Wadd. has six, corresponding nearly with our number of lines. As it is impossible to equate them, line with line, I give both versions entire:—

(1) *C.I.L.* (Köhler)

/////////
//ΤΕ////////
/////////

(2) Wadd. (Lenormant)

. . . ΟΣ
. . . ΓΟΝΠΑΝ
. ΓΑΛΛ
. ΤΙΚΗΓΥ
.
.

Of all this, the only letters which can be equated with ours are Wadd.'s . . . ΟΣ, which form part of the 'Βίρος' of our l. 7. The remainder he himself equates (and it was inevitable) with a small fragment from Mylasa (*C.I.L.* vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 820), and would therefore restore as follows:—

Σά]γον Πα[νονικόν
Σά]γον Γαλ[λικόν
Δε[λμα]τικῇ γυ[ναικεία.

This restoration, charming as it is, must be given up. The fault lies not in Waddington, but in Lenormant, who copied letters which were certainly not upon the stone. Köhler, with the same stone before him, failed altogether to see them; and so great a divergence from the Megalopolitan version at this point is out of the question, since, so soon as the inscription becomes clear—a few lines lower down—it agrees with ours.

After this point Wadd.'s readings almost entirely cease to be of service to us; I shall therefore give the readings of *C.I.L.* only, except in special cases, and 'Cur.', unless otherwise stated, must be taken as = 'Cur. (*C.I.L.*).' Both are from the same stone, and, where Wadd. (Lenormant) agrees with *C.I.L.* it is useless to quote them both; where they differ, *C.I.L.* is almost invariably the better copy of the two.

Lines 7, 8.—*πρώτος κάλλιστος*.—I suppose a sort of superlative of *κάλλιστος*, 'first among the best,' 'A. 1'; perhaps a trade expression. Cf. *καλλίστης μέσης* in IV. 7.

Lines 12, 13.—*Cur.* // ἸΑΤΑ.//// ΝΔ/.

Βάνατα.—This, and the *βέδοξ* of the next entry (the two words are repeated in ll. 16 and 17), form one of the chief puzzles of the inscription. The probability is that both are barbarous words (perhaps Gallic or 'Noric') for over-garments of some kind. At the same time it is *possible* that they are Latin; and 'barbarous origin' is a refuge to be turned to only as a last resource. I therefore make the following conjecture, to be taken for what it is worth.

First, what we require are over-garments—coats, cloaks, or the like.

Second, though probably of wool, it is not necessary they should be of wool; transitions of this kind being common, *e.g.* IV. 12, from wools of various kinds to hare's fur. Over-garments were sometimes made of leather (*v.* Mart. xiv. 130).

Third, we have to account not only for the forms *Βάνατα* and *Βέδοξ* of our own inscription, but for the forms *Αν[α]τα* and *Εδοξ* of *Cur.*

Now *β* in our inscription always represents either *b* or *v* in Latin, generally the latter.

The Latin forms therefore were probably 'vanata' and 'anata' (or 'hanata'), 'vedox' and 'edox' (or 'hedox'). It has occurred to me that the *original* forms may have been 'fanata' and 'fedox,' which would account for both the variants. The relation between *f* and *v* is obvious; the relation between *f* and *h* is well-known to philologists. Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 19) gives an illustration which is very much in point. 'Edus' (more commonly spelt 'hedus' or 'haedus') is in Sabine 'fedus'; 'ircus' (= 'hircus') is in Sabine 'fircus.' It is quite *possible* therefore that the original form of our βέδοξ was 'fedox,' which has varied on the one hand to 'vedox' (βέδοξ), on the other to 'hedox' (ἔδοξ); and that it came from 'fedus' or 'hedus,' and meant 'a garment of kid's skin.'

Similarly the original form of βάναρα may have been 'fanata'; and since 'fannatio' (*v. Du Cange*) in late Latin meant 'fawning-time,' 'fanna,' or some such word, almost certainly = French 'faon,' our 'fawn.' If so, just as 'fedox' (hedox) may possibly come from 'fedus' and mean a 'kid-skin,' so 'fanata' (hanata) may come from 'fanna' and mean a 'fawn-skin.' I give this suggestion for what it is worth.

Νωρική, *i.e.* from the province of Noricum, south of the Danube, and partly coinciding with the modern Styria.

καταβίων.—Another new word. Is it a mistake for καταβρίων, *i.e.* 'mantellus catabriatus,' an expression which is found in mediaeval Latin? 'Catabriatus' appears to be rightly interpreted as 'striped' (*v. Du Cange*).

Lines 14, 15.—*Car.* (C.I.L.) /ΔΕ///ΚΟC/// ✕/
(Wadd.) . . . as κοs ✕μύ<ρια>.

Βέδοξ.—*v.* note on ll. 12, 13.

βήλον.—Lat. 'velum,' generally = a 'curtain' or an 'awning,' here more probably a [large loose over-garment of some kind. Cicero, wishing to describe a loose, luxurious toga, compares it to a 'velum'—'velis amictos, non togis' (*Cat.* ii. 10, 22), so that the change of meaning is not difficult. Later, of course, velum = 'veil.'

Line 16.—*Car.* Ἄν . . . α Γαλλική ✕ μ<ύρια>.

Line 17.—*Car.* Ἔδοξ (?) κάλλιστος ✕, η, (The η is taken from the *copy*). This is the only line, in the portion 1—35, which *Car.* has complete; and even here κάλλιστος is almost certainly a mistake for Γαλλικός.

Lines 18–21.—These four lines, corresponding to three in *Car.*, are there almost entirely gone. Wadd. has

✕, δ

✕, αξ

. ον ✕, αο

all of which is almost certainly wrong.

C.I.L. has the note 'Sequuntur versus tres qui legi non potuerunt'; but Köhler's copy, which he used, proves a general agreement with our version; for it reads—

///ΓΙΛΙΩΝ/////

///Ι:ΑΤ////////

//////////

Line 18.—Σινγίλων.—Lat. 'singilio,' a word which occurs in Treb. Clandius (c. 300 A.D.), in a letter of the emperor Gallienus, 'Singiliones Dalmatenses decem,' (*Du Cange*); where others read 'cingiliones' (*Forcel.*). Elsewhere the form σινγίλων (= sigillio) occurs, this form arising in a false etymology from 'sigillum' (*quasi restes sigillatae*), as the form 'cingilio' arose in a false etymology from 'cingo.' 'Singilio' should probably be connected with 'singulus,' 'simplex,' &c., and denoted a simple, as opposed either to a double or to a made-up, garment. The prices, which are comparatively low, accord well with this. The epithet 'Dalmatenses' in the passage cited suggests a tunic; but the position requires an over-garment of some kind.

Line 21.—Φρυγιάκος.—The most celebrated Phrygian wools were those from Laodicea, for which *v.* note on next line.

Βέσσος, 'Bessian,' *i.e.* from the Bessi, a Thracian tribe! We should rather expect *Βεσσικός*; but cf. *Ἄφρος*, l. 11 (and elsewhere).

Line 22.—*Car.* (price only) ✕, ε.

Φαίνουλα, should be *παίνουλα* (= *paenula*), as in next line. The form *φαίνουλα* is a compromise between the Lat. 'paenula' and the late Greek *φανόλης*, which bore the same meaning.

The 'paenula' was an over-garment of very thick woollen material, round in shape, and sleeveless; shorter than the toga, but long enough to cover the arms when hanging by the sides (*v.* Forcellinus, *s.v.*). Rich (*s.v.*) gives some useful references. It was used especially in wet weather; thus Galba, when asked for a 'paenula,' replied 'Non pluit, non opus est tibi; si pluit, ipse utar' (Quint. vi. 3, 66). Milo, at the time of the meeting with Clodius, is described as 'paenula *irretitus*' [the garment being sleeveless] (Cic. *pro Milone*, xx. 54).

Λαδικήνη, 'Laodicean.'—This is the Laodicea in *I-hrygia*, famous for its wool (*v.* note on ll. 4, 5, quotation from Pliny); to be carefully distinguished from the *Syrian* Laodicea, which was celebrated for its linen (*v.* Wadd.'s note on chap. xvi. 11). The woollen materials of Laodicea were remarkable for their *χρσα κοραξή* (= 'raven-black'—Strabo xii. 7, 16), and also for their softness (*μαλακότης*). Pliny (viii. 48, 73) places them at the head of Asiatic wools.

Line 23.—*Car.* (price only) ✕, δ.

Βαλυσείνη.—Possibly a lengthened form of *βαλσείνη*, *i.e.* from Balsa (Plin. iv. 21, 35), a town of Lusitania in Spain. Spanish wool occurs elsewhere in our inscription (*ἐρέας Ἀστυρκησίας*, IV. 5). As an alternative Mr. Hicks suggests that 'Venusina' (Venusia in Apulia) is intended.

Line 24.—*Car.* (price only) ✕ α μ <ύρια>, βφ.

Φιβλατώριον, spelt in *Car.*, where it occurs in a later passage, *φιβουλατώριον*. 'Fibulatorium' is no doubt a cloak to fasten with a buckle or buckles. It occurs in Trebellius as an epithet of 'sagum.'

Ῥαιδικάνον, from the *Rhoeti*? (cf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 4, 17; iv. 14, 15, &c.). They occupied the modern Tyrol, and bordered on the Norici, whom we know already (*v.* ll. 12, 14, 18) to have exported wool.

Line 25.—*Car.* ον ✕, η . . .

Τρεβερίκόν.—The Treveri, or Treviri, were a Gallic tribe, whose territory was situated between the Rhine and the Meuse. Their chief town, Augusta Trevirorum, is the modern Trier, or Trêves, on the Moselle.

Line 26.—*Car.* ικον ✕, ε.

Πετουβιωνικόν.—Petovio (modern Pettau) was a town in Pannonia. Possibly, however, the reference is not to Petovio, but to Patavium (modern Padova, near Venice), which sent woollen garments, &c., in great quantities to Rome. The names were easily confused; Petovio is even called by Ptolemy (II. 15, 4) *Παταύιον*. Strabo (v. 1, 7), commenting on the flourishing condition of Patavium in his time, remarks: 'Δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πεμπομένης κατασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην κατ' ἐμπορίαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐσθλὸς παντοδαπῆς, τὴν εὐανδρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν.' And (v. 1, 12) [*Ἐρέαν δὲ τὴν μέσην—i.e.* of medium roughness—*φέρουσιν*] 'οἱ περὶ Παταούιον, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τάπητες οἱ πολυτελεῖς, καὶ γαύσαποι (a shaggy woollen material), καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος πᾶν, ἀμφίμαλλον τε καὶ ἐτερόμαλλον' (*i.e.* with shaggy nap on both sides or only on one). He goes on to say that for a softer wool Mutina had a greater repute (*v.* note on l. 39.).

Line 27.—Entirely absent from *Car.*

Line 28.—*Car.* has a portion of the price only . . ρφ, an impossible combination. The φ alone is correct.

Χλαμός, *v.* note on II. 52.

Δαρδανική.—Not from Dardanus in the Troad, but from the territory of the Dardani, a tribe which occupied a district to the south of the Danube, corresponding to the southern portion of the modern Servia.

Line 29.—*Car.* (the price only) ✕, ζ, an addition to our stone, on which the numeral is indistinct.

Line 30.—*Car.* (Wadd.) has the price only, ✕,δ, probably a mistake for our ✕,α; but our own numeral is not quite clear.

(*C.I.L.*) has the single letter . . α . . , the restoration of a doubtful stroke in the copy, which *may* have been the numeral. There is considerable confusion here in *C.I.L.*, this entry being in the cursive edition amalgamated with the next.

Μάντρος,—‘Mantum’ and ‘mantellum’ are common in mediaeval Latin; generally neuter, but the masculine forms also occur. Isidornus describes it as a *short* cloak, even deriving its name from its shortness, ‘quod manus tegat tantum’ (!). Its shortness perhaps accounts for its cheapness; but it cannot have been always short, for the word is sometimes used as = pallium.

Lines 31, 32.—*Car.* να . . . α του . . . γικος ✕,η
which agrees almost perfectly with our stone.

Σάγος.—Lat. ‘sagus’ or more commonly ‘sagum.’ Both word and garment are of barbarian origin. The ‘sagum’ was a rectangular piece of ‘shaggy’ [same word] woollen cloth, thrown over one shoulder and buckled over the other. It was worn especially by officers, common soldiers, and slaves, in place of the ‘toga’ (*v.* Rich, *s v.*, and Wadd.’s note on chap. XVI. 26).

Ἀμβιανήσιος = Lat. ‘Ambianensis.’—The chief town of the Ambiani—known by the name of the tribe—is the modern *Amiens*.

The present entry is probably identical with an entry in a small Latin fragment from Mylasa—the fragment which Wadd. wrongly identified with our III. 7 *sqq.* (*v.* note on III. 7—11). The entry there reads ‘Sagum Gallicum hoc est . . . octo milibus.’ Wadd. suggested ‘Atrebatikum’ (*i.e.* of *Arras*) to fill the gap, ‘Atrebatika saga’ being famous. *Amiens* belongs of course to the same region.

Βιτουρητικός.—I suppose ‘of the Bituriges.’ Their capital, Avaricum, is the modern Bourges.

Line 33.—*Car.* . . . α ✕φ .
α = “A[φρος].

34, 35.—A new heading.

Car. (Wadd.) ΠΕΡΙΤ ΤΩΝΧΗΡ
which Wadd. restored conjecturally Περὶ τ[ῆς ἐργασίας] τῶν σηρικῶν καὶ τῶν πέξων]. But Köhler’s reading (*C.I.L.*) of which the only letters given as certain are

Τ////Θ////////ΛΟΥ////
ΤΩΝΧΗΡΙΚΑΡΙ////

proves the reading of *Car.* to have agreed in substance with our own. The first Τ should of course be Π.

Πλουμαρίων.—‘Plumarii’ = ‘embroiderers’; the word referred originally no doubt to some sort of ornamental feather-work, but afterwards to embroidery in general.

Σερικαρίων.—*Car.* reads σηρικαρί[ων]. ‘Sericarii’ are probably ‘silk-weavers,’ but *v.* note on l. 47.

Lines 36, 37.—*Car.* Πλουμαρίῳ ἰς στίχην σ . . . κο[ν ὁ <γκίας> α ✕]τ . . . Mommsen (*C.I.L.*) restored σ[ηρικόν].

The expression ἰς στίχην is perhaps elliptical for ἐργαζομένῳ ἰς στίχην, ‘working at (or “on”) a στίχη.’ It is used in connection with weaving (Il. 47—50, and l. 58) as well as embroidery. The full form occurs in l. 47. Ἐν εἰματίοις κ.τ.λ. (l. 53) must have the same sense. When the material in which the embroidery is executed is mentioned, it is with the preposition διὰ (διὰ χρυσοῦ, l. 42, where *v.* note).

στίχην, *v.* note on II. 54.

συνψερικόν, Lat. ‘subsericum,’ ‘half-silk’; as opposed to ὁλοσειρικόν, ‘holosericum,’ ‘all silk.’ The insertion of the ν is due to false etymology, and is peculiar to our version. συνψερικόν, the reading of *Theb.* in similar passages, is more correct. *Car.* has συψερικόν.

[Γο] α'.—For the symbol Γο *v.* note on next line. Embroidery is paid for by the ounce (Γο = ὀγκία = 'uncia') of material used. The material (silk or wool) of the embroidery varied with the material on which it was worked. Thus the charge for embroidering a woollen garment (ll. 39–41) is very much less than for embroidering on silk.

Line 38.—*Car.* ἰς στίχην [ὀλ]όσηρικόν[υ . . .] ὀ<γκίας> α ✕ τ.

ὀλοσσειρικόν.—*v.* note on συνψειρικόν, ll. 36, 37.

Γο.—The symbol used in our inscription for ὀγκία or οὐγκία = Lat. 'uncia,' an 'ounce,' the *twelfth* part of a Roman pound. The Roman pound being about three-quarters of the English, it follows that the Roman ounce was almost exactly equivalent to the English ounce.

The symbol used in *Car.* is Ὠ, which must represent Οὐ. Our engraver perhaps had a similar monogram of Ὀγ before him, and misread it Γο.

Line 39.—*Car.* ἰς χλαμύ[δ]α Μουτουνησίαν ὀ<γκίας> α ✕ κε.

Our reading χλαμίδα is a distinct gain. We have done with χλαμύδες long ago (l. 29), and it is hardly likely we should return to them.

The χλαμὶς was a cloak of finer material than the χλομύς, less generally military, and worn by women as well as by men. It accords well with this that we find it made of the wool of Mutina, which was famous for its softness; *v.* next note. In shape it is said to have resembled the χλαίνα rather than the χλαμύς, but χλαίνα itself is a somewhat vague term.

Μουτουνησίαν.—Rightly explained by Mommsen, followed by Wadd., as = 'Mutinensem.' '—ήσιος' in the inscription is the regular representative of Lat. '—ensis': *e.g.* 'Ρεπιήσιος = Ripensis; 'Ανβιανήσιος = Amb'anensis; 'Αστυρκήσιος = Astur(i)ensis. Mutina was famous for a soft wool. Strabo (v. 1, 12) says: 'Ἐρέαν δὲ τὴν μὲν μαλακὴν οἱ περὶ Μουτίνην καὶ τὸν Σκουτάναν πόταμον φέρουσι πασῶν πολὺ καλλίστην.' Cf. note on l. 26.

Lines 40, 41.—*Car.* (C.I.L.) ἰς χλαμύδα Λαδικήνην [Μ]ουτουνησίαν ὀ<γκίας> α ✕ κε.

(Wadd.) *ibid.* but Μοτονησίαν for [Μ]ουτουνησίαν.

Λαδικήνην Μουτουνησίαν, 'faite à Laodicée en imitation de celles de Modène' is Wadd.'s explanation. He compares chap. XVI. 12, 'Βίρρος Λαδικηνὸς ἐν ὁμοιότητι Νερβικοῦ.'

With Λαδικήνην Μουτουνησίαν cf. Ταρσικαλεξανδρείων (IV. 36 *sqq.*), elsewhere written Ταρσικῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων.—Παφικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείοι (II. 48), &c. The only question is whether Wadd.'s arrangement should not be inverted, the *second* of the two names being that which denotes the actual place of origin. It would seem more natural that the epithet by which the thing was popularly known should come first, and in intimate connection with the substantive—afterwards the corrective local epithet. This arrangement, in the case of the epithets Ταρσικοὶ Ἀλεξανδρείοι, would also remove the difficulty which Wadd. himself feels (note on chap. XVII. 5)—the absence of any mention of linens from Egypt.

Lines 42, 43.—ἔργον πρωτίστου, *Car.* ὑπὲρ ἔργου πρωτείου. Γο α', absent from *Car.* Wadd. rightly restores it.

Βαρβαρικάριος = Lat. 'barbaricarius,' an embroiderer in gold. This was especially an Oriental art. Another word for the same thing was 'Phrygio.' διὰ χρυσοῦ.—Apparently 'with (we should say rather "in") gold.' Perhaps it was from this that the expression διὰ χρυσος (in one word) arose; *e.g.* Polybius, vi. 53, 7, where Mr. Shuckburgh translates rightly 'embroidered with gold.'

Line 44.—ἔργον δευτερείου.—*Car.* ἔργο[υ δ]ευτερείου.

Lines 45–64.—From l. 45 to the end of the column, we have the assistance of a fragment from Thebes (*Rhein. Mus.* 1864, pp. 610–614; *C.I.L.* vol. iii. pt. 2. p. 823). The Theban fragment has the last halves of the lines only, but it is specially valuable from our l. 56 onwards, where both *Car.* and *Meg.* are defective. I give the readings of *Theb.* from the copy, *C.I.L.* p. 823.

Line 45.—*Car.* [Β]αρβα[ρ]ικαρί[φ] ἰς ὀλοσηρικόν ὀ<γκίας> α' [✕] φ.

Theb. σσειρικόν [ύ]πέ[ρ] (ὦν) α' ✕ ψ.

όλοσειρικόν, v. note on ll. 36, 37, συνψειρικόν.

Line 46.—*Car.* inserts $\delta < \gamma \kappa \iota \alpha \varsigma > \alpha'$

Theb. ὑπὲρ οὐ(π) α' ✕ ν'.

Line 47.—*Car.* Σηρικαρίῳ ἐργ[αξο]μένῳ εἰς σι[ψ]ηρικὸν τρεφομ[ένῳ] ἡμερήσια]. . . .

Theb. ο[μ]ένῳ ἰς συνψειρικὸν τρε . . . ✕ κ ε

thus confirming our somewhat doubtful numeral.

Σειρικαρίῳ.—Σειρικάριος ('sericarius') is almost certainly a *weaver* in silk, not an embroiderer in silk:

(1) because the πλουμάριος of ll. 36—38 probably embroidered in silk, and it is unlikely that we should have him again under a different name.

(2) because it would be absurd to embroider upon a check background (l. 50).

(3) because if the σειρικάριος were an embroiderer, he would probably be paid, not by the day, but (like the πλουμάριος and βαρβαρικάριος) by the ounce of material employed.

ἡμερ<ήσια>, 'daily pay,' ' . . a day.'

τρεφομένῳ, 'in addition to his board.'

Line 49.—*Car.* εἰς for ἰς; όλοσηρικόν for όλοσειρικόν; τρεφομένῳ ἡμερήσια in full.

Theb. ἄσημον τ[ρεφο]μένῳ ἡμερ<ήσια> ✕ κέ.

ἄσημον, 'plain'; as opp. to σκουτλάτον in next line.

Line 50.—*Car.* εἰς όλοσηρικὸν σκουτλάτον ✕ ξ

Theb. κουτλά[τ]ον ✕ μ'

σκουτλάτον = Lat. 'scutlatum' or 'scutulatum,' a word which must indicate a pattern of some kind, presumably a *check*. Du Cange quotes Juv. ii. 97, 'Caerulea indutus scutulata ["a blue check"] aut galbana rasa'; and, for the meaning, Pliny viii. 48, 74 'Scutulis *dividere* Gallia' instituit].

Lines 51, 52.—*Car.* ὑπὲρ εἵματιον for εἵματιον; εἰς for ἰς; ἡμερήσια for ἡμερ<ήσια>.

Theb. ἐρ εἵματιον πέ[ξ]ου τῶν εἰς πα . . . ✕ ιβ

Γερδιά, 'a female weaver.'—Γέρδιος, ὑφάντης' (Suidas).

At this point we pass from silk to wool; the new heading would come much better here than at l. 55.

πέξου.—πέξος = Lat. 'pexus,' which commonly = 'with the nap on,' as opp. to 'rasus,' 'thread-bare.' Here apparently a particular *kind* of material, presumably a material with long hairy nap.

τῶν ἰς παράδοσιν.—Cf. 'τῶ[ν] εἰς παράστασιν καὶ [εἰ]ς παράδοσιν' in *Theb.* (C.I.L. chap. XVI. 58). Παράστασις = 'retail trade' (Arist. *Pol.* I. 11, 4; and *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 396, where 'exhibitio' perhaps = 'exposition for sale'). Παράδοσις ('mancipatio, traditio,' *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 394) may, when opposed to παράστασις, mean 'wholesale trade'; but this requires confirmation.

Lines 53, 54.—*Car.* ἐν εἵματιοῖς Μουτουνησίοις ΗΤΟΙ/Σ//ΠΟΙΣ τρεφομένη ✕ ι
(Wadd. here has the correct price ✕ ις).

Theb. (γω)νησίοις ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ✕ ις

There is no trace of a lost τρεφομένη on our stone.

ἐν εἵματιοῖς κ.τ.λ.—v. note on ἰς στίχην, l. 36.

Line 55.—Περὶ λαναρίων.—The heading occurs neither in *Car.* nor in *Theb.* It by no means adds to the clearness of the inscription, the real transition occurring not here, but at the female weaver (γερδιά) of l. 51.

Lines 56, 57.—*Car.* Α αρ ζομένῳ Μουτουνη κα τρεφομένῳ λί<τρα> α' ✕ μ
(Wadd.'s 'Λα<δικηνά>' arose from his mistaking Α Α [= λίτρα α'] for the beginning of a word.)

Theb. νησία ἢ [θ]αλάσσια τρεφο ✕ μ'

thus filling a gap in *Car.*, confirming *Meg.* in the main, but distinguishing Μουτουνήσια from θαλάσσια by interposing the conjunction ἢ.

θαλάσσια.—Were this the only place where the word occurred, I should suggest that it indicated *colour* [θαλάσσιος or θαλάττιος = αλουργής; v. Sophocles' *Lexicon*]. But in

IV. 11, it appears to indicate a special *kind* of wool. May it have been a wool coming from some district over sea, and commonly known as 'Iana Marina' or ἰρέα θαλάσσια? Or, better still, from some district on the sea-shore? for Pliny (xxxi. 6. 33) tells us that sea-water was good for the fleeces of sheep, softening the wool.

If our reading (without the *η*) is correct, Μουτουνήσια θαλάσσια = θαλάσσια made in imitation of Μουτουνήσια, or *vice versa* (c. note on ll. 40, 41).

Lines 58, 59.—*Car.* τεῖνον κη ην (✕ λ)

Theb. ην ἡ Λαδικήνην ἰαρ ✕ λ'

The whole of my restoration therefore comes from *Car.* or *Theb.* *Meg.* adds the beginning and end of the line. The *η* . . . *η* thus arrived at is rather suspicious, and one is inclined to conjecture that ἡ Λαδικήνην may have been absent from *Meg.*; but (except by assuming an unusually large break in the stone) it is impossible to fill the necessary space without it. As an alternative it might be suggested that, though our *η* ἀλείνην is quite clear, the *η* is a mistake, and that the true reading is ἡ Λαδικήνην ἀλείνην. Then, if ἀλείνην = 'marinam,' the reference might be to the *Syrian* Laodicea, Laodicea 'ad Mare'; but the weak point in this is that we have no evidence for an export of woollen goods from the Syrian Laodicea.

Τερεντέινον.—For the wool of Tarentum c. note on ll. 4, 5 (quotation from Pliny).

Line 60.—From here to the end *Car.* is illegible. The copy used by Wadd. has indeed, in the next five lines, the letters—

. . . Λ . . . Δ &c.

. . . HXH &c.

. &c.

. ΑΛ . . . &c.

. ΗΣΟ . . . &c.

which, if correct, would argue a divergence from our stone. But, as before stated, this copy is utterly unreliable; so that these letters, and Wadd.'s attempted restoration, must be given up.

On the other hand *Theb.* and *Meg.* here supplement each other, the former supplying the second half, the latter the first half, of the lines. In the present line (60) *Theb.* reads—

. δευ]ερείας ὑπέρ λ. α' ✕ κ'

I have omitted ὑπέρ in my restoration of *Meg.*, so as to make it accord with other lines.

Line 61.—*Theb.* τρι]είας ὑπέρ λ. α' ✕ ιε'

Lines 62, 63.—*Theb.* ε]ς ἔργον πρωτεῖον ἡμερ ✕ μ'

The λυνύφος is somewhat out of his place.

Line 64.—*Theb.* ον τρεφομένω ✕ κ'. Mommsen (*C.I.L.*) hit on the true restoration, now confirmed by *Meg.* In these 5 lines (60–64) the dove-tailing of *Meg.* and *Theb.* is almost perfect.

Line 65.—This line began a new section. The heading appears to have been peculiar to *Meg.*; for l. 19 in *Theb.*, which would otherwise correspond with our l. 65, reads νηs ✕ ν',—an entry and a price.

COL. IV.

1-50 New.

- ΕΡΕΑΣΤΕΡΕΝΤ////ΕΙΝΗΣΠΕΠΛΥ
 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A *ΡΟΕ
 ΕΡΕΑΣΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΗΣΠΕΠΛΥΜΕ
 ΝΗΣ 7A *ΡΝ
 5 ΕΡΕΑΣΑСТΥР////ΚΗΣΙΑСПΕΠΛΥ
 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A *Ρ
 ΕΡΕΑΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΣΜΕСΗΣΠΕΠΛΥ
 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A *Ν
 ΤΗΣΛΟΙΠΗΣΠΑΣΗΣΕΡΕΑ////СПΕΠΛΥ
 10 ΜΕΝΗΣ 7A *ΚΕ
 ΕΡΕΑΣΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΑСΝΩΤΙ////ΑΙΑС 7A */
 ΕΡΕΑΣΛΑΓΕΙΑСΜΙΓΗΣ 7A *Ρ
 ΕΡΕΑΣΑΡΕΙΑС 7A *ΡΝ
 ΕΡΕΑΣΤРЕΒΑΤΙΚΗΣ 7A *С
 15 ΠΕΡΙΛΙΝΟΥ
 ΛΙΝΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥСТОУΠΙΟΥ
 ΠΡΩΤ ΦΩΡ 7A *ΚΔ
 ΦΩΡ ΔΕΥΤ 7A *Κ
 ΦΩΡ 3: 7A *ΙΞ
 20 ΟΠΟΙΟΝΕΙΔΟСΛΙΝΟΥΠΟСΗΣΤΕΙΜΗΣ
 ΟΥΚ ΥΠΕР/////////ΗΣΕΤΑΙΠΙΠРАСΚΟΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΤΗΝΩΡΙСΜΕΝΗΝΤΕΙΜΗΝΥΠΟ/////////
 ΦΩΡ А 7A *,Δ//
 ΦΩΡ В 7A *,ΓЗ
 25 ΦΩΡ Г 7A *ΩМ
 ΛΙΝΟΥΤР////ΑΧΥΤΕΡΟΥΙСΧΡΗΣΙΝΙΔΙΩΤΩ//
 ΤΕΚΑΙΦΑΜΕΛΙΑΡΙΚΩΝ
 ΦΩΡ А 7A //////////
 ΦΩΡ В 7A *////
 30 ΦΩΡ Г 7A *////
 СΤΙΧΩΝΑΣΗΜΩΝСΚΥΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝΩΝ
 ΦΩΡ ΑΙСТ А *,Ζ
 ΤΑРСΙΚΩΝΙСТОС А *////
 ΒΙΒΛΙΩΝ ΙСТОС А *,Ε
 35 ΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΩΝΙСТОС А *,Δφ
 ΤΑРСΙΚΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΩΝΙСТОС А*,Δ
 ΦΩРВСКΥΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝΩΝΙСТОС А*,Ξ
 ΤΑРСΙΚΩΝ ΙСТОС А *////

COL. IV.			Denarii.
5	'Ερέας Τερεντέινης πεπλυ- μένης πα		✕ροε 175
	'Ερέας Λαδικήνης πεπλυμέ- νης πα		✕ρν 150
	'Ερέας Ἀστυρκησίας πεπλυ- μένης πα		✕ρ 100
	'Ερέας καλλίστης μέσης πεπλυ- μένης πα'		✕ν 50
	Τῆς λοιπῆς πάσης ἐρέας πεπλυ- μένης πα		✕κε 25
10	'Ερέας θαλασσίας νωτιαίας πα		✕ . 100
	'Ερέας λαγείας μιγῆς πα		✕ρ 100
	'Ερέας Ἀρείας πα		✕ρν' 150
	'Ερέας Τρεβατικῆς πα'		✕σ' 200
15	§§. Περὶ λίνου		
	§. Λίνου τοῦ καλουμένου στουπίου		
	(1)	πρώτ<ης> φώρ<μης> πα' ✕κδ'	24
	(2)	Φώρ<μης> δευτ<έρας> πα' ✕κ'	20
	(3)	Φώρ<μης> (γ') πα' ✕ις'	16
20	§. Ὅποῖον εἶδος λίνου π[ό]σης τειμῆς οὐκ ὑπερ[β]ήσεται πιπρασκ(όμ)εν(ον) τὴν ὠρισμένην τειμὴν (ὕ)πο . . .		
	(1)	Φώρ<μης> α' πα' ✕,δ'	4,000
	(2)	Φώρ<μης> β' πα' ✕,γξ'	3,060
25	(3)	Φώρ<μης> γ' πα' ✕ωμ'	840
	§. Λίνου τραχυτέρου ἰς χρῆσιν ἰδιωτῶ[ν] τε καὶ φαμελιαρικῶν		
	(1)	Φώρ<μης> α' πα' [✕] .	
	(2)	Φώρ<μης> β' πα' ✕ .	
30	(3)	Φώρ<μης> γ' πα' ✕ .	
	§. (1) Στιχῶν ἀσήμων Σκυτοπολιτάνων φώρ<μης> α' ἰστ<ὸς> α' ✕,ζ'		7,000
	Ταρσικῶν ἰστὸς α' ✕ .		
	Βιβλίων ἰστὸς α' ✕,ε'		5,000
35	Λαδικήνων ἰστὸς α' ✕,δφ'		4,500
	Ταρσικαλεξανδρείνων ἰστὸς α' ✕,δ'		4,000
	(2)	Φώρ<μης> β' Σκυτοπολιτάνων ἰστος α' ✕,ς'	6,000
	Ταρσικῶν ἰστὸς α' ✕ .		

1-50 New.
Comes between
XVI. and XVII.
of Wadd. and
C I L.

	BIBΛΙΩΝ	ICTOC	A	※///
40	ΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΩΝ	ICTOC	A	※///
	ΤΑΡCΙΚΑΛΕΞ	///ΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΩΝICTOC	A	※///
	ΦΩPCKYTOΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΝΩΝΓICTOC		A	///
	ΤΑΡCΙΚΩΝ	ICT///OC	A	
	BIBΛΙΩΝ	ICT///OC	A	
45	ΛΑΔΙΚΗΝΩΝ	///ICT///		
	ΤΑΡCΙΚΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΝΩΝICT	///		
	CTIXΩNCTPATIΩTIKΩN	///		
	ΦΩP	A		
	ΦΩP	B		
50	ΦΩP	Γ		

(The remainder is missing.)

COL. IV.

Col. III. dealt with garments of various kinds, and with the wages paid for weaving and for embroidery. Twenty lines of that column, written on the upper slab, are lost, and the whole of the lower slab (or slabs); but a great part of the matter inscribed on the lower slab is preserved elsewhere, partly on the Carystian and partly on the Theban stone. The portion preserved contains two new headings, *Περὶ τειμῆς τῶν σηρικῶν*, and *Περὶ Πορφύρας*, and forms Wadd.'s Chap. XVI. 67 (or 68) -101 (*C.I.L.* XVI. 57-100). Then comes our Col. IV., which is entirely new, and should be inserted before Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and *C.I.L.* which (with probably a small gap only) forms its continuation.

Col. IV. deals with raw materials (wool and flax), and manufactured materials (linen) not yet made up into garments. In l. 1 we find ourselves in the middle of a section *Περὶ Ἐρέας*, which must have begun somewhere near the end of the bottom slab of Col. III.

Line 1.—*Τερεντέλης*.—*v.* note on III. 58, 59.

π.—*v.* note on II. 20-22.

Line 3.—*Δαδικήνης*.—The Laodicea in Phrygia;—*v.* note on III. 22.

Line 5.—*Ἀστυρκησίας*.—*Ἀστυρκήσιας* = Asturicensis. Asturia was a province of Hispania Tarraconensis; Asturica, its capital. It was famous for its breed of horses ('Asturco' = an Asturian horse). So far as I am aware, this is the first mention of its wool.

Line 7.—*καλλίστης μέσης*,—'medium best,' 'A. 2'; cf. III. 7, 8, *πρώτος κάλλιστος*, and note.

Line 11.—*θαλασσίας*.—*v.* note on III. 56, 57.

νωτιαίας.—A word of doubtful meaning. On the Latin fragment from Mylasa is the entry 'Strictoria leporina (d)urs . . .' Mommsen conjectured 'dorsualis'—a restoration which, in view of our *νωτιάιος*, may be regarded as certain. But Wadd.'s explanation 'to wear on the back' (I suppose that to be his meaning; note on Chap. XVI. 27) is impossible, —first, because it would be impossible to wear a 'strictoria' (a tight-fitting garment) on the back only; and secondly because, as now appears, the epithet was applicable to *materials* as well as to garments. This being so, the only possible explanation, though not altogether satisfactory, is 'from the back of the animal,'—*i.e.* the wool taken from the back and not from all parts indiscriminately.

Line 12.—*Ἐρέας λαγέας μιγῆς*,—'mixed hare's fur.' *Ἐρέα λάγεια* = 'lana leporina,' for which *v.* Lewis and Short, *s.c.* 'lana.'

The insertion of this entry in the midst of *wools* in the ordinary sense of the word is

	Βιβλίων ἰστός α'	✕ .
40	Λαδικήνων ἰστός α'	✕ .
	Ταρσικαλεξανδρείνων ἰστός α'	✕ .
(3)	Φῶρ<μης> Σκυτοπολεϊτάνων γ' ἰστός α'	[✕ .]
	Ταρσικῶν ἰστός α'	[✕ .]
	Βιβλίων ἰστός α'	[✕ .]
45	Λαδικήνων ἰστ[ός α'	✕ .]
	Ταρσικαλεξανδρείνων ἰστ[ός α'	✕ .]
§.	Στιχῶν στρατιωτικῶν	
(1)	Φῶρ<μης> α' [ἰστός α'	✕ .]
(2)	Φῶρ<μης> β' [ἰστός α'	✕ .]
50	(3) Φῶρ<μης> γ' [ἰστός α'	✕ .]

(After an interval, probably short, comes Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and C.I.L.)

curious. But cf. the transition, in the section Περὶ Πλοῦμον (Col. II.), from 'down' proper to 'willow-down' (πλοῦμος ἀπὸ ἐλίκης).

μιγῆς,—I suppose 'mixed,' *i.e.* not all of one colour. L. and S. give one example of μιγῆς (nom. sing.) for μικτός; but μιγός is, I think, without precedent.

Line 13.—'Αρείας.—This word is a puzzle. I suppose it should be written with a capital 'A. The province Aria, to the East of Parthia,—its capital Alexandria Ariana, the modern Herât,—is spelt in Greek both 'Αρία and 'Αρεία, and the people are called 'Αρειοί; but to connect this region with our 'Αρειος, in the absence of any evidence for an export of wools from this quarter, must be regarded as pure conjecture.

Line 14.—Τρεβατικῆς,—no doubt for 'Ατρεβατικῆς.—The Atrebatres were a Belgic tribe, their capital the modern Arras. Their woollen garments were famous;—'vestes Atrebatum,' 'χλαμύδες Ἀτραβαττικαί,' 'Atrebatica saga';—*v.* Wadd.'s note on Chap. XVI. 26.

Line 15.—Περὶ Δίνου.—A new section,—Flax and Linen. II. 15–30 deal with the former (the raw material), l. 31–end with the latter. The former, like the raw wool, is sold by weight, the latter by measure.

Line 16.—Στουπίου,—'tow'; the fibres of the flax-stalk in their least prepared form. The common form of the word is στύπη, 'stuppa.'

Line 17.—πρώτ<ης> Φῶρ<μης>.—*v.* note on II. 12.

Line 19.—The form ⏏ may perhaps be a Γ (= τρίτης) combined with a break in the stone.

Lines 20–22.—The order of the words is rather involved—πιπρασκόμενον should follow τειμῆς. The meaning is 'What kind of flax, when sold at what price, will not exceed the price prescribed,'—a sort of preamble to the three lines which follow. The formula may be compared with one which occurs in Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and C.I.L., which forms a continuation of our Col. IV.—'ἅπερ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς γ. Φῶρ<μης> τῆς προειρημένης ἐστὶν καταδεστέρα, ἐν πλείοις μόντο[ι] κατασκευίζεται, τίνες τειμὰς ὑπερβαίνειν μηδενὶ ἐξὸν εἶναι,'—and then follow, as here, the three qualities, the quantity, and the price.

The last word in l. 22 is partly illegible. Mr. Gardner, who has independently examined it for me, sees traces of ὑπόλινον, and suggests that it may mean 'under the head of Flax'; but I am unable to satisfy myself of the reading.

Lines 24, 25.—Though the numerals on the stone are quite clear, I suspect an error on the part of the engraver, these two being the only *irregular* numbers in the inscription.

Lines **26, 27**.—*ἰδιωτῶν*,—‘common people’; *φαιμελιαρικῶν*, ‘slaves.’ *v.* Wadd.’s note on Chap. XVII. 29, and cf. *ἰδιωτικῶν*, ‘common,’ in I. 58, and my note there.

Line **31**.—*Στιχῶν ἀσήμεων κ.τ.λ.*—At this point we pass from the raw to the manufactured material; not, as might appear at first sight, to the garments themselves,—this is proved by the measure of length (*ἰσὸς α'*) which forms part of each entry. The use of the name of the garment for the material is compared by Wadd. (introductory note on Chap. XVII.) to our English expression ‘shirtings.’

From this line, 31, to l. 46, the inscription deals with materials for a single garment, the *στίχη* (= ‘strictoria’), which was explained (II. 54, note) as a tight-fitting tunic. In III. 36–38 it was of silk, or half-silk; here, of linen. The linen is divided into three ‘classes’ or ‘qualities’ (*φῶρμαι*; *v.* note on II. 12), each quality again into five subdivisions, according to the locality from which the material came,—Scyt(h)opolis, Tarsus, Biblus, Laodicea (in Syria), Alexandria (in imitation of those of Tarsus; or *vice versâ*,—*v.* note on III. 40, 41). The Biblus (Byblus) is certainly that in Syria, not in Egypt; and if, as Wadd. thinks, the *Ταρσικαλεξανδρεῖνοι* were made in *Tarsus*, not Alexandria, then *all* the kinds of linen mentioned are Syrian. Wadd. quotes appropriately from the ‘Totius Orbis descriptio’ (author unknown) the following list of Syrian towns which exported linen goods: ‘In linteamina sunt hae, Scitopolis, Ladicia, Biblus, Tirus, Beritus [= ‘Berytus,’ modern Beirut], quae linteamen omni orbi terrarum emittunt, et sunt habundantia.’

Lines **31, 32**.—The order of words in the first two lines is slightly irregular, thus obscuring the classification. The order should be

Στιχῶν ἀσήμεων φώρμης α'
Σκυτοπολειτάνων ἰσὸς α'
Ταρσικῶν ἰσὸς α'
κ.τ.λ.

ἰσός,—properly a ‘loom,’ is here a measure of length. Probably it was the amount commonly worked on the loom in a single piece; *ἰσὸς α'* may therefore be translated ‘one piece’ or ‘one length.’ To judge from the prices, it was no small quantity.

Line **47**.—*Στιχῶν στρατιωτικῶν*.—These are of three qualities, but only one *kind* of linen; as the garment was part of the military outfit, probably the *kind* of material was prescribed.

After line **50** thirty-five lines of the slab are broken away, and the inscription comes to an end. The thread of it is taken up again, probably after no long interval, by a stone from Geronthrae, which is edited as Chap. XVII. of Wadd. and *C.I.L.* The Geronthraean inscription (‘Tabula Geronthraea Tertia’) opens with a classification of *δελματικά* (*v.* note on II. 67–69) similar to that of *στίχαι* in Col. IV. of *Meg.*

WILLIAM LORING.

ORPHIC MYTHS ON ATTIC VASES.

THE accompanying cut represents the painting upon a hydria in the British Museum (No. E 818). The design, in red figures, covers the body of the vase, which apparently dates from early in the fourth century B.C., and stands 32 mètres high; the glaze is of that semi-iridescent character which



marks the Attic vases of this time, and the red figures are smeared with ruddle and show the original sketch marks very plainly. It was found in excavations in Rhodes in 1880, outside a tomb at the site named in Mr. Biliotti's *Diary Cazviri*; unfortunately the circumstances of the find¹ do not

¹ Biliotti's *Diary. Cazviri. March 11. 1880. No. 43. 'Discovered a sharply vaulted tomb; found outside,*

'1 Hydria black glaze painted with three red figures; not very fine specimen however, as the figures are rather roughly done.

1 alabastron.

1 glass bottle with three coloured stripes.

1 lekythus with ornaments.

1 same with one handle, very common.

1 fragment of stone, perhaps part of a tool.'

assist us in determining more accurately the date; but it may be taken as of certainly Athenian fabric, and probably of the date above stated.

At first sight the curiously rough and hasty style of the drawing suggests a caricature; while however this peculiarity is evidently intentional, I do not think that the artist intended a caricature in our sense of the word; as to this I shall have to speak presently; but first, as to the subject.

We see a group of three principal figures. The central one is a bearded man who faces the spectator, dressed in a short chiton girt at the waist; over this is a long cloak decorated with horizontal patterns, including a double band of ivy or vine leaves, and fastened by two flaps knotted on the chest; on his head is a cap which hangs down the back and has a separate flap on each shoulder. With his right hand he raises to his mouth—obviously with the intention of eating—the limb of a dead boy which he has torn from the body that he holds on his left arm. The dead child is quite naked, and its long hair hangs down from the head which falls loosely backward; the lifeless



character of the figure is well brought out, in spite of the general sketchiness of the drawing.

On the left advances a figure who is also bearded, and who expresses his surprise at the sight of the central scene by the gesture of his left hand; his long wavy hair, wreathed with vine or ivy, and the thyrsos in his right hand mark him at once as Dionysos. He wears a succinct talaric chiton decorated with vertical stripes.

On the right a bearded personage, attired in the same way as the central figure, runs away to the right, looking back, and extending his left arm as if in surprise. In his right hand he carries a long staff. Part of this figure has been broken away in the only damage which the vase has undergone, but fortunately no important part seems to be wanting.

The dress which distinguishes the two right-hand figures is that which in Greek art is invariably used to characterise the inhabitants of Thrace. Thus it is worn for instance by the Thracian Boreas on a vase of this period in the

British Museum, No. F 154 (Gerhard, *A.V.* iii. pl. 152, fig. 3); but perhaps the best instance for our purpose is the Naples krater, *Museo Borb.*, Tom. ix. Tav. xii. The figures are there arranged in two friezes around the body of the vase; in the upper frieze we have (i.) Orpheus wearing an himation seated on a rock playing upon the lyre in the midst of four Thracian men dressed precisely like our figures, and who listen in attitudes of attention and approval; (ii.) Orpheus, as before, leading two Thracian men to the left: on either side a horse. In the lower frieze is the same figure of Orpheus pursued by five Thracian women who threaten him with various weapons, a large pestle, a spit, bipennis, &c. It is remarked on this vase by Heydemann¹ that Orpheus is here distinguished by his Greek costume, just as Pausanias (*Phok.* 30, 3) notices of him in the Delphic picture by Polygnotos: 'Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἐσθῆς οὔτε ἐπίθημά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ Θράκιον. This ἐσθῆς and ἐπίθημα have been identified by Dilthey² as the ζειρά and the ἀλωπεκῇ which Herodotos³ mentions as worn by Thracians on their campaigns; and Xenophon⁴ notices the same fact, explaining why foxes' skins were worn by them on the head, and particularly alluding to the fact that the chiton was worn, not only around the breast, but also around the thighs, that is to say, longer than the usual Greek male attire, but yet not talaric. We may conclude therefore from the dress of the two right-hand characters of our scene, that these are intended to represent Thracians.

We have thus before us the devouring of a boy by a Thracian, in the presence of Dionysos and a second Thracian who flees in terror.

The episode of a child torn to pieces and devoured occurs very rarely in Greek mythology; the banquet of Thyestes, and that of the gods with Tantalus when they ate his son Pelops are of course inapplicable to the present case, as there is no question in either of those myths of conscious and deliberate anthropophagy: neither is Dionysos a leading figure in these dramas. There remains only the episode of the devouring of the infant Zagreus by the Titans, and this must be the subject represented on our vase.

This episode was one of the most characteristic legends connected with the mystic-orgiastic Thracian cult which in Athens took root in the form of the Orphic mysteries. The central conception of the Orphic cult was Dionysos in his varying forms; and considering his presence here, and the Thracian colouring that is given to the scene by the dress of the other two figures, I think we may without hesitation identify the subject as the devouring of Zagreus. If so, we have here what is I believe the first recorded instance of an intrinsically Orphic scene in Attic art,⁵ treated in a way which offers some

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1868, p. 3.

² *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867, p. 179.

³ Herod. vii. 75. Θρήκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκᾶς ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας...

⁴ *Anab.* vii. 4. 4.

⁵ Pauly, *Real-Encycl.* s.v. *Liber Pater*, iv. p.

1022, refers to a representation of this same scene in Gerhard A. B. taf. 70, but I cannot find the publication he refers to; it is apparently not *Antike Bildwerke* nor *Ausgesessene Vasenbilder*. The statement above is of course exclusive of the two familiar types, of Orpheus playing to or destroyed by Thracians; and Orpheus in Hades.

interesting points of divergence from the Orphic traditions, as we know them.

The moving principle of the Thracian legend was the dogma of the immortality of the soul; the early localization of this idea in Thrace is set forth in various passages from Herodotos.¹ Unfortunately, most of our knowledge of the Orphic doctrines is drawn from such late authorities as Nonnus and Clemens, in whose narratives there is an obvious jumble of the Theogony of Hesiod and other unknown Theogonies with that of the Orphic sect. The discoveries at Sybaris and the inscribed tablets found there,² together with the Petelia tablet in the British Museum, speak for the prevalence of the cult in Southern Italy during the third century B.C. And still more recently, the discoveries at the Theban Kabirion and Kern's researches therein³ have shown that Orphic influences emanating from Athens were affecting Boeotia at any rate towards the end of the fifth century B.C. But of the existence of Orphic art types at Athens we have hitherto had no direct evidence.

In the cosmogony of the Orphic teaching, there are the two great cosmic elements, Zeus, the omnipotent all in all, and his daughter Kore, who combines in her personality the characteristic features of Persephone, Artemis, and Hekate; from the union of Zeus in serpent form with Kore, Zagreus is born, and to him, essentially in his character of *χθόνιος*, the kingdom is given of this world. Zagreus is the allegory of the life and death and resurrection of Nature; in the generally accepted version, he is brought up as the Zeus-child, and from fear of Hera is sent on earth to be warded by the Kouretes. Hera sends the Titans, who surprise Zagreus at play, tear him in pieces, and eat him, all except the heart. Zeus destroys the Titans with his thunderbolts, and out of their ashes the human race is born. Since the Titans had swallowed Zagreus, a spark of the divine element for ever permeates the human system. The heart is carried by Athene to Zeus, who either gives it to Semele in a potion or swallows it himself, and thus is born another Zagreus, the "younger Dionysos," *ὁ νέος Διόνυσος*. It is evident that Zagreus is simply another form of Dionysos, *ὁ χθόνιος Διόνυσος* (*Etym. Mag.*, p. 213), representing him in the phase preceding his death and resurrection.⁴

In this narrative, we are struck by the startling parallel which is presented to the main features of the Christian Theogony. We have an omnipotent God the Father, who with his Son, begotten of a virgin (Kore), is one person and all in all; (the serpent, as in Paradise, playing a part in the beginning of things); the son is sent on earth where he has to suffer and to die for the salvation of the human race, and in order to be born again. No wonder that the early Christian Fathers found occasion to be shocked at some of the elements in the story! It is only natural to suppose that this form at least of the Zagreus legend must be post-Christian, and must owe some of its

¹ Toepffer, *Att. Genéal.* p. 36.

² *J. H. S.* vol. iii. p. 111.

³ *Hermes*, 1890, p. 1.

⁴ Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 547 &c. For the various versions of the resurrection myth see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vol. i, p. 324.

details to artificial assimilation to the Christian religion. What the amount of this obligation was, it is difficult to define; probably each locality, in which the Orphic cult took effect had added elements borrowed from its own local cult; at Thebes and Lemnos for instance it came under the influence of different forms of the Kabiric myth; at Athens, later on, under that of the Eleusinian mysteries. For the original Attic form of the Zagreus legend we may probably accept at any rate the Thracian elements of Dionysos and Semele,¹ the Titans, and Zeus. In any case, we need not be surprised if an Attic vase like ours should differ in point of detail from the latest form of the story.

In the Orphic dogma, the number of Titans who tore Zagreus to pieces was seven; probably in keeping with the old Egyptian idea of the young Osiris torn by Typhon into seven (or twenty-one) pieces.² In our vase the act is performed by a single Titan; the second Titan distinctly has no part in the act, and hurries away as if in horror; whether this emotion is caused by the central action, or by the appearance of Dionysos on the scene, is left uncertain. I am at a loss to explain the presence of this second Titan, unless perhaps it refers to an episode in the story of which we have no record. In any case, it shows, I think, that the devouring Titan is alone in this version, and that he does not stand with our vase-painter (as he might otherwise be supposed to do) for the entire seven. It is possible that he represents, by a familiar process of prolepsis, the terror of the Titans at the avenging wrath of Zeus; this is in some measure, by a similar prolepsis, indicated by the presence of Dionysos; in that case the picture is, in its way, a sort of trilogy of three acts combined in one: (1) the devouring of Zagreus, (2) the (impending) destruction of the Titans, and (3) the outcome of it all, the new Dionysos. Such methods of combining successive moments are, of course, common enough in vase-paintings, and the intention of the artist would doubtless be clear to any one familiar with the mystic *δρώμενα*, the mystery-plays which must have supplied the artist with his types.

The Zagreus legend in its various forms was widespread throughout the Hellenic world; its elements appear more or less reflected in the various seats of the Kabiric religion, in the form already referred to of the Korybantian myth, in Thessalonike, Macedonia, Samothrace and Lemnos, in the Cybele, Kadmilos, and Attis legends. It is not my purpose here to handle the tangled web of comparative mythology. I only wish to signalize the interest of this vase as affording direct evidence of the form in which it existed at Athens.

In his article on the discoveries at the Kabirion at Thebes, Kern drew attention to the fact that the Kabiric cult was essentially Oriental, and was never really at home in Hellas; that in each locality it was closely inter-

¹ See Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia*, p. 17, for the Phrygian-Thracian origin of the names Dionysos and Semele.

² In the Etruscan form of the parallel Kabiric legend, which is represented on an engraved

mirror published by Gerhard (16th *Winckelmannsfestprogramm*), there are two winged and bearded Kabiri who tear a boy to pieces; and in the parallel story of the Korybantes there are two who thus destroy the third, their brother.

woven with a pre-existing cult, such as that of Hephaistos at Lemnos, Hermes-Kadmilos at Samothrake, and Dionysos (as the Kabirion vases show) at Thebes.

At Athens the leading threads of the Kabiric story are represented in the rhapsodic theogony of Orpheus, which we know to have existed there at least as early as the sixth century B.C., and to have been written for Athenians. It may be regarded as strange that so little evidence of this influence shows itself in the Attic art types of the sixth or fifth centuries. Probably, as Kern suggests, the answer is to be found in the fact that at Athens the Orphic doctrine as a whole had never taken a firm hold upon the popular conviction; that whereas at Thebes it transformed the whole Dionysos cult, at Athens, Zagreus-like, its teaching was dispersed and scattered in fragments broadcast among the various local myths and beliefs; such separate existence as it had, was confined probably to a small sect drawn mostly from the lower classes. But that it had this existence, even in art, we are shown by the evidently Athenian inspiration of the art types of the Theban Kabirion; these examples date from the end of the fifth century B.C.,¹ and our vase cannot be much later.

This leads us to another question, the peculiar character of the drawing in our vase. I think the closest parallel in this case also is to be found in the Kabirion vases. In these vases there is a strange mixture of the solemn and dignified with the ribald and grotesque, which shows as a studied effect through all the evident unskilfulness of the artists. Precisely the same mixed character is traceable in the elements of the Orphic mysteries themselves; the most solemn conceptions are here interwoven with a thread of burlesque, wherein such personifications as Iambe and Baubo occur. The Titans who snare the infant Zagreus to his tragical end avail themselves of a variety of children's toys, and even, according to one version, smear their faces with black. It is evident in all this that the dramatic instinct is strongly marked; as indeed was only natural in the cult of a god who was the special patron of the drama. The whole story is dramatic in the highest degree, and the admixture of comedy only served to point the final tragedy.

There is, however, one use to which comedy has always been applied beyond that of merely causing merriment either as an end in itself or as a subjective adjunct to tragedy. I mean that of representing subjects which are unfitted for direct representation either by popular or personal feeling. Aristophanes in the *Equites* could attack Kleon with a license which would have been impossible outside the sphere of comedy; the relation of the mediaeval jester to the king that he served is a parallel case; and so the most powerful or the most sacred could be rendered on the comic stage as it would have been impossible to render them elsewhere. But in early times, and

¹ The Theban vases are black-figured; since we can hardly imagine black-figured vases being made at Athens as late as the end of the fifth century, it may be that the origin of the Theban type may date back perhaps a half century

earlier; in a class of ware specially destined for a temple the style of black figures in which it had started would be kept up by a hieratic conservatism; the Panathenaic amphorae at Athens are an obvious parallel.

especially amongst an uneducated audience, the grotesque rendering of a religious subject need not necessarily have rendered that subject ridiculous. So that it may be that we must regard the grotesque drawing of our vase from this point of view. The artist was in all probability drawing for a limited circle of the initiated, to whom nothing would be more unseemly than the suspicion of ridicule cast on one of the most sacred tenets of their religious faith.

The sectarian and exclusive character of the Orphic cult at Athens is doubtless the reason why Orphic subjects are so little represented among the Athenian art types, since no great artist would probably have had them prominently before his notice. The result of this was that the humbler artists who dealt with these subjects had no great traditional types already created to fall back upon, and were forced to create for themselves. Hence it is probable that painters like that of our vase would have drawn his ideas direct from what he had seen, the moralities or miracle plays (*δρώμενα*) which we know to have played an important part in the Orphic cult.¹ According to Herodotos, v. 67, the misfortunes of Adrastus were celebrated at Sikyon in cyclic choruses. Kleisthenes, he says, substituted for the cult of Adrastus that of Dionysos, in whose honour he prescribed choruses representing the passion (*τὰ πάθη*) of the god. Moreover, Pausanias (viii. 37, 5) says that the Orphic myths related *τὰ παθήματα* of Zagreus; so that there evidently was no lack of dramatic material to be drawn upon by the artist had he chosen.

The occurrence of a Zagreus myth is, I believe, unique among Greek vase-paintings. In the *Gazette Archéologique*, v. (1879) p. 28, pl. 3, Lenormant published a late r. f. kylix, which he explains as referring to this myth. On the interior a woman is seated, holding in her lap a diminutive human figure with a bull's head; this group he interprets as Persephone with Zagreus on her knee; connecting this scene with the subjects on the exterior of the same kylix, in which Satyrs and Maenads dance, the Maenads holding fragments of human limbs. I think Lenormant is certainly wrong. His identification rests mainly on the relation of the three scenes; but in late r. f. kylikes such a relation of subject between the exterior and interior is rare; the usual practice being to have in the interior a definite subject, and to leave the exterior for meaningless athlete subjects or Bacchic subjects, as here; if these exterior scenes have any mythical significance, it is to the Pentheus rather than to the Zagreus legend. In any case the epithets *ταυρόκερος*, &c., applied to Dionysos are not sufficient to warrant us in identifying a definite Minotaur type with Zagreus;² especially as on the one other distinct Zagreus scene³ he is represented as an ordinary human child. An infant Minotaur is a conception that might well have suggested itself in an age which knew the Centaur picture of Zenxis.

¹ See J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. cxviii.

² For the same reason Stephani's explanation of the Venice relief (*C. R.* 1863 p. 119) as

Persephone and Zagreus cannot be accepted.

³ Muller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. No. 413; see Heydemann, *Dionysos-Geburt*, p. 55.

The personality of Orpheus comes but rarely into Greek art; on vases we have the descent into Hades, but this is only on late paintings which are connected with a series of representations of the underworld, in fact, the Eurydike legend appears to have very little connection with the Orphic legends proper. Apart from this, we have two main types, viz. (A) Orpheus playing to Thracians, (B) his death at the hands of Thracian women. Heydemann collected (*Arch. Zeit.* 1868, p. 3) the series of vases then known on which these subjects are shown. To his list may be added:—

(1) The Akropolis kylix published *J. H. S.* ix. pl. 6.

(2) A r. f. amphora in the British Museum, E 373 (old. Cat. 994, where it is wrongly described as Achilles among the Myrmidons); fine style, but without inner markings. *Obv.* Orpheus in Greek dress, seated on rock playing lyre and singing with head thrown back, between two Thracian men, in zeira and alopeke; the Thracians are beardless, but one has slight whiskers. *Rev.* Draped figures (*Mantelfiguren*).

(3) 'Nolan' amphora in B.M. E 334. *Obv.* Orpheus (mantle over shoulders, long hair looped up in Ionic style) falls to r. holding lyre in l. hand, r. extended towards a Thracian woman on the l., who has driven a spit through his body. She wears a talaric chiton, and has a mantle wound shield-fashion round her extended l. arm; she brandishes a second spit. *Rev.* A second Thracian woman of similar type, brandishing a spit. Both the Thracian women have the forearm and the lower part of the leg tattooed with a linear pattern.

Now if we examine the *Museo Borbonico* vase already quoted, we shall see that the complete type is there given, of which the other instances are as it were excerpts. The complete type unites the three successive moments, viz. (a) Orpheus leading the Thracian men, who are accompanied by their horses; (b) Orpheus seated playing to Thracian men; (c) the death of Orpheus.

The combination of three moments suggests a kylix, since this form of vase offers the most suitable spacing for a trilogy. It fortunately happens that of the Akropolis cup just sufficient is preserved to enable us to identify the subjects on the exterior as well as the interior; on the upper side (as given *J. H. S.* ix. pl. 6) we have the legs of a horse, the feet of a seated figure (Orpheus), and the upper part of a Thracian wearing zeira and alopeke, who, if the fragment is properly placed, has not room to stand upright, and must therefore also be seated. On the reverse we have the hind feet of a horse, and the leg and foot of a figure wearing the high boot which also formed part of the Thracian costume: I would suggest that this corresponds in our typology with type (a); the other exterior scene is type (b); and the interior, the culmination of the tragedy, is type (c).

Now whether or no this kylix is attributable to Euphronios (I am inclined to think it is), it is undoubtedly from the hand of one of the great masters of the Epiktetic cycle, and dates from about B.C. 500. The rest of the series, those of Heydemann and those given above, are red-figured vases, mostly, if not all, of the latter part of the fifth and beginning of the fourth

century. It is remarkable how closely the original type is adhered to; thus for instance, the obverse of the Nolan amphora B.M. E 334 is almost exactly the same as the interior scene of the Akropolis kylix.

Dümmeler has suggested (*Arch. Jahrb.* ii. p. 175) that the great scenes of the Iliupersis found on the works of Euphronios and Brygos must have originated, not in a vase painter's studio, but rather in one of the great painters of the sixth century.¹ The same may possibly be true of our subject; otherwise it is difficult to account for the vitality and fixity of the types. Unhappily, history is silent as to the existence of any great work of art dealing with this subject.

CECIL SMITH.

P.S.—Since the above was printed, Furtwängler has kindly sent me his interesting paper in the *Winckelmann's Programm* for 1890 (*Orpheus, Attische Vase aus Gela*, Taf. II.). He proposes therein to refer the vase-painters' types of Orpheus with Thracians, and of Orpheus' death, to one common origin in the *Bassarides* of Aeschylus; suggesting that Aeschylus inspired the conception, and Polygnotos created the art-form of it. The Akropolis cup makes this difficult to accept; whether it be from the pre-Persian stratum or not (see *ibid.* p. 35, note 15), it must surely date from before B.C. 480, and therefore have preceded the production of the *Bassarides*.

¹ See *Aus der Anomia*, p. 174.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

W. M. Ramsay—The Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

THIS remarkable work by Prof. W. M. Ramsay is published by the Royal Geographical Society, of whose 'Supplementary Papers' it forms Vol. IX. It is a substantial volume of nearly five hundred pages, accompanied by maps and tables. The reader must not expect to find in it a complete handbook or dictionary of the geography of Asia Minor, for the author has purposely excluded details that are 'accessible in the ordinary sources of information.' Prof. Ramsay has preferred—and no doubt wisely—to produce a work which is a storehouse of new and unpublished information, of original suggestion, and of first-hand investigation both of the sites and of the original sources. The book consists of two Parts, of which the first, under the heading 'General Principles' (pp. 23—88), contains some highly suggestive and interesting discussions of several topics—more especially the Trade Routes and Road Systems of Asia Minor (the Royal [Persian] Road, the Eastern Trade Route, the Roman Roads, the Byzantine Roads). Another important section of this Part discusses the value of the Peutinger Table, Ptolemy and the Itineraries as geographical authorities. Prof. Ramsay rates the Table much lower than Dr. Konrad Müller and other writers. The Table and Ptolemy, when in agreement, 'may be used as corroborative evidence or to supply gaps,' but where they are at variance with the Byzantine Lists, Strabo, &c., 'their value is naught.' The authority of Hierocles, on the other hand, is very highly estimated by Prof. Ramsay, who has come to the conclusion that this compiler used an ecclesiastical list of the period, which he did not simply reproduce but collated with other evidence.

Part II. (pp. 89—426), which constitutes the bulk of the work, deals principally with the cities and bishoprics of the various provinces and divisions of Asia Minor, and treats also of the Roman roads and, incidentally, of a number of chronological and historical questions. From the enormous mass of new material here presented—often in a very much compressed form—it would be hardly possible to select details that could be adequately discussed within the limits of a short review: in the sections that we have especially tested we can bear testimony to the masterly array of evidence drawn from literary, epigraphic and—what are too often neglected—numismatic sources. A rather formidable list of Addenda occupies pp. 427—460, and a further list is given at the end of the Preface (Prolegomena). These lists, however, are chiefly based on information that has become available since the author printed off the earlier portion of his work, and we are glad that he has not withheld them. The book has a general index, and four other indexes, one of them being of the ancient authors quoted in the text of

Part II. Lists of the cities of Asia and other provinces, &c., are given in a tabular form, and six maps are provided. The whole work bears the impress of Prof. Ramsay's remarkable topographical knowledge and instinct, and of his minute and laborious researches, especially in the Byzantine and other little read authorities.

W. W.

Die attischen Grabreliefs, herausgegeben im Auftrage der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Wien. Von A. CONZE.

THE *Corpus of Attic Sepulchral Reliefs* was begun in 1860 by Prof. Michaelis, undertaken by the Vienna Academy in 1873, and carried out by Dr. Conze, with the aid of Dr. Brückner and others, and by means of a grant from the German Archaeological Institute.

The present Part, the first of eighteen in which the work is to be completed, includes all Attic sepulchral reliefs and paintings earlier than the Persian wars, and the beginning of the reliefs of the second period which comes down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus. It contains twenty-five plates, mostly photographic, but a few executed in lithography. To speak of the value of a work of this kind is superfluous.

P. G.

Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen. KONRAD WERNICKE.

THIS most useful brochure contains lists of all Greek vases bearing the inscription *καλός* or *καλή*. The first chapter treats of those cases in which the epithet refers to the person depicted on the vase; the second of those cases in which it occurs in conjunction with a woman's name. Then come full lists of occurrences on various classes of vases of the word *καλός* in connexion with male names. Finally, we have some general results. Mr. Wernicke shows that these inscriptions are nearly all in the Attic dialect and belong to the period 550—450 B.C. As to their meaning he does not express a very decided opinion. 'In fact the inscription *καλός* had very various significations; in some cases it conveys the satisfaction of the artist with himself, in others it refers to figures in the design—Gods, Heroes, or Hetaerae; when it refers to actual persons these are sometimes obscure favourites of the vase-painter, sometimes young aristocrats of whose beauty and pranks the whole town was gossiping.'

P. G.

F. Imhoof-Blumer, Griechische Münzen. Munich. 1890. (Reprinted from the *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der K. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Bd. XVIII.)

THIS volume is in every way worthy of its learned author's great reputation, and contains as did his *Monnaies grecques*, published in 1883, a mass of new and interesting material selected from Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's apparently inexhaustible stores. From the historical point of view, probably the most important part of the work is a section dealing with the coinage of Pontus, which sets forth, *inter alia*, the author's views as to the various Eras employed on the Imperial money of

Pontic cities. According to Dr. Imhoof-Blumer the Eras are: Amasia, B.C. 2 (not B.C. 7); Kerasus, A.D. 64; Komana, A.D. 35. The Era of Amisus dates (as Prof. W. M. Ramsay has also proved independently (cf. Wroth, *B. M. Cat. Pontus*, &c., p. xxi.) from B.C. 31 (the Battle of Actium), and not from B.C. 33 as formerly supposed. The town of Dia in Bithynia, believed till now to have been one of the mint-places of Mithradates the Great, is shown not to have issued money, and the coins are assigned to Kabeira (in Pontus) under the name of Dia. Another important section of the work deals with the early coinage of the Cyclades. It is pointed out that the coins usually attributed to the town of Poiessa in Keos have been mis-read and must be withdrawn from it. The archaic money of Keos is re-arranged. In that island, Karthaea and Koressia had each a distinct coinage, with amphora and sepia types respectively, while a third town, Iulis, is now provided with early money, consisting of the coins with grapes and dolphin type, formerly attributed to Karthaea. From Karthaea also are withdrawn, in favour of Tenos, the coins with the type, bunch of grapes. Tenos was already known to have issued money from the fourth century B.C., and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer has now well indicated where we are to look for its coinage previous to that period. The coinage of Antioch in Syria is another series to which the author devotes special and much-needed attention. He gives an excellent description of coins of the time of Caracalla, which, though usually attributed to Antioch, really belong to several Syrian mints. Among the places in Asia Minor of which coins are described, the following—to make only a small selection—may here be noticed:—*Chios*. Silver coin with the remarkable inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟ[Ν]. This piece belongs, as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer points out, to the first century A.D., and its inscription cannot, therefore, refer (as often supposed) to one of the Seleucid kings, Antiochus I., II., or III. The coin was probably struck from the proceeds of a present made to Chios by Antiochus IV., the rich king of Commagene, A.D. 38—72.

W. W.

S. N. Svoronos—Numismatique de la Crète ancienne. Part I. (Text and Plates). Macon. 1890.

IN this remarkable work M. Svoronos has undertaken the task of producing a *corpus* of Cretan coins accompanied by an elaborate commentary, geographical, historical and mythological. Part I., which now lies before us, contains a substantial instalment of the whole, consisting as it does of full descriptive lists of the coinages of Crete, together with introductory notices of the history and topography of every city in the island known to have issued money. The book is issued in a sumptuous form, and is published, it is interesting to note, by the Cretan Assembly. It is most fully illustrated by an atlas of 35 plates giving excellent photographs of no less than 1,088 specimens. M. Svoronos is most heartily to be congratulated upon the publication of a work for which he has prepared himself by visiting nearly every important coin-cabinet in Europe, and upon which he has evidently brought to bear no common knowledge and enthusiasm. The present Part appeals principally to numismatists, but it contains matter that will be interesting also to students of epigraphy and archaeologists, and leads both numismatists and archaeologists to look forward to the appearance of the Commentary in Part II.

W. W.

Griechische Geschichte. Dritter Band. Von ADOLF HOLM. Berlin, 1891.

THOSE who are acquainted with the earlier volumes of this work will require for the new one no further recommendation than the assurance that it is fully worthy of its predecessors. The period treated extends from the end of the Peloponnesian War to the death of Alexander. Even where he is travelling on beaten ground, Dr. Holm, by his wonderful power of assimilating into his history all manner of old and new material, literary and archaeological, and by his terse and vigorous narration, intermixed with apt and suggestive analogies, is constantly adding to our knowledge or placing facts in a new light. For the latter part, the deficiencies of Grote and of most other English writers render a history of this kind peculiarly desirable for English people. The period is one 'welche durch die vielfach unstrittene Bedeutung hervorragender Männer interessant ist,' and the results of Dr. Holm's studies of prominent characters are in many ways striking. Among them may be mentioned a vindication of the impartiality of Xenophon, a sketch of the Spartan (not Pan-Hellenic) character of Agesilaus, a demonstration of the groundlessness of the charges brought against Eubulus, a lowering of the ordinary estimate of the far-seeing patriotism of Demosthenes, a more favourable judgment than that usually passed upon Philip, and a genuine appreciation of the greatness of Alexander, both as man, general, and politician. There is an important and interesting chapter on the political and moral state of Athens about the year 360, in which some of the charges of speedy demoralization brought against the people are shown not to be well-founded. As in the other volumes, discussions on doubtful points and on the relative values of authorities are relegated to the notes appended to each chapter, which are in this volume of special value. There are very important notes applying numismatic material to the elucidation of the second Athenian Confederacy, the state of Sicily and Italy during and after the rule of Dionysius, and the relations of various states under Alexander. At the end is a very interesting little disquisition on Greek Public Law, with an examination of the exact meaning of the terms ἀρχή, ἡγεμονία, and προστάτης. A. G.

A History of the Later Roman Empire, from Arcadius to Irene.
By J. B. BURY, M.A.

THIS book may be said to supply, in part at least, a long-felt need, though the task attempted is so great as to require a nineteenth-century Gibbon for its adequate fulfilment. The work deals primarily with what is popularly called the Byzantine Empire—a term indignantly repudiated by Mr. Bury, who, being in many respects a follower of Prof. Freeman, regards it as misleading as well as suggestive of the unpleasant associations which Mr. Lecky and others attach to it as 'universal verdicts of history.'

Mr. Bury shows great self-command in treating but lightly those parts—like the campaigns of Belisarius in Italy, which have already been sufficiently set forth by competent modern historians (*e.g.* Mr. Hodgkin and Mr. Finlay in England, and Dr. Dahn in Germany)—in order to concentrate all his attention on the darker regions, such as the Avar, Lazic, and Persian wars and the administrative reforms of the Isaurian emperors. This plan, however, gives a certain want of perspective to the whole. As an example, we may mention that in a work of more than a

thousand pages the legal work of Justinian is dismissed in six and a half. Yet the general importance of the Empire during the centuries for which it has commonly been ignored is strikingly brought home even to the cursory reader, who must learn to appreciate the great service it rendered in bearing the brunt of the Avar, Saracen, and other Asiatic invasions, and in keeping up commercial routes as well as traditions of Greek and Roman culture.

In general arrangement a comparison is made between logical and chronological order, which involves short chapters and a rather disjointed effect. The disadvantage of this method is partly obviated by good tables and indices. A few maps would make the chapters on geography clearer, as a few engravings would much increase the value of the chapter (by Mrs. Bury) on Byzantine art.

The most defective part of the work, perhaps, is that which deals with Church affairs. Some of the generalizations and analogies are not in excellent taste, nor very far reaching. But we must allow that while Mr. Bury abhors a theological atmosphere, he tries to do full justice to individual theologians and ecclesiasties.

Perhaps the most interesting and important parts of the book are those which deal with the successive changes in imperial and local administration, such as the chapter on *Themes*—the origin of which is traced to Justinian's combinations of civil with military authority—and that on the *Ecloga* of Leo III. In treating of the character and objects of the leading political personages Mr. Bury sometimes takes new and striking views. This especially applies to his sketch of the demagogic Tiberius II., the energetic Constans II., and the enigmatical Justinian II., perhaps a conscious imitator of his greater namesake. The riddle of Justinian and Theodora Mr. Bury can hardly be said to have solved. He follows Von Ranke in regarding the *Arcana* as *not* the work of Procopius, yet he thinks that the scandals contained in it must rest on some basis of fact.

Among interesting and suggestive points we would mention the importance attached to the threat of Heraclius to transfer the centre of administration to Carthage, as marking a turning-point for the better in the Empire; the influence of the Slavonic nations in abolishing serfdom in the East; the moral and physical significance of pestilences like those of 542 and 745 A.D., and the destructive results of that love of art which often collects together priceless works to perish in a common conflagration.

We may note a few small points in which Mr. Bury seems to be mistaken. He says (Vol. I. p. 123) that Eudoxia was the first Roman Empress who received the title Augusta. We think it was borne by Julia Domna. In describing the revolt of the Goths under Arcadius, it seems to us unsafe to depend for details, and even for a masked leader, on an allegorical work like *The Egyptians* of Synesius.

The style is unfortunately abrupt in places, and statements are occasionally made with a bluntness that verges on brutality. Yet in spite of minor drawbacks, the work helps to fill a great gap, and we give it a sincere welcome. A. G.



1



2



3



4

CORINTHIAN LEKYTHOS.



77. 30000. 1890. 2/4

CHRYSOC

River

LOW
FLAT
LAND

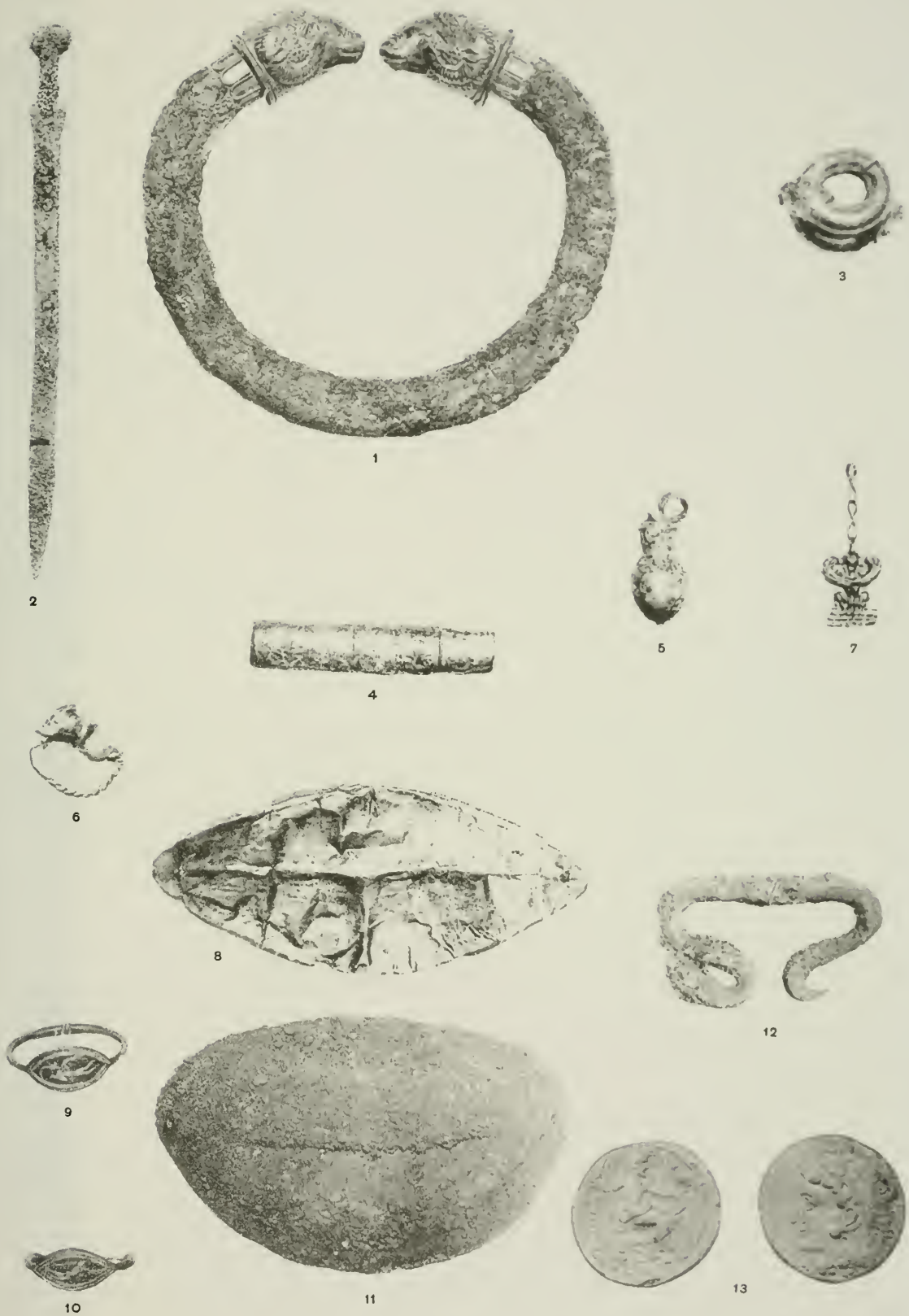
River

VILLAGE
OF
PRODROMI

The sites explored are outlined
presence of tombs, and their
indicated by the crosses.

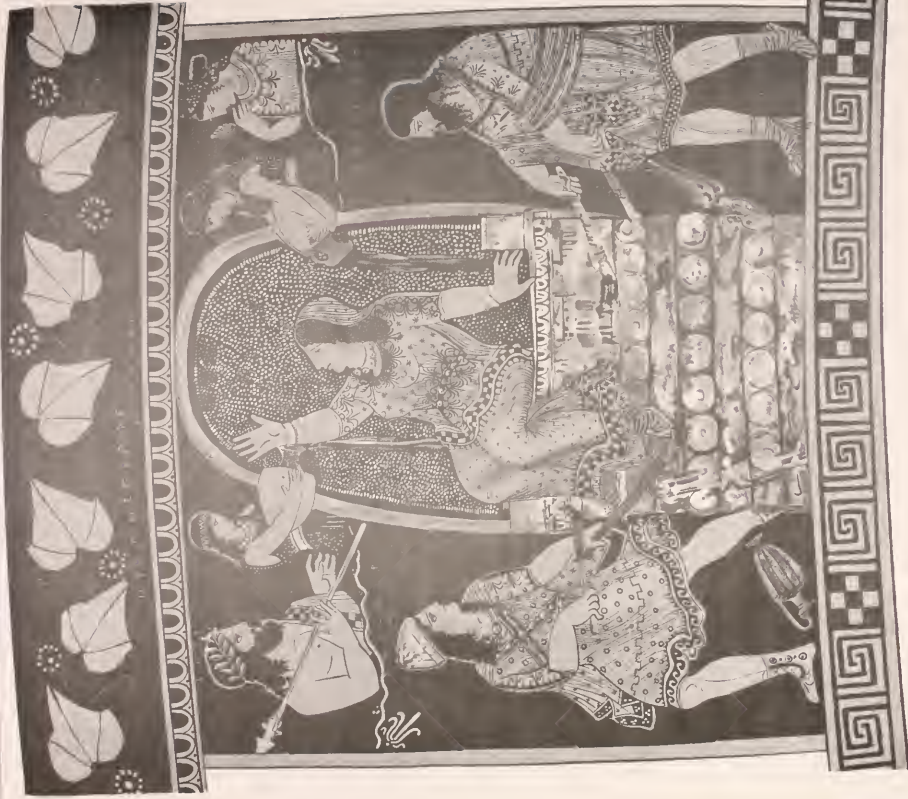


LEKYTHOS FROM POLIS TES CHRYSOCHOU.



JEWELLERY, &c. FROM POLIS TES CHRYSOCHOU.

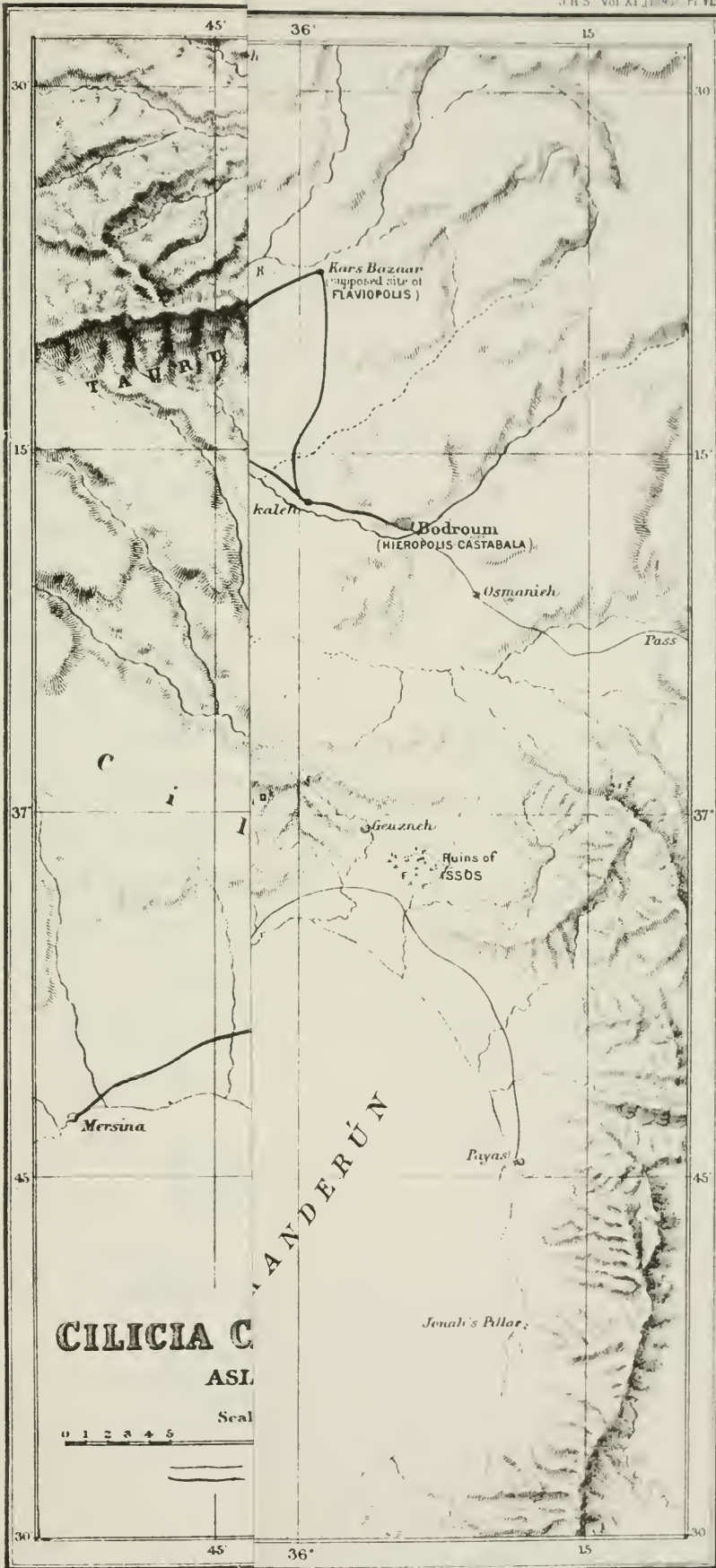


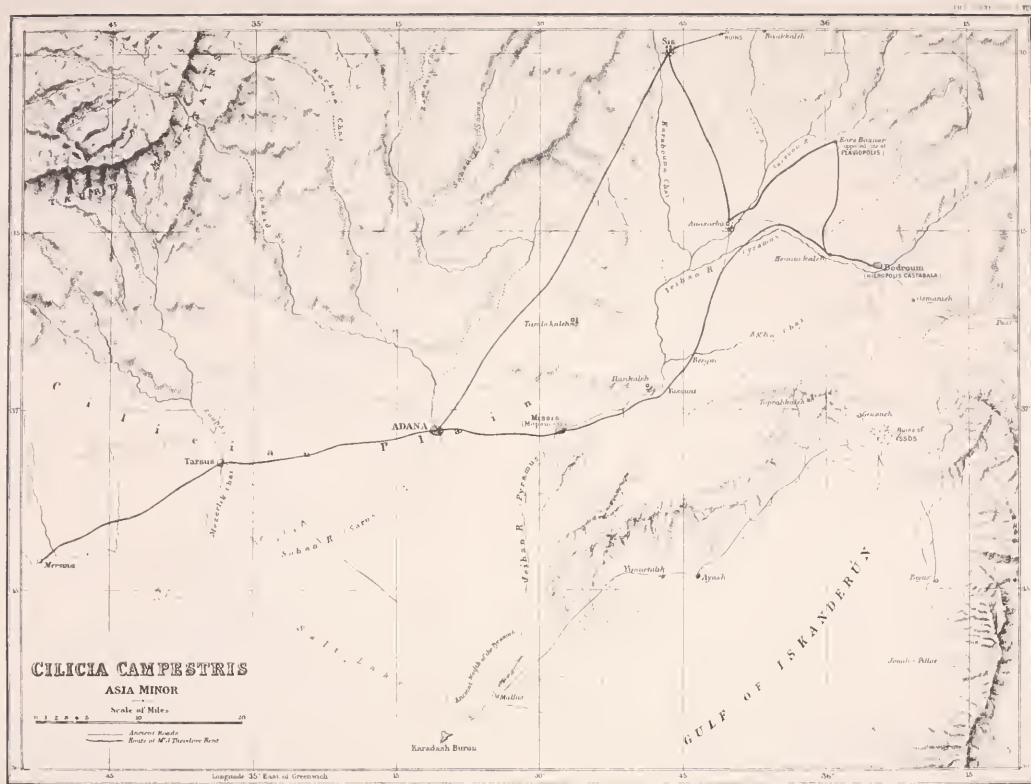


ALCMENE ON PYRE. CRATER BY PYTHON.



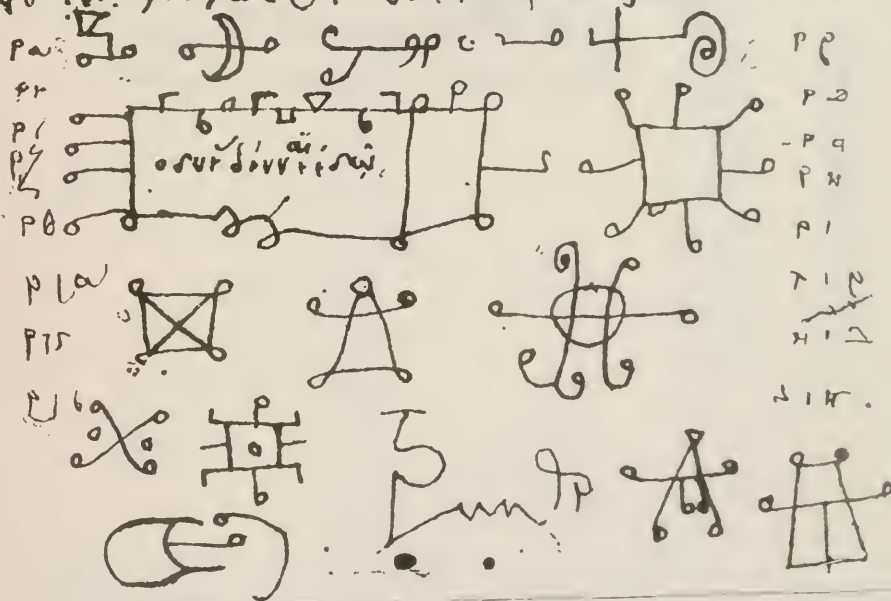
REVERSE OF CRATER BY PYTHON.





οζ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί πριπύρω. ον
 οθ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +

πα Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πτ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πε Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πθ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πζ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πδ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πγ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πβ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πα Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πτ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πε Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πθ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πζ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πδ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +
 πγ Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: Εδδαπιογί: +



ἄρ(ω)β(ω)

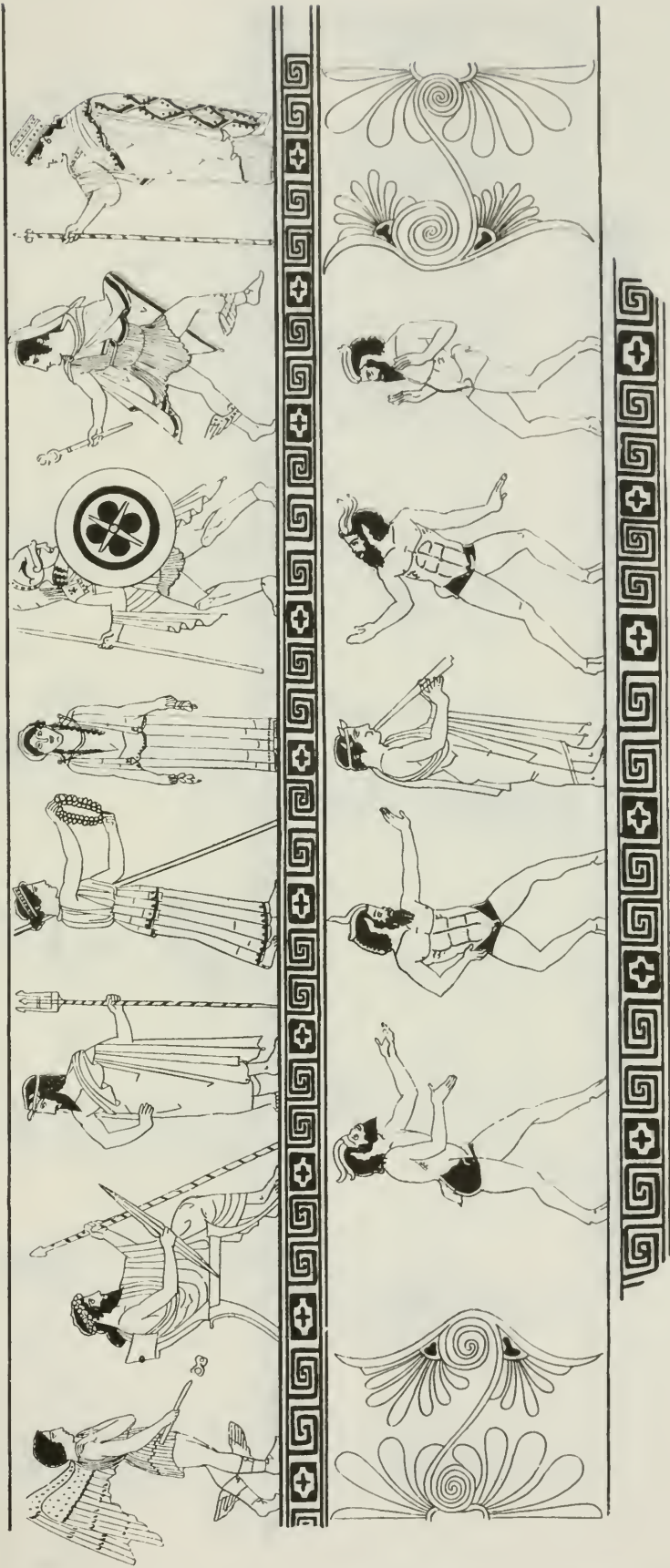
284

+ ἰρ μὲν τῶν στεινὰ μὲν τῶν οὐ μὲν
 μου μου. ἀλλὰ. κατὰ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν αὐτῶν
 ζυ μζ λ β δ ή ή δ
 οἱ καρ δρ κρ ἱρ ἱσμ τκν δι φσ
 δ λ σ ρ δ γ ρ ρ δ
 γσν τὰ τὰς τὰς ἱπὶ οὐμ πὶ το μὲν
 // ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷

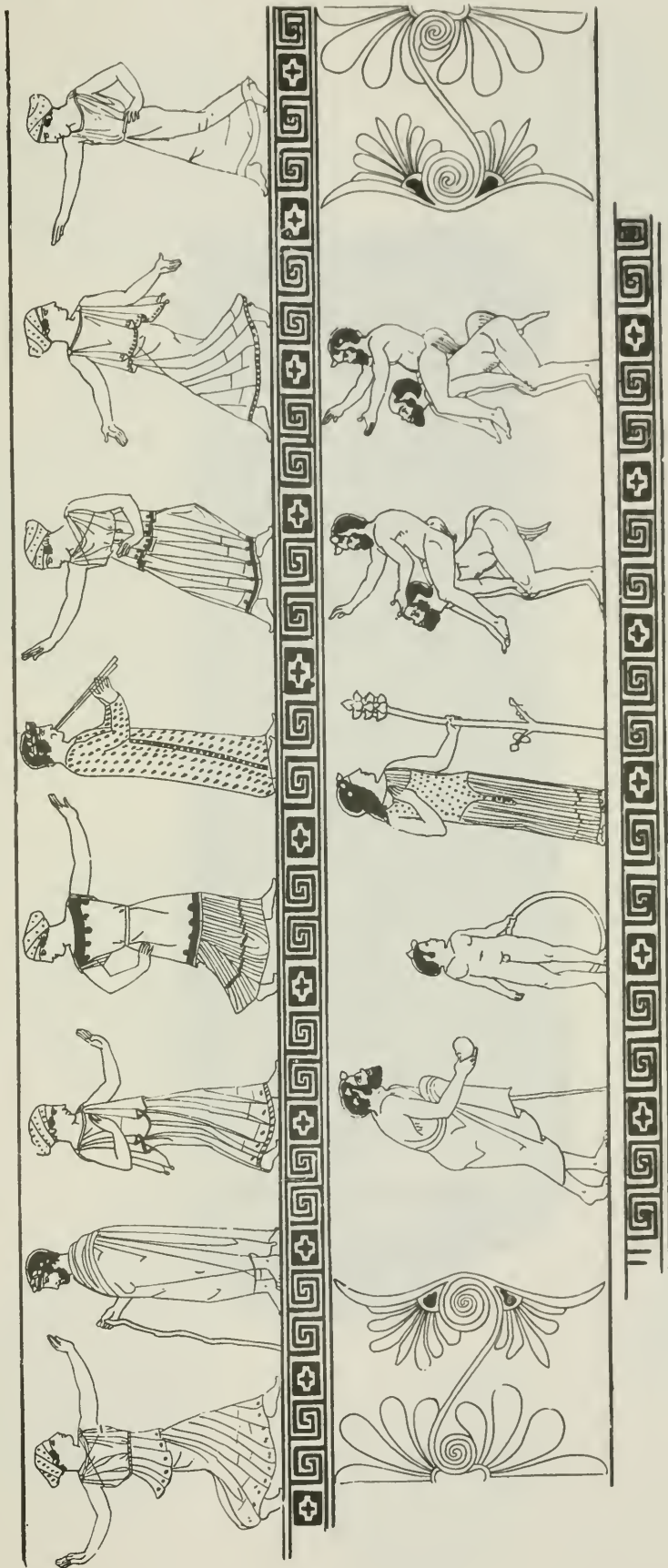


ἀρ ὡς θυ λαί μου καὶ τὰμ τοῖς ἱα
 ρ σ + λ ζ λ τὸ ÷ ÷
 ναί ἱκ τῶς ἱϋ ὑπὸ τὰς καὶ τοῦ
 τὸς σὰν σὰν αὐτὸς ἱα ἱν αὐ μὲν
 τὸς ε ρ δ γ λ ÷ ÷
 καὶ καὶ τοῦ
 ν η τῇ
 τὸς
 τὸς

ὅπερ θέλω καὶ ἡμῶν ὡς παιδίων
 πληροῦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὡς πᾶσι
 παῖσι δὲ τὸν ὡς μὲν καὶ ὡς πᾶσι
 ἀμῖν δὲ καὶ ὡς ὡς ὡς
 μέπως μὲν τὸν ὡς ὡς ὡς ὡς



CRATER. BIRTH OF PANDORA. COMIC DANCE.



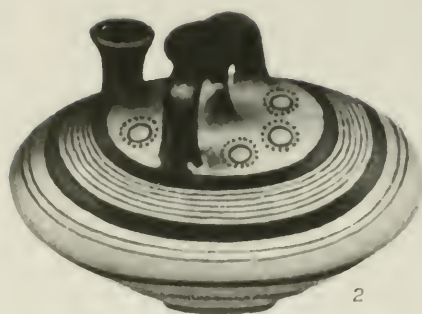
REVERSE OF CRATER. DANCE. SATYRS.



RELIEF AT LEEDS



1



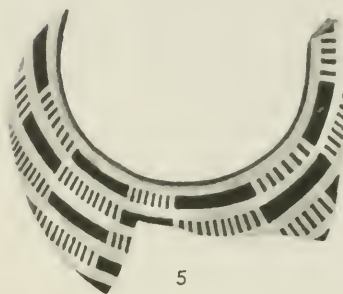
2



3



4



5



7



6



9



8



10

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM LIBRARY

JAN 22 1979



